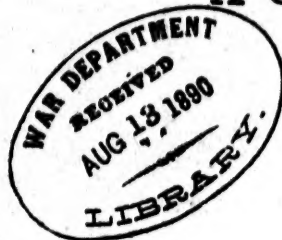


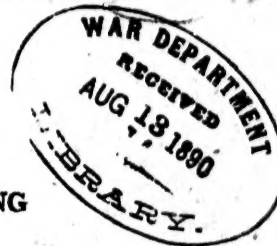
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VOLUME SIXTH.



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CONTENT

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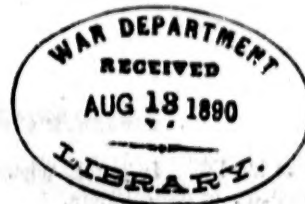
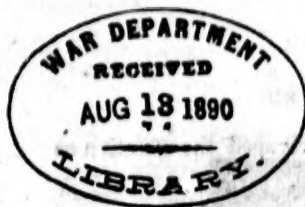
SIXTH VOLUME.



<i>RIESBECK's Travels through Germany,</i>	Page
<i>Coxe's Travels in Denmark,</i>	1
<i>Coxe's Travels in Norway,</i>	293
<i>Fortia's Travels in Sweden,</i>	356
<i>Coxe's Travels in Russia,</i>	373
	570

LIST OF PLATES IN VOLUME VI.

	Page
1. STOCKHOLM,	391
2. View in Finland,	556
3. Russian Figures,	576
4. Petersburg,	659



A GENERAL COLLECTION
OF
VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

TRAVELS THROUGH GERMANY,

IN

A SERIES OF LETTERS;

WRITTEN IN GERMAN BY THE BARON RIESBECK.

AND TRANSLATED

BY THE REV. MR. MATY,

Late Secretary to the Royal Society, and under Librarian to the British Museum.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following letters were written in the German language by the baron Caspar Reisbeck, a native of the dutchy of Wurtemberg.

As the author has assumed the character of a Frenchman, it has been presumed, that he was of that nation: But, besides that the work was never published in France, the freedom and severity with which he every where treats the natives of that country, convey sufficient proof that he did not belong to it himself. He died February 5, 1786, of a fever, at Aran, in Switzerland, aged thirty years.

The many inaccuracies which may be found scattered up and down in the translation, will meet with some apology in the bosom of the candid, when they are pleased to consider the painful and tedious illness, under which the translator laboured, and which at last put a period to his life. And if the reader, in the perusal of the work, should meet with passages which have the appearance of indelicacy, he may be assured that many more are omitted, which may be found in the original, and even those which remain, hardly sufficient to give offence to the most scrupulous, were intended to have been expunged by the translator, whose purity of thought could only be surpassed by the

VOL. VI.

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purity of his life. In short, whatever inaccuracies may have escaped the attention of the translator of these letters,

— quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura—

it is presumed that they will be amply compensated by the entertainment and information with which they abound.

TRAVELS, &c.

LETTER I.

DEAR BROTHER,

Stuttgart, April 3. 1780.

HERE I have pitched my first camp, and intend to make excursions from hence into the different parts of Suabia, according as opportunities offer.

I have made it a rule to myself to take particular parts of Germany as middle points, and from thence to ramble round the country till I have seen all that I think worth notice. It is my intention to study Germany thoroughly, without, however, extending my inquiries to the numberless landgraviates, margraviates, baronies, republics, &c. &c. As to these, it is doing them honour enough to say that they exist.

You know that I stayed some time in Strasburg, as well for the sake of learning to speak a little German, as to make myself acquainted, by the help of maps and books, with the country I mean to travel through. In this pursuit I found more assistance than I could have expected, and it is certainly not the fault of the German geographers and politicians that their country is so little known by foreigners.

Having sometimes been so kind as to allow me a genius for the observation of men and manners, you may reasonably expect something more in my letters than what you have commonly met with in our French and English travellers. These, indeed, have usually been gentlemen, who having travelled in close post-chaises to the great courts, as if (as Yorick says) they were riding post from death, have given us the few anecdotes they have picked up, either at the post-house, whilst they were changing horses, or from their bankers, or from their opera-girls, as true accounts of the state of manners, legislation, religion, &c. of the country.

A man who would know all orders of people, should mix with them all; but this is what a common traveller seldom either can or will do, on the contrary, they are generally compelled to live in a narrow circle, where they hear of nothing but the pleasures and occupations of the company; therefore, again, a man must be a studious traveller by profession, to enter into the peculiarities of a whole people. After all, let him be ever so willing, and ever so well prepared, he will find it more difficult to know Germany than any other country; for it is not here as in France, where, as all ape the manners of the capital, by going thither you see all, as it were, in the compass of a nut-shell. In Germany there is no town which regulates the manners of the whole, but the country is divided into a numberless variety of large and small states, differing from each other in religion, government, opinions, &c. and which have no band of union whatever, except their common language.

You know that I commonly travel on foot when I cannot get into a public land or water carriage; but these are inexpressibly pleasant to me on account of the company I meet in them, even should that company happen to consist only of Jews, Capuchins, and old women.

You know too that I am enough a citizen of the world to find some good out of my own country, and not to be outrageously out of humour when all is not as it is at home.

You may depend on receiving one letter at least every week, in which you will have an account either of a German town or of some part of the country. General observations I must, of course, defer to the end, when I shall have put together the several broken parts of the narrative. I shall not trouble you with any of the nonsense which you must have enough of in our daily publications.

LETTER II.

Stuttgart, April 10, 1780.

I HOPE that you received my letter of the third, which was intended as a kind of introduction to our future correspondence. Though I know how odious letter-writing is to you, I must nevertheless insist on an answer to every six of mine, and if you cannot bring yourself to sit down to work, desire Nannette to do it for you. But to my diary: As I was getting into the post-waggon at Strasburg, who should come in, in a post-chaise and four, but Mr. B——! No doubt, you must have seen him at Paris at Madame H——'s. 'Whither,' says he, 'so fast?' 'A pilgrimage through Germany,' says I. 'Out upon the stupid country,' says he; 'I have just travelled over it, but in truth it is not worth the trouble.' At first I thought that he must at least have made some stay in some of the principal German towns; but when I came to inquire, I found that what he called having travelled over the stupid country, was a small excursion from Switzerland, through part of Suabia and Bavaria, as far as Munich, and from thence into France again by Augsburg, Ulm, and Friburg. As there happened to be a map of Germany behind the door of the post-house, with the point of my sword I traced the parts of the country he had been over, and shewed him, that far from having travelled through Germany, he had scarce seen any part of it; but this did not affect him at all; 'Go you,' says he, 'go you; for my part I have seen it.'

My company consisted of a wine merchant from Ulm, with a melancholy face, who was always shaking his lips as if he had tasted sour wine, and an elderly lady, who said she was hired as a governess in a great house at Vienna. As neither of these companions had any peculiar charms for me, I amused myself as we travelled along the banks of the Rhine, with considering the idea persons who live in the great Parisian world entertain of what they call with us le Nord. I had been led into this by the gasconade of M. B——, and the sight of the German post-map. Here, then, thought I to myself, (as I run over in my mind that track of country which reaches from the spot I was then on to the frozen sea) in ancient times dwelt the Cimbri, the Goths, the Franks, the Saxons, the Suabians, and the Allemanni; and here now are the Swedes, the Prussians, and the Russians; and all this great country, together with the formidable possessors of it, we dispose of in a word that conveys much the same ideas to the readers as les Pais Bas, the low countries. Les Pais Bas and the Nord, a Frenchman considers as only so many dependencies on the omnipotent France. There is really nothing to be said to this but what Tristram Shandy says upon a like occasion: 'The French have a pleasant way of treating all great matters.' I could not help laughing inwardly as these thoughts

came into my head, and the sight of the ruined fortifications of Kehl gave my laughter fresh force, from the recollection that the mighty Louis, whose great mind had it in contemplation to annex the small dependencies of the Nord and the pais bas, together with Italy, Spain, &c. to the French monarchy, had built this fort as a key to his conquests on the other side the Rhine. 'By my troth,' said I, as I considered the barracks and vestiges of the old fortifications, 'this is pleasant.' And it is pleasanter still, that Beaumarchais meant to print his Voltaire in these barracks. 'In the name of merriment,' said I (and my internal laugh then broke out) 'is the great France grown too small; since the days of the mighty Louis, to hold a dozen letter presses in it?'

The small contraband trade with Strasburg excepted, France has nothing to fear from this same Kehl. The place, which is contemptible in every respect, belongs, with some other villages, to the margraves of Baden, but the states of the Holy Roman Empire claim a right to the ruined fortifications.

The way to Carlsruhe raised many thoughts in my mind. On sight of the castle of Rastadt, where a termination was put to the war between France and Austria in 1714, I felt myself a Frenchman all over. All the great chiefs and statesmen, who from the beginning of the last century to this period had adorned our annals, and set us far above the nations of the earth, seemed to rise before me, and I sat for some time in a kind of trance, fighting their battles and inventing their civil improvements over again. In an unlucky minute, however, I was awakened by the recollection that this was now all at an end; that in 1714 our greatness terminated; that my country no longer produced great men; and that the powers whom we had then sunk so low were now rising, nay, that some of them had already risen, to sink us. I would then have wished to have forgotten that I was a Frenchman, and sought for consolation in the thought of being a citizen of the world, and that much as we had lost, Europe in general had gained still more in the time that had elapsed; but this was impossible, the traces of desolation which many of our generals had left in the places I was travelling through, made me lament my having been so proud of their exploits before.

I stayed some time at Carlsruhe, and was lucky enough to get acquainted with a gentleman, who, to the best of hearts, and excellent understanding, and unremitting exertions in the service of his prince, unites a very fine taste for German, French, and English literature. The court of Carlsruhe possesses many such persons, some of whom I had been fortunate enough to know at Strasburg. With this gentleman I went to Spires to visit some of his relations. Our way lay by Bruchsal, the residence of the bishop of Spires. The country we went through had many woods, which, however, were broken by a few well cultivated vales. These woods, the timber of which is carried to Holland (where it sells very well) by the Rhine, makes a great part of the revenue of the courts of Spires and Carlsruhe. The wood through which we travelled afforded a striking instance of the advantage an hereditary kingdom has over an elective one. The woods of Baden are kept up with the greatest economy and attention, because the prince knows they will be sources of wealth to his remotest descendants; whereas at Bruchsal, where the descendants of the prince have nothing to hope, every thing gives way to present enjoyment. It is needless to add that in this respect the woods are an emblem of the whole country.

Bruchsal is a pretty little town, and the bishop's palace a handsome building. The present prince bishop, some effusions of ill humour only excepted, is no bad governor. This humour principally shews itself against the young women. I am assured that if he could he would make all the girls nuns. He cannot see one without falling into a passion. His revenue is about three hundred thousand florins, or thirty thousand

pounds per annum, and I am sorry to add that he is by no means one of the richest bishops in Germany.

Spires is a small free city, which was formerly handsomer than it is now: towards the end of the last century it was entirely destroyed by the French army; since that time it has long lain in ruins, and is now hardly above half built up again. It was one of the first Roman colonies on the banks of the Rhine, and many Roman coins are still found in the country.

Here, brother, I was in the midst of that theatre from whence, in the last century, our troops spread desolation from the Rhine to the Moselle; where Melac, appearing not as the leader of a mighty host, but the head of a murderous band, laid sixty flourishing towns in ashes, and made a desert of one of the finest countries on earth! Where Turenne, the greatest general of the greatest monarch in the world, answered the generous elector, who, struck with the wrongs his country was enduring, would bravely have risked his life for his people, and challenged the incendiary to single combat, with a bon-mot, saying, 'that since he had the honour to serve the king of France, he fought only at the head of twenty thousand men.' How little in my eyes did then appear the great Turenne, whose bon-mot, turned into common sense, amounted to no more than this: 'These twenty thousand men give me a right to lay your country in ashes!'

My friend carried me to the cathedral, half of which is still in ruins. Here I saw the tombs of the old emperors, whose sepulchres our soldiers plundered, and whose bones they strewed on the ground. 'This happened,' said my friend, 'in your golden age, under Louis the fourteenth, when your greatest poets, reasoners, and philosophers flourished; when you was supposed to have arrived at the highest pitch of polish of which a nation is capable; when we Germans were no more in your sight than so many Cherokees; and some of your academicians had the insolence to propose, as a question fit for discussion, "Whether it was possible that a German should have any esprit?"' Brother, I was almost ashamed to be a Frenchman.

Both at Spires and Bruchsal I found, in the few houses where we made our flying visits, more ease and knowledge of the world than I expected. I remarked that people are very fond of strangers in this country.

I reckon the few days I spent at Carlsruhe amongst the happiest of my life. I saw a prince who truly lives only for his people, and seeks his own happiness in theirs; one whose active and enlightened mind pervades the whole country, and by its influence makes all those who have a share in the administration patriots like himself. Education, police, encouragements to industry and agriculture; every thing, in short, here breathes a spirit of philosophy and the warm love of mankind. O that I could make many millions as happy as the margrave of Baden makes two hundred thousand men!

After the electors, and the houses of Wirtemberg and Hesse Cassel, the margrave of Baden is one of the greatest potentates in Germany. The princes of Bareith and Darmstadt are the only ones who can enter into any competition with him; his revenue is one million two hundred thousand florins, i. e. one hundred and twenty thousand pounds per annum. The margrave's country extends along the right side of the Rhine from Basil to near Philipsburg, and from thence through part of Alsatia to the Moselle. If it all lay together it would be more productive.

They carry on a large trade in cattle, wood, and wine, which last is extremely good in the environs of Basil. The country, likewise, produces a kind of marble, which some think equal in goodness to the Florentine or Carara; but this is exaggeration. The mildness of the government secures to the people the quiet enjoyment of the rewards of their industry. There are not indeed opportunities of making great fortunes,

as the court is very economical, and lives at a small expence; but the same cause prevents the pressure of extreme poverty from being felt by any one. The facility of exporting their labours, which is afforded by the navigation on the Rhine, is a great incitement to industry. The manufactures in consequence increase every year, and some of them, particularly the earthenware one at Durloch, are in high estimation. They have likewise made some successful experiments in making silk.

The margrave is as amiable in private life as he is respectable in public. He and the margravine, who is a princess of D'Armstadt, have every polite accomplishment, so that the court is the best society in Carlsruhe. Strangers find little difficulty to gain admission there.

This court has been much reflected upon for its economy, and possibly may have gone rather beyond the line in some points; but whatever the excesses may have been, the prince himself is not chargeable with them. The fact is, that the debts of the family were numerous and great. Those in the hereditary dominions have arisen from frequent wars, and the necessary provision for the younger part of the family; but besides these, when the margrave succeeded to the government of Baden, which fell to him by the extension of another branch of the family, he found every thing in the utmost confusion. Priests, mistresses, huntsmen, and cooks, had long vied with each other for the honour of accelerating the bankruptcy of the court of Rastadt;* and in the last administration every thing had been purposely left to go to ruin, on the principle that the successor was a Protestant. Under these circumstances the prince's mother thought the greatest economy necessary, and she carried it so far as to cause the flowers which grew in the court garden to be sold, instead of permitting her daughters to wear them in their bosoms. For this, though without the strictest economy the family must have been ruined, she was much laughed at; perhaps in some degree deservedly; but the mirth was kept up by some beaux esprits in the neighbourhood, whose mercenary expectations the court had failed to gratify.

Carlsruhe is a neat little town consisting entirely of wooden buildings. It is built on a regular plan, and stands in the middle of a large forest, the remnant of that which, in the time of Tacitus, covered all Germany. Through this forest there are thirty-two regular avenues extending to a great distance. The town, built in the shape of a fan, stands upon nine of these; but you will have a better notion of it from the plans, which are sold upon the spot, and are very well worth purchasing, than from any thing I can say.

I cannot omit an anecdote which happened about forty years ago, and does the prince of that time great honour. A traveller who passed through expressed his surprise at seeing a palace entirely of wood. 'True Sir', said the prince, 'you may think it ought at least to have been of brick; but I could not be more magnificently lodged without laying expensive taxes on my subjects, and I wanted only a roof to lay my head under.' Certainly the difference between a king of France and a margrave of Baden is very great; and yet it would not have been amiss if the builders of the Louvre, Versailles, and Marli, had attended a little more to such considerations.

* Rastadt is worth passing through by strangers who have occasion to go from Manheim to Straasburg, were it only to see the little closet in which Eugene and Villars signed the Treaty of Utrecht, and some rather uncommon monuments which stand in the middle of the street.

LETTER III.

Stuttgart, April 14, 1780.

FROM Carlsruhe I returned here on foot, through a romantic, but in general very well cultivated country.

When you come into Lorraine from Champagne, you are struck with a remarkable difference between the circumstances of the farmers in old France, and those of the newly acquired country, notwithstanding that the governors have of late years done every thing that they could to make them alike; but in Alsace the contrast is still greater. The farmer of Alsace is quite a gentleman when compared with the old Frenchman. You will hear indeed heavy complaints of high taxes even at Strasburg; but it is only from such as have no opportunity of estimating the advantage of their situation by comparison.

In the part of Germany I have hitherto travelled through, the inhabitants are still happier than in Alsatia. The form of government protects them from oppression in the larger states, such as Wirtemberg, &c. and the emperor himself frequently interposes in the smaller ones. In my way from Carlsruhe hither, I could not sufficiently admire the thriving state of the people.

Before I give you any account of my excursion into the neighbouring parts of Suabia, I must make you acquainted with the present state of this court. No doubt, from what you have formerly heard, you will expect accounts of sumptuous feasts, balls, illuminations, hunting parties, concerts, and the like, but with any thing of that kind I shall not be able to entertain you. They no longer make artificial lakes on the tops of hills, and compel the peasant to fill them with water, for the purpose of hunting a stag there; they no longer light up immense forests, and bring out fauns and dryads to dance midnight dances in them; you meet with no more winter gardens abounding in all the flowers of an European spring: even the famous opera house, where Noverre exhibited when his fame was at the highest, is now a solitary ruin. This change astonishes you. I cannot explain it better than by giving you the duke's own words.

In 1778 this worthy prince took the opportunity of his birth day to publish a manifesto of which the following is the substance: "Being a man, and, from the condition of my nature, far removed from the standard of perfection, and likely to remain so, it could not but fall out, that partly from the weakness incidental to human nature, and partly from the want of sufficient sagacity, and other causes, many events should have taken place, which had they not happened, things would have been very different from what they now are, or are likely to be hereafter. This I acknowledge freely, as it is the duty of every upright thinking mind to do, and the consideration of it reminds me of duties obligatory to every man, but still more so to the anointed of the Lord upon earth. I consider this day, in which I have entered into my fiftieth year, as beginning the second period of my existence. I assure my loving subjects, that every successive year of life, which it shall please divine Providence to bestow, shall be dedicated to the promotion of their happiness. Henceforward shall the prosperity of Wirtemberg be established on the joint and firm basis of the sovereign's love for his people, and of the people's confidence in the affection of their sovereign. A subject, who thinks as he ought to do, will see that many circumstances must arise, in which the good of the individual must give way to the good of the whole, nor murmur if things do not always take the turn which he would have wished them to do. We trust that every man will, for

the future, live in the confidence that he has a provident and anxious father in his prince: yes, may the contest who shall do most to make his native country happy, be from this day forth the only contest that ever arises between us."

The duke is now quite a philosopher; he founds schools, farms, cultivates arts and sciences, and establishes manufactures: in short, he endavours in every way possible to make up for what has been wrong.

Many causes had contributed to mislead this prince in the earlier parts of life, and to give his mind, naturally a lively and impetuous one, a false direction. Amongst the foremost, we may reckon the fashion of the times, the bad examples set him by the courts of Mannheim and Dresden, the taste for false magnificence, which he had acquired in Italy, and the corruption of those who surrounded him; many of whom, I am ashamed to say it, were French. These were the causes of that dissipation of which Europe has heard so much. The consequences were such as might naturally have been foreseen; debt, oppressive taxes, resistance on the part of the states of the country, and finally, a commission of inquiry issued by the imperial court. The debts, upon examination, were found to amount to 1,200,000*l*. The evil counsellors, you may think, were removed; but this would have done little, but for the change which about this time took place in most of the lesser courts of the empire, the princes of which, from being oppressive and expensive tyrants, suddenly contracted a taste for political œconomy and philosophical pursuits. Into these the duke ran with as much ardour as he had formerly done into juvenile dissipation.

I should now give you an account of the several new establishments for education, and particularly of the military academy; but I believe that you are already acquainted with them, and as to myself, I must confess ingenuously, that they do not please me. I suppose that as things are now circumstanced, it is necessary to pour a great deal of knowledge into boys, before the mind is fit to receive it; still I own that I cannot bear to see the intention of nature so perverted. My children, if I am blessed with any, shall grow up to these years like young Cossacks. But I shall take another opportunity to give you my sentiments on education; at present something more concerning Wirtemberg.

The greatest part of the dukedom consists in an extensive valley, which is bounded on the east by a chain of hills called the Alps; on the west by the Black Forest; on the north by a part of the mountain of Oden-Wald, and an arm of the Black Forest; and on the south by the joint arms of the Alps, and the Black Forest.* On the whole it inclines to the northward, and is watered in the middle by the Neckar. Several smaller arms run off from the surrounding chains of hills towards the centre, cross each other in various directions, and form little vallies, which are watered by an infinity of rivers. The land is rendered exceedingly fruitful by these lesser hills, which shelter the vallies from the cold winds, and collect the heat of the sun between them. The southern sides of these mountains and hills are planted with vines very high up, and above there is excellent dyers' wood, and brush wood; and at the bottom is a gray coloured light mould, which yields all kinds of corn, but particularly barley, in astonishing plenty. Upon the whole, this country very much resembles the middle part of Lorrain; but the soil is much better, and there are not so many stones in it. Excepting salt, which it is obliged to have recourse to Bavaria for, it abounds in all the necessaries of life. What corn is not consumed in the country is sent to Switzerland, and the wine goes as far as England.

* The Black Forest is the largest wood of Germany, being sixty days journey in length, and nine in breadth.

The whole extent of the country does not contain more than two hundred German, or two hundred and sixty-six French square miles. In this circuit there are about five hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants; that is, about two thousand eight hundred to every German square mile. Excepting those parts of Germany which are in the neighbourhood of some capital cities, and some districts of Italy, and the Netherlands, there is certainly no country in Europe so populous in proportion to its extent, as this is. It is however so fruitful as to be able to support as many more inhabitants.

The income of the duke amounts to three millions of florins,* or about 300,000*l.* per annum. I know that many printed calculations make the sum smaller. But as there are few parts of Germany in which the taxes are not estimated at five florins per head, and in some they pay much more, why should it not be so in Wirtemberg, which is one of the largest territories in Germany, and in which the subject is not more spared?

After the electors, the duke is beyond comparison the greatest prince in Germany, though the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, who has not above two thirds of the subjects or yearly income, is of more consequence in the empire, on account of his connection with England.

The government of this dukedom is not so simple and unmixed, as that of the territory of Baden. Here are swarms of counsellors, secretaries, proctors, and advocates, of which more than half might be spared; but the nature of the government allows them to enjoy their appointments in idleness. Many of them, it is true, belong to the states, whose duty it is to limit the authority of the prince; but notwithstanding the many reductions in the household itself, it is still much too large for the duke's circumstances.

The duke's army consisted formerly of fourteen thousand men; and if his debts were paid, and the other expences moderated, such an establishment might always be supported, as the population and revenues of the country appear to allow it. At the time of the change, however, they were reduced to about five thousand men, and those seem to be none of the best troops.

Stuttgart contains about twenty thousand inhabitants, and since the duke is returned, the population has been constantly on the increase. During the contest, in which Stuttgart took a very violent part, he removed to Louisburg. Stuttgart was instantly sensible of her loss by it; she made every possible effort to obtain his return, but all in vain: but after a reconciliation between the prince and the states, the wish of the Stutgarders was at last accomplished.

The city is well built: the inhabitants are a handsome, stout people. The women are tall and slender, with fair and ruddy complexions. The natural riches, the ease with which a maintenance is to be procured, either at court or in the country, cause them to live exceedingly well. What would provide for twelve of our people, seems here to be only the portion of six. The Stutgarder is so attached to his home, that if you remove him but thirty miles from it, he is immediately seized with the *maladie du pays*.

Though the country throughout is protestant, and the duke alone a catholic, there still prevails a great deal of superstition and bigotry. The clergy are members of the states, have a jurisdiction of their own, and are very wealthy.

The affection of the Wirtembergers towards their prince is remarkable. Even when the duke seemed to have no other care than how he should load them with new taxes, he did not forfeit their attachment. The curses of the people fell on his servants, and the crew of projectors who led him astray. But since these have been banished, he is become the idol of his subjects; and he deserves to be so.—Farewell.

* A German florin is two shillings of English money.

LETTER IV.

Stuttgart, May 20, 1780.

MY excursions in the neighbouring states of the circle of Suabia, did not produce the rich booty I had promised to myself. I visited a dozen free imperial towns, in which, notwithstanding the republican form of government, not a spark of liberty or patriotism was to be seen. The inhabitants of these have, through the oppression of more powerful neighbours, long since lost all sense of the value of independence; but though ashamed to mention the name of their native country out of their own walls, within them they mimic the forms of old Rome, and after the manner of those governors of the world, inscribe their public buildings of state with *Senatus Populusque Hallensis, Bopfingensis, Nordlingensis, &c.*

In the fifteenth century, the imperial cities of Suabia acted a very different part. They were then united in leagues, not only with each other, but with the cities of Franconia and the Rhine. Even the emperor had sometimes cause to be alarmed at their increasing power, which indeed made Charles V, disunite them. From the time of the association of the Hanse towns, the gold had flowed from all the country into the cities. These were the exclusive seats of industry, and their wealth drew into their dependance the neighbouring princes, who at that time lived by robberies.

If the spirit of trade which then prevailed, had suffered them to place more value on the possession of landed property, they would to this day have preserved somewhat of their former splendour, as with their power they might have made many conquests, and with their wealth many purchases.

All hopes are now vanished of their ever becoming again conspicuous. As soon as the princes discovered the value of industry, and gave it free encouragement in their dominions, it fled into their protection, and abandoned the dark walls of cities in which a system of monopolies, little policy, and narrow-minded envy of the successful, laid it under so many restraints. In consequence, the towns are so reduced, as to be obliged to sell the little landed property they have, to discharge their debts. This has lately been the case with Ulm; the largest town in Suabia, next to Augsburg. Of the imperial towns which I have visited, I can say nothing particular, but that Heilbron is beautifully situated, and Halle has a salt manufactory, which brings in three hundred thousand florins, or thirty thousand pounds per annum.

Having left these states, I ran over in a very short time, about a dozen principalities, and prelacies, with the names of which I shall not trouble you. Almost the whole country consists of well-wooded mountains and hills, and fertile vales, all in high cultivation. The great population which prevails here is wonderful, when you consider the untoward circumstances of the country. By untoward circumstances, I mean the extortions of petty masters, who all keep their mistresses, their stag-hounds, their French cooks, and English horses; the perpetual quarrels amongst neighbours, which arise from the various perplexed governments of the empire; the small profits attendant on industry within such a confined spot; and lastly the constant decrease of coin, owing to the sums of money expended by the governors of the country in search of foreign luxuries. As religion, manners, attachment to the native spot, temperance, and frugality, all of which I am willing to allow that these people possess, do not appear to me sufficient of themselves to counterbalance these evils, I have but one way of accounting for the prosperity I see; which is this:

The right of holding property of their own, which the country people of these parts enjoy, could not of itself prevent these states, which exist entirely by agriculture, from decay; because the extraordinary fruitfulness of the women would in time require such a partition of property, as would not leave enough to each farmer to buy beds for his children. I believe therefore that it is the emigrations, joined with this, that are to solve the phenomenon I am endeavouring to explain. Though Suabia is the most populous country in all Germany, there is no one the inhabitants of which migrate in such large quantities.

These emigrants are of two kinds. The major part are an idle set, who sell their property to furnish themselves with money to travel into foreign countries, in search of imaginary projects of fortune. The others are young men, who go out to try their fortune as mechanics, and when they succeed, part with their land to their other brothers for a small consideration. By these causes no greater load is thrown upon agriculture than it is able to bear; and it is well that there is not; for the sole resources of such small districts as those we are now speaking of, are in their agriculture. For the limits of their luxury are too narrow to admit of that variety of employments, and ways of gain, which diversify the callings of men so infinitely in other countries; nor is it possible that manufactures should thrive among them, whilst they are circumstanced as they are; that is, surrounded by powerful princes, who lay great duties on their imports, in order to protect their own establishments, and situated in a country which supplies them with few, if any, of the prime materials for work. They must therefore depend entirely on their agriculture, and they do so. I do not however mean to say, that, cultivated as it is, this country is not susceptible of a much greater degree of improvement. It certainly is; and much more might be done.

Still, what has been done is surprising; nor is the cause less worthy of admiration. For it is owing to a steady administration of justice, and a set of political regulations which are to be met with in the smallest parts of the country, and which raised my wonder as often as I had occasion to consider them. We not only hear nothing here of the oppressions of private individuals, but there are instances in which causes have been given against the petty lords of the country in their own courts. Indeed they have need to be careful; for no man who is not strong enough to bring a force in the field against the emperor, to whom there is always an appeal, would be suffered to go on long with impunity. It is but a few years since, that redress was obtained against a petty prince of Suabia, who was going to drive his subjects out of their possessions, in order to make way for his stags and wild boars. But it must be owned, that such extreme remedies as these are seldom necessary. There is an integrity still adherent to the German character, and a kind of jovial humour about them, which makes the princes of the country start from the acts of wanton oppression and cruelty, which, with the same powers, would no doubt be exercised in Spain, Italy, and even in France. Give a German prince but room and food for his dogs and horses (for about the welfare of these he is uncommonly solicitous) and you have little to fear from him in other respects; that is as an individual, for in the gross they will clip you as close as they can.

There is, however, one object in which there is great need of reformation, and that is the administration of criminal justice. The torture is not yet abolished in these countries, and they still behead, hang, break upon the wheel, and impale *secundum præcepta legis Carolinæ*. It is not very long since they burned a woman for being a witch; but that I believe is over. The civil law too, is not yet reduced to that perfect state which might be desirable. Not that I am for getting rid of all forms, with your modern philosophers, and leaving every thing to the wisdom of the judge, under the pretence that

forms consume too much time and money. That they consume time and money I am ready to allow; but these are well employed when slow investigation brings security in the final decision, and the necessity of abiding by forms prevents cupidity from practising on avarice. Give me a Socrates for a judge, and I will be content to abide by his decisions; but whilst judges are what they are, whilst philosophy comes out of the mouth and expires on the lips, it is better to trust to a mode of process, which leaves little room for the bad passions to play. I own that some of the Gothic forms still practised in most of the German tribunals, might be abolished without doing mischief. But there are many in which the Gordian knot has been cut instead of being loosened.—Fare thee well.

LETTER V.

Augsburg.

I HAVE made you wait thus long for a letter, as a punishment for your intolerable laziness; but as you appear penitent in the short epistle I received yesterday, and Nannette intercedes for you in the postscript, shall resume the correspondence.

At Stuttgart I met with a friend with whom I made an excursion very far into the Black Forest. The inhabitants of those parts of it which belong to the duchy of Wirtemberg are not near so handsome, well-made, or lively, as those who live near the Neckar, and in the adjoining vallies. The men are clumsy, and the women yellow, ill-shaped, and wrinkled at the age of thirty. They distinguish themselves from their neighbours, by a more frightful taste in dress, and a shocking want of cleanliness. Kalb is the best town in these parts. It has considerable manufactures, and the inhabitants distinguished themselves in the contests with the duke, by an uncommon degree of spirit, love of liberty, and attachment to the constitution.

I am not able to account satisfactorily to myself for the ugliness of this people. Hard labour and little food may contribute to it, but cannot be the only reason; for in the country of Furstemberg, and particularly in the Austrian parts of this great chain of hills, we saw very handsome people who did not seem to live better than the Wirtembergers do. Possibly the ugliness of the latter may be owing to the situation, and depth of the vallies, to the air, and perhaps to the water.

These journeys over the mountains had particular charms for me. I fancied myself in a new world. One enchanting prospect exceeded another in variety and beauty. Mountains, and chains of mountains of the most extraordinary forms, cataracts, woods, small lakes in the deep hollows, precipices; in short, every thing I saw was in so grand a style, that I am not vain enough to attempt to describe it in a letter.

After resting some days with my friend at Stuttgart, I set out for the lake of Constance, where my wishes had long gone before me. In my way thither, I came over another chain of hills called the Alps, which run through the middle of Suabia from north-east to south-west. This chain stretches from the frontiers of Suabia, between Bavaria and Franconia, as far as Fichtelberg, and joins with the mountains of Bohemia.

The object most worthy notice in this journey, was the family seat of the king of Prussia. Who would believe that the great Frederick, who withstood the united strength of the greatest powers of Europe, and preserved the balance in the north, was the descendant of a younger branch of the house of Hohenzollern, the smallest principality of Germany, the two surviving branches of which, Hechingen and Siegmaring, have not

together seventy thousand florins, or seven thousand pounds, income? The younger brother of one of our marquises being informed of this by a Prussian, gave a snap with his fingers, and said, *Voilà un Cudet qui a fait fortune.*

We travelled directly through the principedom of Hohenzollern, the breadth of which is little more than ten miles. It may be about fifty miles in length, but, including the detached part of Siegmaringen, does not contain more than twelve thousand people. The country is exceedingly full of hills and woods, and the princes have always been great hunters. Those who now sway the sceptre are amiable men, who, you may suppose, do not forget that the king of Prussia is their relation. If I mistake not, a count of Hohenzollern was not long since made coadjutor to the chapter of Ermeland by the king.

We viewed the castle of Hechingen, which stands on a high mountain, and commands an extensive prospect over the duchy of Wirtemberg, and the neighbouring country. I have heard that one of the ancient governors of this small territory, could not forbear saying, as he was walking with his attendants on the castle terrace, and surveying with delight the wild and beautiful country round him, "The little country of Wirtemberg would be a pretty addition to the territory of Hohenzollern." If this anecdote should not be true, it is not ill invented, the little country of Wirtemberg being at least thirty times as large as the whole territory of Hohenzollern.

I was transported at the sight of the lake of Constance; but shall not attempt any poetical description of it, as I should use a very rough crayon indeed, to portray a scene of infinite variety and beauty. I shall therefore only give you my philosophical and political reflections on the country and its inhabitants. Indeed you well know, that where my feelings are the most interested, I am least happy in expressing them.

What at first sight is most striking in this great piece of water, which divides Germany from Switzerland, through so great a length of country is, that there should be no town of any importance about it. Constance, which is the most respectable, hardly contains six thousand inhabitants, whilst Schaffhausen, St. Gallen, Zurich, and some places which are not far distant, though less advantageously situated, are very flourishing cities. It has no trade to signify, nor the smallest manufacture of any kind. This is more extraordinary, because, throughout the country, the Bavarian peasant seems not only more alive and alert than the Swiss, but has an advantage over him in morals and industry.

In Constance one is strongly induced to consider this want of industry, the neglect of the advantages which nature holds out, and the vices which prevail as entirely owing to the religion. In Alsace, and among the lower Suabians, I had already found more spirit of trade in the protestants than in the catholics, whom numerous holidays, pilgrimages, holy fraternities, the immoderately inculcated doctrine of the contempt of worldly things, the expectation of some wonderful support from God, the ease of finding a provision in cloisters, and lastly, very narrow and contracted minds, all contribute to corrupt. These disadvantages, however, as far as concerns the peasants of the two countries we are speaking of, are compensated by the heaviness and savageness of the reformed Swiss; specimens of which, I shall at a future time lay before you; but in the towns, the greater number of churches and cloisters, added to the above causes on the one side, and the greater degree of knowledge on the other, create a difference which is very striking, and is infinitely increased by a number of other causes besides religion.

It is evident, I think, from the example of France, the Austrian Netherlands, and various Italian states, that the Roman catholic religion does not of itself stifle industry, of which there may exist a great deal with a strong tinge of superstition, just as the

knight of La Mancha, when taken out of his quixotism, shewed himself both a gentleman and a philosopher. In this country likewise, religion is not so much the principal as the accessory cause; and it is owing to local circumstances, that the German catholic is not so industrious as the French or Genoese.

The chief of these is certainly the mode of education. You would be astonished to see the difference of education in the German protestant, and the German catholic towns, as well as between the French and German catholic. All I need to say on the subject is, that the Jesuits, to whom we owe so much on this head, and whom all our patriots so much wish for back again, are in Germany the protectors of every thing barbarous and savage. They strive as ardently to suppress every emanation of genius here, as those of their order endeavoured to kindle it amongst us.

But another obstacle to industry in this country, is the stupid, ridiculous pride of the nobles. Whilst the Swiss merchant and manufacturer bears a part in the government of his country, the canon of Constance looks with contempt on the citizen who is indebted for his riches, not to a doubtful genealogy, but to his understanding and industry. This makes a deep impression on the citizen; who, instead of increasing his capital by his industry, purchases a title, endeavours to put on the noble, and then with a pride still more contemptible, insults his fellows.

In the next place the frugal way of living of the Swiss very much contributes to the increase of their manufactures. The daily repast of an inhabitant of the middle station of life in Constance, would make a sumptuous feast for one of St. Gallen. True it is, that as every ill has its attendant good, their conviviality may be the cause why the Suabians are evidently so much better tempered than the Swiss. Add to all this, that Constance is in a manner neglected, on account of its distance from the court of Vienna. The Swiss, it is said, made overtures to establish manufactures there, but they failed. I am ignorant whether the failure was owing to the intolerance of the court, to the jealousy of the senate of Constance, which is constantly solicitous to preserve something of its former importance as a free imperial town, or to the above-mentioned pride of the nobles.

The bishop resides at Moersburg, a small town on the opposite border of the lake. He has an income of about seventy thousand florins, or 7000*l.* per annum. He has very considerable possessions in Switzerland. The other places worth notice on the German side, are Uberlingen and Lindau.

The Swiss side of this small lake is more pleasant to view than the German. The beautiful mixture of the neighbouring hills planted with vines, the straggling appearance of the farm-houses with orchards round them, the small and varied patches of all the different kinds of agriculture, make it more agreeable to the eye than the Suabian villages, the houses of which stand together as in towns, and are often encompassed by a great corn field or a wide meadow. Upon the whole, I believe that both sides of the lake are equally well inhabited. The Swiss soil is more stony and heavy than the German, and though the Thurgau is one of the best parts of Switzerland, it is indebted to Suabia for a part of the prime necessary of life, to wit, corn, which it repays in wine and fruits.

They little think in Holland, how much they owe to the lake of Constance. As matters even now are, they can hardly guard against the sand, which being washed down from the Alps by the Aar, and other rivers into the Rhine, threatens to stop up the mouth of the latter, and already leaves room to apprehend some violent revolution, by the great sand banks it has raised. But if the great reservoir we speak of did not intercept by far the largest quantity of sand, which the rapid stream of the Rhine washes

from the high Bunterland, Holland must have been already buried under a new sand, and the course of the Rhine, being altered by it, must have totally changed the figure of the country. It is true that these changes must necessarily happen. However considerable the depth of this lake may be, it must at last be filled up, and the sooner, because the stream, as it flows from Constance through the upper parts of Germany, is always deepening its bed, and the lake loses exactly so much water as it gains in sand. On the other hand, if we reflect how much so great a basin as this lake may contain; if we calculate its contents as De la Torre did those of Vesuvius, we shall think that the Dutch are secure for many generations.

It was impossible for me to leave this country without visiting the famous Fall of the Rhine at Lauffen, where I beheld the finest spectacle I had ever seen. As no painting or print of this magnificent scene of nature had ever come in my way, and I knew it only from general report, that which probably happens to all who do not carry with them some distinct idea of it happened to me. My imagination had deceived me. I had fancied to myself one of the wildest spots of the world, and the Rhine falling from a great height into an unfathomable gulf. The contrast between the reality and my idea, made the surprise more agreeable. Indeed the circumstance took place here, which generally attends all great works of nature and art, the true greatness and beauty of which do not strike at first sight, but are felt on closer observation and comparison of their parts. I found the fall not near so high, but far more beautiful than I had expected. The amphitheatre of hills covered with trees; the two rocks (on one of which is placed the castle of Lauffen; on the other, a village, with a mill before it) which, like the two front pillars of a theatre, stand on each side of the fall; the breadth of the fall; the beautiful division of its different descending waters; the rich basin underneath; the agreeable, and almost artificial mixture of wild cultivated country; in short, every thing was more delightful than my expectation had formed it.

The height from which the water falls, is near fifty feet, including the little inclination it makes preparatory to its precipitation, which can only be seen from the rising ground above it. It was formerly considerably higher, and many persons still living remember a piece of the rock in the middle of the precipice, which has been worn away by the water. I think I could observe, from the rock on which the castle of Lauffen stands, that the stream was gradually deepening its course. It follows therefore, as I said before, that the lake of Constance must diminish in proportion as the Rhine deepens its bed. In my journey hither, I saw evident marks of new land near Lindau. The lake of Constance has this in common with all lakes, which lay high. This diminution must be the most remarkable in the lake of Neufchatel.

I made an agreeable little tour to the island of Meinau, a commandery of the Teutonic order at a small distance from Constance. The commander's house is a handsome new building, and commands an excellent prospect over all the lake of Constance. Mr. Coxe seems not to have understood the plan of the castle gardens. He considers it as a want of taste to have obstructed the free view of the lake, by plantations of shrubs; but these lead a stranger imperceptibly to the desired spot, where he is surprised with the prospect, and sees the whole lake, and all the splendid landscape around, in full beauty. An uninterrupted view of the water from the garden would not be very pleasing, as it may be constantly enjoyed from the windows of the palace.

Before I leave Constance, I must recall to your memory, a man, who, for some years past, has made some noise in the public papers. It was on this stage that the celebrated Gesner began his career, who in a short time expelled so many millions of devils, and cured so many hundred bigots. An order of the bishop of Constance having prohibited

such miracles in his diocese, forced him to take refuge under the protection of the prelate of Salmsweiler, who, by the strength of hard gold, always purchases of the pope an exemption from the bishop's power. In opposition to the bishop, the prelate espoused the part of the refugee with much warmth; and his fortune was made by the persecution he underwent. The prelate's steward supplied him with some barrels of stinking oil, and other commodities, which he used for the purpose of his cures, and in the furnishing of which the other found his account.

LETTER VI.

Augsburg.

AFTER having gone all round the lake of Constance, I directed my journey from Lindau hither, and passed through some decayed imperial cities, which had been under the necessity of requesting from the emperor an exemption from furnishing their proportion of tax for the public exigencies of the empire, and were now actually dwindled into villages. Memmingen, however, is an exception. It has some manufactures in it, and still resembles a town. I met, by accident, with an extract from the chronicle of this little town, which runs in the same old womanish style with all other chronicles of small towns. I will transcribe some passages from it, as they paint the character of the people.

'In the year 1448, the taverns of the town were exhausted of wine; the senate sent a formal deputation to the Necker, to procure this indispensable necessary for its subjects. As the waggon with the wine was approaching, the body of the citizens went in procession to meet it, with drums beating, and colours flying, and there was a public bonfire ordered.'

'In the year 1449, there happened, on St. Galen's day, in the church of St. Martin, some dispute among the women concerning the pews, which at last bred a fray amongst them in the church itself. The clergy imagined it necessary to new consecrate the church, which had been thus profaned; but the senate opposed it with all their power, as it had only been a fray of women.'

Both these characteristics of the people still prevail. The Suabian has still the same veneration for wine, and the same mastery over his wife.

From hence I came through numberless earldoms and lordships, the most considerable of which are the possessions of the counts Truchsesse and Fugger; these might be considered as principalities, were they not divided among so many branches of the families.

The whole tract of country, from the lake of Constance here, is not near so well cultivated as lower Suabia. The manners of the people also are much inferior. There is a striking difference in the persons of the men. The inhabitants of these parts are ugly, and their features are so distorted that the sight disgusts one. Nature too has done still less for them, than for their neighbours. The whole of their country is a plain, which is intersected only by one ridge of woody hills, between Lindau and Leutkirchen. The soil is only fit for tillage; whereas, in Lower Suabia, the mixture of mountains, hills, and vallies, allows of every kind of agriculture.

The efficient cause of the ruin of this country is its being parcelled out into so many small baronies; many of the owners of which live at the great courts, and draw the money out of the country. It is needless for a traveller to ask, if the master of these possessions resides upon his property; as one can easily discover in the looks of the people,

and the forsaken aspect of the country, that he does not. Whilst the baron is making a figure at court, his vassals are exposed to the oppressions of a rapacious steward, who generally contrives, in the space of a few years, to amass so much wealth as to enable him to resign his office, and commence baron himself.

If a life of extravagance, and a ridiculous passion for titles, was not so universal amongst them; if they had more love for the arts and sciences; if they had a taste for more elegant pleasures than horses, equipages, and servants can afford; if they could bring over from France something more becoming than a stiff carriage, an affected walk, a taste for gaming, and a wretched jargon, the German nobles might be the happiest class of human beings. Almost entirely independent, as the nature of the constitution makes them, they might become, in the fullest sense, the creators of the happiness of their subjects, and in return receive their adoration. But they appear not to have sufficient sensibility to follow such a line of conduct. Nature takes her revenge, and the consequence of their idle extravagance at the court is, that their estates run gradually in debt, and their resources vanish.

Augsburg is one of the oldest towns in Germany, and one of the most remarkable of them, as it is there, and at Nuremberg, that you meet with the oldest marks of German art and industry. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the commerce of this town was the most extensive of any part of south Germany, and contributed much to the civilization of the country, by the works of art, and variety of necessaries to the comfort and convenience of life, which it was the means of introducing. Many things originated in this town, which have had a great influence on the happiness of mankind. Not to mention the many important diets of the empire held here; here, in 952, did a council confirm the order for the celibacy of priests; here, in 1530, was the confession of faith of the Protestants laid before the emperor, and other estates of Germany, and here, in 1555, was signed the famous treaty of peace, by which religious liberty was secured to Germany.

Many of the houses are old and ugly, and are built with so little attention to the rules of modern taste, that Winckelman renounced living in Germany after he had seen them; but this is what the English call peevishness; and to be so much taken up with beauty and form, as to be blind to every other consideration, is folly and vice. The houses in Augsburg must not be considered as Roman and Greek temples, but as monuments of the architecture of the times in which they were built. Whoever considers them in that light, and compares them with the houses built at Lubeck and Nuremberg in the same century, will see to what a much greater degree of magnificence Augsburg had arrived in those early times. He will see, too, a great deal of real beauty of proportion, uniformity, correspondence of parts, &c. &c.

The looks of the inhabitants of Augsburg have something very striking in them. They are a compound of the Suabian and Bavarian features. The protestants are most like the Suabians, and the catholics the Bavarians. It is an observation, which has been frequently made, and undoubtedly a true one, that you may distinguish a protestant of Augsburg, from a catholic, by his looks and manner. Any person who goes into their respective churches, will see striking characteristic differences in the face. As the catholics are more catholic at Augsburg than in any other part of the world, and as the followers of the several religions seldom intermarry, this difference may the more easily be accounted for.

The best account of the successive variations of the government of Augsburg, which is aristocratical, is to be met with in D. Langemantel's *Histoire des Regiments der Stadt*

Augsburg, fol. and in P. von Stelten des altern Geschichte von Augsburg, 2 vol. in 4to, which carry it down to the year 1649.

The police of the place is very good, and though the town has no territory, it has no debts. The water works of Augsburg deserve notice much more than those of Marly, the mechanism of them is much more simple, and the advantage of them much more conspicuous.

Augsburg is, however, no longer what it was. It no longer has a Fugger, and a Welser in it, to lend the emperor millions. In this large and handsome town, formerly one of the greatest trading towns in Germany, there are no merchants at present to be found, who have capitals of more than 20,000*l*. The others, most of whom must have their coaches, go creeping on with capitals of 3 or 4,000*l*. and do the business of brokers and commissioners. Some houses, however, carry on a little banking trade, and the way through Tyrol, and Graubundten, occasions some little exchange between this place and Germany.

After these brokers and doers of business by commission, the engravers, statuarys, and painters, are the most reputable of the labouring part of the city. Their productions, like the toys of Nuremberg, go every where. There are always some people of genius amongst them; but the small demand for their art affords them so little encouragement, that to prevent starving, they are mostly confined to the small religious works, which are done elsewhere by Capuchin monks. They furnish all Germany with little pictures for prayer-books, and to hang in the citizens' houses. Indeed the arts meet with little support in this country. The man of fashion had much rather keep horses and hounds, and a useless train of servants, by whom he is cheated, than provide for an ingenious artist, and even when, in obedience to fashion, he is compelled to make some sacrifice to genius, he rests no confidence in the abilities of his countryman. As he is seldom possessed of taste and discernment himself; he is directed in his choice by the reputation of some foreign artist, and leaves merit in his own country to starve. In other provinces of Germany, matters appeared to be no better ordered; Mengs, Winckelman, Gluck, Hasse, Handel, and many others, were obliged to acquire reputation abroad, before their merits were acknowledged at home.

There is an academy of arts instituted here, under the protection of the magistrates. It seems, however, like its patrons, to have no other aim than to produce good mechanics, and preserve the manufactures of the city. The senate, for some time past, has been deliberating on similar projects, for the encouragement of industry. As I take part in any improvement for social happiness, I was extremely mortified to see these intentions thwarted by the very governors of the town themselves.

The grounds of this inconsistent opposition, arise in a great measure from the form of government. The patricians, who, with a very small addition of the mercantile part, govern the town aristocratically, cannot bear to see the plebian enabled by his industry to carry his head above them. Though they extol industry in the senate, they hate and persecute it in the workshop. On Shulin, who has made his fortune by a great cotton-work, is a lamentable example of this duplicity. As the millions his industry has brought, allow him to live more splendidly than the patricians with empty titles, he is become the object of their most furious persecution.*

* Mr. Nicolai is of a different opinion, he says that the burghers take great part in the government, and that this is one of the free imperial cities in which there is most liberty, infinitely more than at Nuremberg or Ulm.

This despicable policy takes its origin in the general corruption of the country. Nine-tenths of the inhabitants are the most infamous rascals imaginable, fellows, who, on the least signal, are ready to cut one another's throats on account of religion; who spend their week's wages every Sunday in ale-houses, and never reflect on the greatness of their predecessors, but when the liquor is fermenting in their brain. I have told you already, that the government is partly catholic, and partly protestant. Upon the whole, the catholics may, I believe, be more numerous than the protestants. It is quite impossible to give any idea of all the ridiculous incidents occasioned by the religious disputes. Every day produces some unexpected occurrence, which makes one both laugh and complain. They never brush a cobweb from a public building, without mingling religion in the business. The catholics, who are more zealous than the protestants, support a controversial preacher here, as they do in all the towns, where the religion is of the mixed kind. This man, at certain times, sets one half of Augsburg a laughing, the other a raving. He who fills this part at present, is an ex-jesuit; who is one of the best comedians of the kind I have seen. The excessive poverty and indolence of the people, make them regardless of their own rights. The aristocracy would not be so powerful if the people had more understanding and attachment to their constitution. But liberty is no dearer to them than the chastity of their daughters, whom their canons, whose incomes are about 200*l.* per annum, purchase every year by dozens.

The other tenth of the inhabitants consists of some patrician families, amongst whom there are some very polite people, of the merchants, artists and clergy. But there is too much idle extravagance amongst even the most prudent, and too many jealousies about them all for true patriotism to take root amongst them. This town, which is nine miles and a half in circumference, contains hardly thirty thousand people,* and their collective capital scarcely exceeds 1,500,000*l.* so that their yearly decrease becomes more and more apparent. If some fortunate circumstances do not arise, another century will see them reduced to absolute beggary.

The more modern part of this town is truly beautiful; and the senate house is one of the handsomest buildings that I have seen in all my travels. One would believe, that in proportion as the internal resources had diminished, the magistracy had become more attentive to external decoration. But it is as with the false bloom on a courtesan's cheek, it may beguile the passing stranger, but whoever sees her at her toilet will soon be undeceived. A short time since, on the publication of an order for the water spouts, which used to spout the water upon the streets, and injure the pavement, to be in future carried through their houses, a company of merchants entered a protest, beginning with these words: "The Romans were not arrived at the pinnacle of their greatness when the Appian way was made." I know not whether the writer of the remonstrance was in jest; but, as the common proverb says, "that every comparison is lame," this is so indeed.

The city has its drinking water from the river Lech, which runs at some distance from it. The aqueducts which convey the water are much to be admired. As the court of Bavaria has it in its power to cut off this indispensable necessary; by threatening the town with doing so, it often lays it under contribution. But as it has, besides this, other means of keeping the high council in a state of dependance, to secure itself from this oppression, the city seeks the emperor's protection, upon whom it makes itself as dependant on the other side, so as to be indeed only a ball, which both courts play with. The emperor's minister to the circle of Suabia, generally resides here, and by so doing secures to his court a perpetual influence. There are always Austrian and Prussian recruiting parties quartered here, and the partiality of the government to the former is very

* Mr. Nicolai makes them 34 or 35,000, and says there are 28,000 houses.

remarkable. In the war of 1756, the citizens were divided into equal parties for the two courts. The catholics considered the emperor as their god; and the protestants did the same by the king of Prussia. The flame of religion had almost kindled a bloody civil war amongst them.

The bishop takes his name from this town; but resides at Dillingen. He has an income of about 20,000*l.* per annum. As a proof of the catholicism of this place, the pope, throughout his whole progress, met no where with such honours as he did here. This he owed to his friends the jesuits, who have still great influence.

LETTER VII.

Augsburg.

OF all the circles of the empire, Suabia is the most divided; it contains four ecclesiastic, and thirteen lay principalities, nineteen independent prelaties and abbeys, twenty-six earldoms and lordships, and thirty-one free cities. The prime directors of the circle, as they are termed, are the bishop of Constance, and the duke of Wirtemberg, which last has the sole direction of all that relates to war.

The mixture of the various sorts of government and religious sects, the oppression exercised by the great on the lesser, the game constantly played by the emperor, who possesses many pieces of detached country in Suabia, which depend not on the circle, and can, in consequence of his privileges as archduke of Austria, extend his possessions in it by various ways, are circumstances which give the cultivation of the country, and the character of the inhabitants, a most extraordinary cast. In several of the post towns where you stop, you see the highest degree of cultivation in the midst of the most savage wildness, a great degree of knowledge and polish of manners, mixed with the grossest ignorance and superstition; traces of liberty, under the deepest oppression; national pride, together with the contempt and neglect of the native country; in short, all the social qualities in striking contrast, and opposition to each other.

Those parts of Suabia which belong to the greater potentates, such as Wirtemberg, Austria, and Baden, are certainly the most improved. The whole of Suabia may comprehend about nine hundred square miles, and two millions of people. More than half of these are subjects of the three above-mentioned houses, though they do not own, by a great deal, one half the land.

If the small German lords would restrain themselves within due bounds, if they would not appear greater than they really are, if they were more affectionate to their subjects, if they were not insensible to the softer feelings of humanity, and so hostile to the muses and graces, the very smallness of these states might constitute their happiness. For although a small country must necessarily part with some money to procure what it wants from abroad, yet if the governor does not require many luxuries, a prudent œconomy and management will keep this within due bounds. Besides, as most of the sovereigns in this part of the world are catholics, and the rich foundations in the neighbourhood lay open to their younger sons, they are not incumbered with the care of making other provision for them. Many of themselves too belong to the church, and their preferments there might prevent their laying any burthens on their subjects. But the happiness of their people is never the study of these gentlemen; who, from the want of family ties, consider themselves as unconnected with the country, and think their only business is to act like generals in an enemy's land, and plunder what they can. Were it not for this, their exemption from supporting any military establishments, the ease with which a small county may be governed, the distance from the political distractions of the greater states, the security that the other powers of Germany cannot

play the great conqueror over them, and many other circumstances, might be improved into blessings on these small societies.

The courts of Stuttgart and Carlsruhe are the only ones I have met with, which seemed to have any sense of the duty of making the subject happy. The rest appear vain enough to conceive their people created for them, not themselves for their people. The treasurers of these petty lords, with some of whom I was well acquainted, make a very essential difference between the interests of the court and those of the people; and though the subject is under no apprehension, as I have said, of gross tyranny, yet he is by no means safe from having his pocket picked by the nicer operations of finance.

The education of most of these lords is so thoroughly neglected, as hardly to admit of better hopes. It is almost universally in the hands of priests. Part of these are monks, whose knowledge is in a manner all wrapped up in their cowls, and part are young abbess, who are just come from school, and only seek to make their fortunes by the connections of their pupils. The monk teaches that a reverence to Saint Francis, Benedict, or Ignatius, a regular attendance on mass, the telling beads, and giving alms to monasteries, are objects which will make amends for many transgressions of another kind.

LETTER VIII.

Munich.

THE road from Augsburg to Munich, lies through Dachau, which is two miles from Augsburg and Nymphenburg. Great part of the country, which you see on this road is entirely uncultivated. There was a project to bring the Memnonites from the Palatinate to cultivate it, but failed, because the court confessor exclaimed against any introduction of different religions. The buildings at Nymphenburg are magnificent, and deserve to be viewed.

The castle of Nymphenburg was began in 1663, by the electress Adelaide, consort of the elector Ferdinand Maria; but much has been added to it by the succeeding electors. Many things are worth looking at in the palace; and the gardens are the largest in Germany; but what is most remarkable, are the rooms which contain the pictures of the sixteen mistresses of the elector Maximilian Emanuel, and the emperor Charles the Seventh. The public exhibition of these portraits is an offence to public manners, which has not, perhaps, its like in Europe.

In the gardens there is a cloister of nuns of Notre Dame, and under the same roof, parted only by a wall, an hospice of capuchin friars. This custom of building convents and cloisters near each other, was very common in the tenth century.

There is a china manufacture here, but it seems fallen to decay.

On my arrival at the inn, a pretty hostess stepped up, looked me very suspiciously in the face, and put several questions; which, for want of sufficient skill in her provincial dialect, I could answer but by halves. As I cannot endure to be much questioned by innkeepers, I desired her, somewhat roughly, to let me know, without any more ceremony, whether I could lodge and board in her house for some days? With a great deal of difficulty, she at last gave me to understand, that she had taken me for a Jew, and had sworn to some saint or other never to entertain a Jew. I was, as you may suppose, near leaving the house; an explanation, however, took place, and the next day, after my beard, which was rather of the longest, had been taken off, we were fully reconciled, and have agreed very well ever since.

In my way hither, I stole sufficient time to remark, that the agriculture of this part of the country is not in so improved a state as even that of Suabia. I saw several Suabian villages, which deserved the appellation of towns much more than some of the miserable holes I have met with since my arrival in Bavaria. There are six of these about Munich, in which the wide scattered houses are far more numerous than the inhabitants.

I am still too little acquainted with this court and country, to be able to say any thing confidently about either. But as I propose stopping here some time, shall impart to you, in due order, the result of my inquiries. In the mean time, as I am a diligent frequenter of the German theatre, I feel a desire to entertain you, as far as my ability yet goes, with a state of the dramatic part of German literature.

Those who understand German, perceive even at Strasburg, that Germany has, for some years past, been struck with a rage for theatrical exhibitions. The booksellers' shops are from time to time overrun with new plays and theatrical almanacs; and writings of the dramatic kind, always occupy a third part in the catalogues of new books. Dramatic poetry is certainly the highest species of poetry, as historical painting is the highest species of painting; nor can any thing be more useful than to represent man in his various characters, and situations, with truth and justice. But such men as appear at present in most of the German plays, are rarely met with in the world; and when here and there such do make their appearance, the police of the place, if there is any police, takes the charge of them upon itself, and lodges them in Bedlam or a work-house.

You must know, my dear brother, that the characters most frequently on the German stage, are frantic lovers, parricides, highwaymen, ministers, mistresses, and men of fashion, with their pockets full of daggers and poison, melancholy and raving men of all sorts, and incendiaries, and grave-diggers. Perhaps you will not believe me, but I could name to you above twenty pieces, the chief characters in which are mad, and where the poet has endeavoured to exhibit his forte in the display of folly, and distraction of mind. I assure you too, upon my honour, that that part of the German public with which I have had the honour to be acquainted hitherto, admire, and most violently applaud those scenes which shew the madman in his wildest transports. There are plays in which the chief character successively murders from twelve to fifteen people; and by way of crowning the meritorious deed, plants a dagger in his own breast. It is a fact, that the pieces which have most madmen and murderers in them, meet with the greatest approbation; nay, several actors and actresses have complained to me how difficult they found it to invent new ways of dying on the stage. It must be difficult, for there are scenes in which the principal performers must remain for half an hour in the last agonies, uttering broken words, and under continued convulsions, and it is certainly no easy task to sustain such a death with propriety. I have often seen no less than five people at once dying on the German stage, one ringing out his knell with his feet, another with his arms, a third with his belly, and a fourth with his head, whilst the pit seemed agonizing with joy, especially if the sport lasted, and clapped every convulsive movement.

The next in rank on the German stage after the madmen and murderers, are drunkards, soldiers, and watchmen. These characters correspond too much with the national humour not to be welcome to the audience. But why the phlegmatic Germans, who are troubled with so few violent passions, and delight so little in desperate transactions, and tragical events, should take such pleasure in the dagger and bowl, is not

at first so easily accounted for. Let us see what is to be said for the audience and the poets.

On the part of the public it may arise from ignorance of life and manners. The different classes of people do not mingle so much in the German towns as they do in France. To every thing which belongs to nobility, or which has the name of nobility, or is in any way attached to the court, the German in middle life can have no access. His knowledge of life, and taste for social pleasures is much more confined than that of our people; nor does he, like the inhabitants of a moderately large French town, enter into the innumerable incidents and accidents of common life. This want of interest in usual virtues and vices, this insensibility to the little events of ordinary life, oblige the German to look for strong emotions and caricatures to entertain him on the stage; whereas the Frenchman is contented with a piece of a much finer wrought plot, and willingly sees the people he lives and is acquainted with, represented on the stage. The Saxon dramas are not so monstrous and extravagant as those which are exhibited in the western and southern parts of Germany, because a more enlightened morality, and a freer intercourse than there is here, obtains in that part of the country, and consequently the picture of a scene in common life is more striking than it can be here. In general the majority in this part of the country consists more of mob than in France, and the mob, you know, are notorious for running to see an execution or a funeral.

On the part of the poets, the extravagance arises from a variety of different causes. Most of the present writers for the German drama are as ignorant as the mob, of the springs which actuate mankind. Many of them are students, who are still at school, or just come from it, and have chosen play writing for their trade. These persons, who have never seen any thing, sit in their chimney corner, and enveloped in the fumes of their tobacco, invent whatever happens to come uppermost. Their creatures have, consequently, neither beauty, shape, grace, or proportion; but are either men without heads, or barbarians. The writers of this class, who aim at nothing but getting their bread by gratifying the public, write tragedy, because it is most easy; for, independently of the assistance which may be derived from the marvellous, it is always easier to write a good tragedy than an equally good comedy.

Another set of writers for the buskin, suffer themselves to be led away by the taste of the times. A few years ago one Goethe, of whose works you must certainly have seen translations, brought out a piece, which, although it has very great beauties in it, is, upon the whole, the most extravagant that ever was acted. To give you an idea of it, I need not say more than the subject is, the peasant war under the emperor Maximilian, and that the burning of villages, firing towns, &c. &c. are represented in it to the life. This piece, which is called *Gots of Berlichingen*, with the iron hand, has, notwithstanding the great outcry for it, not yet been exhibited on the stage, because the infinite changes of the scenery, and the incredible heap of machinery, and decoration necessary, are too expensive, and would make the performance too long. Goethe is undoubtedly a genius, and I have seen other pieces of his, which shew that he can draw men in common life, and walking on their legs, as well those who stand on their heads. His *Elvin and Elmiere* is an exquisite little opera, and there is much merit, though with some excrescences, in his *Clavigo*, a tragedy on the subject, you know, of Beaumarchais' adventures in Spain. Goethe, however, has had too many imitators. His *Gots of Berlichingen* was a kind of magic wand, which, with a single stroke, produced a hundred geniuses out of nothing. Blind to the real

beauties of the original, his imitators have endeavoured to distinguish themselves, by copying his extravagances. As in Gots of Berlichingen the scenery is frequently changed, it is now necessary for the poet to carry the spectator through every part of the town. Goethe was rather lavish of executions in his pieces; and now there are innumerable hangmen on the stage. Shakspear, whom Goethe, probably from whim, or with the view to draw the attention of his countrymen to that great poet, proposed as his example in his Gots, became instantly the idol of the German dramatic writers; but not that Shakspear, who, like Rhaphael, paints man as he is, under every circumstance, and expresses every movement of the muscles and nerves, and every emotion of the passions; but he, who, for want of sufficient acquaintance with originals, and due education, gives himself up to his own wild whims, flies over ages and countries, and worlds, and in the pursuit of his fluctuating objects, does not trouble himself about either unity or order. An historical painter may fail in what is called *la composition du groupe*, or harmony of the piece, and several other things, and yet merit great praise for his excellence in the delineation of single figures; but the scholar who copies these faults, is truly to be pitied.

Rules, it is true, do not fetter a genius; he either wears them like wreaths of flowers, unconstrained, easily and gracefully; or, when he does not know the value of this ornament, and will come forth in his own wildness, makes up for the omission, by the vigour with which he lays hold of his object. But such untractable geniuses are very scarce, and not the proper objects of his imitation. England, or rather we may say all Europe, has produced but one Shakspear during many centuries. The greatest number of artists are doomed to acquire reputation by study, and rules have been made to regulate that study.

This ridiculous taste of desiring to excel by the neglect of order and rules, by the affectation of extravagance, unnatural events, abominable grimaces, and pitiful disfigurements, has since this time infected every department of literature and the arts. We see crowds of young pretenders to genius, who in their different walks, in music, painting, and other parts of poetry, think to acquire fame by departing from the established rules, and giving up study. But the ancients thought otherwise on this subject, and the works which they have left behind, will never be eclipsed by these weak and pretended originals. Virgil, it is well known, compared his productions to the unformed cub of a bear, which could only receive its proper shape by frequent licking; and it is easy to see, by the writings of Terence and Plautus, that they were not finished over a pipe of tobacco. You know that Shakspear has now, for some time past, had his partizans amongst us; but his extravagance will not so easily be adopted for a rule; and though Arnaud has opened the way for monsters on our stage, as yet they appear too seldom for there to be any danger of our seeing our old friends and acquaintance in common life banished by them.

This corrupt taste has produced a wonderful revolution in the German language. When we read the writings of Gesner, Wieland, and Lessing, we perceive that it was improving under their culture, and would gradually have received the polish and perfection which are indispensably necessary to make it classical. But these new geniuses have not been satisfied with the mutilation of single words, but have contracted whole periods in the same manner. They have abolished all conjunctions and connectives of every kind. In many of the more modern works, the sentences are all separate, like the separate effata of an oracle; nor are any stops or divisions admitted, except full stops, and ! ! and ? ? ? and — — —. Besides, every writer made a point of in-

venting new words to express his new ideas ; in short, you would burst with laughter if you were to read some literary productions of Germany, which pass with many for master-pieces.

When I say this, I do not mean to be understood to affirm, that there are no persons of better taste in Germany than those I have been describing ; but they are overtalked, because they are the smallest number, and attempt only to convince by moderation and reason, whilst the others stun them with noise. It was but yesterday that I saw a new piece, entitled 'Quick before any one knows it,' which was remarkable for the simplicity of the fable, the truth of the characters, and the chasteness of its dialogue ; and I have seen other comedies and tragedies equally good ; but the pit must have madness, and murder, and trumpets, and thunder, and the actors only interpose such a piece, in order to have time to recover their breath, and recruit for fresh raptures of insanity.

This is the sixth company of comedians I have seen in Germany. You will wonder perhaps at so many in so small a tract ; but you must know, that for several years past, innumerable small strolling companies patrol Germany as they do in Spain and England : they erect their stages in the barns, or in the cow-houses of villages, or market towns, and borrow the mayor's night-gown and slippers, to play Julius Cæsar in his toga, or, which is the same thing to them, to represent a sultan. I saw four of these companies in Suabia. They are made up chiefly of vagabond students, and idle, dissolute mechanics, who are alternately actors and soldiers, sometimes in the work-house, and sometimes in the hospital. The company which is here at present is of a superior kind. All the members of it are in the pay of the court, which receives the entrance money. They are almost all elegant, well-bred people, and went far beyond my expectations in their performance. I do not know above three or four theatres in France which are preferable to this. The actors enjoy the society of the first people of the court, and have opportunities of polishing their manners. How ridiculous it is, that the present etiquette of Germany should refuse this advantage to the poet, who has as much to gain by it as the comedian.

This company is under the direction of Mr. Marchand, of whom I had heard a great deal at Strasburg, where he played for several years before he had any regular engagement. He is now at Mannheim, where he is engaged at a large salary as manager of the court theatre. I was extremely happy in a personal acquaintance with him. He is a man of the world, very lively and intelligent, and has contrived to make a capital of 4000*l.* by his performances in the cities on the Upper Rhine. This gentleman told me how much pains he had taken, when he came to the management, to set his company on a different footing from most of German companies of comedians at that time. He employed only regular bred men, paid them with great punctuality, and as regularly discharged them, when they were guilty of any irregularity. By these means, he and his company obtained the respect of the public, who at first considered players as disreputable persons. For a long time Mr. Marchand guided the public taste. He exhibited only translations of the most select French and English pieces, and the very best originals of his own country, with a mixture of some of our operas, which, excepting at Paris, were no better performed than by his company. Suddenly, however, the rage for tragedy and monsters prevailed ; after long struggling against it, he was at last obliged to yield to the stream. As the lungs of his actors were only accustomed to the ordinary tones of speech, and could not go through the strong convulsive movements of the new school, he was obliged, on his arrival at Munich, to procure a new set accustomed to howlings, laying dead, &c. &c. It is probable, how-

ever, that the present rage is only a temporary paroxysm of the stage fever, which will in time give way to better taste and sounder judgment. Farewell.

LETTER IX.

Munich.

YOU require too much of me; though I very well conceive that you must naturally wish to have a particular knowledge of this court and country; for, independently of our former connection with Bavaria, the Palatinate is the most powerful state in Germany, next to Austria and Brandenburg, or at least from its internal resources should be so; and besides, the geographical situation of the country will always make its master of consequence to whatever side he joins, in case of a rupture between France and the emperor. I will therefore do what I can; but I shall stay here too short a time to give you entire satisfaction. The description of Munich by Professor Westermann, though not void of faults, is one of the few works of this kind calculated to give satisfaction. Every traveller should have it. The best history of Munich is that by Mr. Bergman, in one volume folio. There is also an Italian tract on the subject, by Bianconi; but it does not contain much.

This court is at present so enveloped in a thick and motley-coloured crowd of ministers, counsellors, intendants, and commanders, that one cannot well get at, nor even see it; nor have I yet been able to make any particular acquaintance with our minister here, who undoubtedly knows how things are. I shall therefore describe the court to you, partly from the information of some of its dependants, and partly from a few of my own observations, which have hitherto been made from a distance. As far as the court is connected with the country, its character is to be judged of by the laws and regulations issued from time to time.

The elector is one of the best tempered men in the world. He is of a mild, social, lively disposition, not at all distrustful or suspicious, and so little inclined to severity, that, upon a reformation having become necessary in his court at Munich, he appointed the count Goldstein, his prime minister at Dusseldorf, to carry on the requisite measures with vigour, and went himself to Italy, that the reform might not be retarded by the prayers and solicitations of those discharged from office, which he was diffident of being able to withstand. A disagreeable marriage, contracted in his youth, led him into irregularities. The children he has had in consequence, he has raised at a very heavy expence, to be counts of the empire. In his more advanced life, the gentleness of his spirit, and the recollection of his former errors, have opened the way for piety into his heart; which of itself would be a blessing to the country, were it not, that it gives the priesthood more influence than it should have.

As to his learning, he is reported able in several sciences, particularly in mathematics, and speaks French, Italian, and English. But the fine arts are his forte, and he has sacrificed liberally to them. His orchestra and opera are the best in Europe, next to those of Naples and Turin; and his magnificent collection of prints, antiques, and other things, are perpetual monuments of his friendship for the muses.

I have heard that an English gentleman at Manheim paid him the compliment to say, that 'he deserved to be a private gentleman.' Certainly this is the most favourable thing which can be said of this prince, who is entirely destitute of that strength of character and resolution, which are indispensibly necessary to govern so ferocious a people as the Bavarians. As he is wanting in knowledge of mankind, he thinks favourably of all those who are about him, and this subjects him to constant deception.

When I take my eyes off this great personage himself, to look round for the person of next consequence, and who has the greatest influence, I feel myself in the dark, and know not whom to stumble on. There is a lord high steward, a lord treasurer, a chancellor, a parcel of privy counsellors, a father confessor, and some women, who have divided the court interest amongst them, and mutually guaranteed each other's share. He who could see things as they are, and would trace every intrigue back to its origin, would find the first movers of the machine in a monk's cowl or a petticoat.

Of the mischiefs which may be done by priests and women, when they gain the ascendancy, we have had sufficient examples in our own court. But these fell far short of the evils which are occasioned by them here, notwithstanding that the spoils of whole provinces have been expended on the capricious desires of a mistress; a case which happened in France. The reason of this difference is, that we are not without firm patriots, who oppose administrations, and often reform what others have corrupted. But it is lost labour to look for a patriot at this court; or if you find one, his patriotism confines itself to silent unavailing murmurs.

Of the general maxims, or leading principles of the people of this court, I can say but little to you. Immediate self-interest is apparently the pursuit of every one; or if they do profess any principles, they are certainly the most pilant and versatile in the world. Indeed if we may judge by the way of thinking of inferiors, of the sentiments of their superiors, many of the principal people of this court have adopted the most execrable theory in politics: for instance, that religion serves only for the purpose of keeping the crowd of mankind slaves to them; that a courtier must put on the externals of religion, but leave the practice to the vulgar; that men are by nature wicked, seditious, turbulent, and only to be governed by being kept in perpetual servitude, and not permitted to use their faculties; finally, that too much knowledge is dangerous, and that the great hold their rights over the people immediately from God, are no ways accountable for their conduct, nor under any obligation to their subjects. Wretched and miserable sentiments! originally propagated by those who do not understand Machiavel's prince, or who do not consider what he has advanced on the other side of the question in his discourses of Livy.

You will see by this sketch, that this court is not at all more advanced than those of Spain and Portugal. The prince, though sincerely inclined, can do nothing for the real welfare of his people; for the channels by which he should communicate with them are stopped up. Under the last government the minister sold offices publicly, and now they are given away at the gaming table. There are numerous examples of people who have not been able to procure promotion, otherwise than by losing certain sums of money to certain ladies. Every thing here is venal. A few years ago, a certain minister of this court would have sold half Bavaria to the house of Austria, if the Prussian and Russian courts, and the minister of the court of Deux-Ponts, had not prevented the purchase. In every project proposed, a small part only is intended for any good purpose; the greater part has the interest of the projector in view.

How indeed is it possible that a court, in which the highest places are to be obtained by high birth merely, or family connections, by money, or the interest of women and priests, should have those fundamental rules, or have that political constitution, which is necessary for the people's happiness? The prince's love of shew, is as remarkable as his goodness of heart; and both together induce him to think, that he is obliged to support an idle and useless nobility. Hence whilst other governments are using every

effort to cut off and reduce the exorbitant privileges of this class of men, and to rate them only according to their real services, this court considers it as its duty to pamper and feed them, in holy idleness, like the frogs of Latona, or the geese of the capitol, at the expence of the state. Would you think that there is, at this very time, a project on foot for instituting a new province of Knights of Malta in Bavaria, which will cost millions? It is not merit, but nobility only, which will have any claim to this rich foundation. Whether the Christian purpose of persecuting the Saracens, or rather a particular predilection for this order has engaged the elector in it, I cannot tell; but thus far is certain, that the sums spent by the knights during their noviciate at sea (or rather at the gaming-table and revelling in the island of Malta) could be spent at home more profitably for their native country. But the less advantage the state has to expect from this new institution, the more certainly it will be concluded on. The only thing that can stop it, is the consideration of where the funds for this purpose are to be had. In the mean-time, I could mention to you the names of a hundred placemen to be found in the Court Calendar, whose duty I defy any man on earth to find out. Be it sufficient as a specimen to tell you, that this court keeps a great admiral for two or three ships on the Rhine.

Every thing here is calculated for shew. The army consists of about thirty regiments, in which, notwithstanding the present design of completing them, there are not eighteen thousand men. One fourth part at least are officers, amongst whom there are several general field-marsals. The titles and embroidered clothes of the inhabitants by no means secure a stranger from their begging from him. Yesterday I went to see the handsome Jesuit church, where, that I might not appear an idle spectator, I knelt down by some people in a pew; immediately a man, whom I had imagined from his dress to be a person of consequence, moved nearer to me, presented me with a pinch of snuff, and after some remarks on the beauty of the building, entered circumstantially into a complaint of his necessities, and requested charity of me. The same thing had already happened to me in another church, where the beggar was a very well dressed woman. The police, which is so attentive to light, and keep the town clean, is in a manner obliged to permit thieves and pick-pockets to beg at the gates of the town, as it knows not how to find them employment or bread.

This deficiency in true and fixed principles of government, this love of shew, this confusion of employment, from the too great number of useless, unpatriotic, idle dependants, occasion hourly contradictions in the internal politics. Some little time since the minister, who had perhaps read Beccaria when he was half asleep, or had heard that capital punishments and the torture were abolished in Prussia, Russia, and Austria, affected the same spirit of philosophy. However, it soon appeared to be but an affectation, for the thieves, murderers, and highwaymen, became soon so numerous, that an edict quickly appeared, which exposed in the most glaring manner, the total incapacity of the court. This edict stated that, "however mild the prince was in his disposition, and however firmly resolved he had been to imitate the example of other powers, by introducing humane laws, he found himself notwithstanding constrained to suffer the old punishments of hanging, breaking on the wheel, impaling, burning, and torturing to go forward as prescribed by the Caroline code." Strange confession! But why has not the mildness of the penal laws in Prussia, Russia, and Austria, been attended with the same consequences which overset the new system in Bavaria? From no other reason than because these powers have a firm, well concerted, and connected system of government, which this court only copied in appearance, whilst her real conduct and administration was

totally dissonant to this philosophy. There were no pains taken to correct the people of their inclination to theft and robbery, by good education, improved morals, and encouragement to industry. But surely the six millions which are to be thrown away on the new Malta business, might have been much better employed in the erection of schools, and houses of industry, for the purpose of saving and reforming so many thousands of men. And are not the sumptuous opera houses, the expensive collections of curiosities, the palaces, gardens, and innumerable swarms of glittering servants, a reproach to the court? and do they not shew that the property of the subjects is in bad hands?

The ecclesiastics of this place are much divided at present. The same parties obtain here, which, by their heat and virulence to each other, drew so much notice in France.

The ex-jesuits, with their adherents, are supported by the elector's confessor, who is one of their number; and at the head of the Benedictines are some very rich prelates, who make their way into the cabinet with gold, by means of mercenary servants, and ladies of the court. Some of them, if I am not mistaken, are members of the estates of the country; but this gives them but little weight with a prince so jealous of his authority, that he has hitherto delayed taking the prescribed oaths in the assemblies of the states. However it is believed that they will get the better of the jesuits, as gold is all powerful here. What the country will gain or lose by this I know not. The Benedictines are like other monks, though not so opinionated and implacable as their enemies the jesuits.

The intolerance of the jesuits, who have now for a long time governed the elector, has been very prejudicial to the Palatinate. The protestants make at least one half of the inhabitants of this country, and have many treaties of peace, and public stipulations granted for their security. In every state they make the best of citizens; as their religious doctrines are consonant to the soundest politics, and their priesthood is never at variance with the civil power. Notwithstanding this, they are exposed to every species of oppression, and the court seems but little weight with a prince so jealous of his authority, that he has hitherto delayed taking the prescribed oaths in the assemblies of the states. However it is believed that they will get the better of the jesuits, as gold is all powerful here. What the country will gain or lose by this I know not. The Benedictines are like other monks, though not so opinionated and implacable as their enemies the jesuits.

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It was the same affectation of political zeal, that made the jesuits in France use such strong efforts to get the edict of Nantes revoked. They accustomed Lewis XIV, from his childhood to consider the reformed church as the secret enemy of the crown and the state, and falsely charged on its peaceable subjects that spirit of persecution, which they themselves alone possessed. Our court has now discovered that the jesuits were greater enemies to France than the reformed church; but at a time when we so loudly proclaim our errors, when the reformed church hopes to recover its lost freedom of religion, when a Necker in office proves to all mankind how much jesuitism is abhorred; here they continue to exclude Protestants from even the lowest offices in the state, and use every artifice to oppress them.

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Nature always revenges her injured rights. The persecuted heretics leave the Palatinate to cultivate the North American desert, and the greater part of Bavaria remains a desert.

LETTER X.

Munich.

A FEW days ago I had a very long and agreeable conversation with one of the few enlightened patriots, who here mourn in secret the fate of their country. We happened to speak of the emperor Charles VII, and the well known Bavarian war. I was obliged to allow that our ministers of that time had behaved very shamefully to this court, and that the war would have turned out greatly to the advantage of Bavaria, if we had dealt more honourably by it. My friend was loud in his lamentations, and repeatedly mentioned how our army had stood by and seen the Bavarian troops attacked without stirring a man to their assistance; how the subsidy money was not paid; how our minister, by dint of great promises, which were never performed, prolonged the war to the ruin of Bavaria; with what violence our commanders had behaved on Bavarian ground, and so forth. All this I was forced to acknowledge; for I recollected what the Prussian minister at this court had said to ours, when the latter would have exculpated himself, by saying that his masters were fools. "Das sind Keine Dumm Köpfe; das sind shurken (ce ne sont pas des sots; ce sont des Coquins.)" With this conversation on my mind, I could make no reply direct; but I had likewise heard from some of our old officers, who had served in the war, and were intimately acquainted with the situation of this court, that its ministers were still greater fools and rogues than ours; that the emperor himself was more taken up with his rosary, his hounds, his priests, and mistresses (by whom he left about forty children) than with the concerns of the country; that his servants were more studious to gratify his humours and passions, than to promote the good of the nation. A striking evidence of this was given by a certain count, who procured his own niece for him, and by the influence he thus gained over him, frustrated every good counsel of the true friends to the emperor. I knew also that our minister could not find a single man here sufficiently acquainted with public business to be employed in negotiations: that the subsidy money, which at first was regularly sent from Versailles, was expended in useless purposes: that the stipulated number of Bavarian troops was not completed, and that half the money was pocketed by the officers and paymasters. I knew that the emperor, notwithstanding his embarrassed circumstances, could not bring himself to demand contributions from the rich cloysters, much less by crushing them, and taking possession of some neighbouring church principalities, to recruit the state of his finances, and give more security to his tottering throne.*

Upon this statement of the case, my good friend was obliged to allow, that if things did not turn out as they ought to have done, the greatest part of the blame was owing to Bavaria.

Since that time the court has been under the influence of a dæmon with a capuchin, which has perplexed its politics, robbed its treasury, and puts fools and traitors at the head of its affairs. Whilst some of the lesser potentates of Germany have been able to raise themselves to a most respectable greatness, notwithstanding the almost insuperable obstacles they have had to struggle with, this old and mighty house has been forced to

* In the last of which he certainly acted justly.

behold the wide boundaries of its possessions incessantly contracting, notwithstanding the various favourable circumstances that have concurred to elevate it, if it would have listened to the dictates of sound policy. When the elector palatine was chosen king of Bohemia, who would have thought that his own cousin, the duke of Bavaria, would have been the person to distress him most, and to increase the already dangerous power of Austria, at the expence of his own family? Had it not been for this, Bohemia would have been now under the same government as Bavaria and the Palatinate, and the present elector, a great king. At the peace of Westphalia, the members of the protestant league indemnified themselves for the heavy expences of the Swedish war, by putting themselves in possession of the neighbouring church principalities; but Bavaria, which had fought to the last drop of blood for the Pope and the house of Austria, thought itself abundantly paid with the Electorate and the Upper Palatinate (which it could only obtain by the failure of another branch of its own family) and let slip the best opportunity of possessing itself of the bishopric of Saltzburg, with which it has so much wrangling at present, the bishopric of Friesingen, which lies in its very bosom, and many other adjacent bishoprics; so constantly has it strove against its own proper interests, from the impression of false religious tenets.*

These wars, which we may say it has waged against itself; that on account of the Spanish succession; and lastly, that of the emperor Charles VII, have given great wounds to this house, wounds which, however, it might have cured, had not religious prejudices and caprice rendered it blind, and insensible to its own internal situation. But now they rankle, and present an observer with the disgusting spectacle of a deeply consumptive body politic.

It was thought that the last elector had paid the greatest part of the national debts; but on the accession of the present prince, these expectations were found very erroneous. Some indeed of the oldest incumbrances have been paid off; but on the other hand, several new loans have been made. This elector was, indeed, quite unequal to the management of his own finances, which he left entirely to the disposal of his servants, contenting himself if his expensive hunting matches could be defrayed; and the present court seems to be as little inclined to limit the enormous expence of the opera-house, for the sake of paying its debts, which may now amount to near twenty-five millions of florins, or 250,000*l*.

As I strolled through the country, I shuddered at the sight of the ravages which war had made. There is no town of any importance in all Bavaria, except the capital. You would never imagine what pitiful little holes, Landsberg, Wasserbing, Landshut, and many other places, which make a great figure on the map, are. To all appearance neither Ingoldstadt, nor Straubingen, nor any of the greater towns, except Munich, contain above four thousand souls. Nor are there more than forty of these towns; whereas Saxony, which is no larger than Bavaria, contains above two hundred and twenty, if the accounts in print are to be depended upon. But indeed the want of population in these parts is very remarkable, as well as the remains of those vices which armies generally leave behind them. Excepting the brewer, baker, and innkeeper, you may seek in vain for a rich tradesman. There is not a vestige of industry either in town or country, but every body seems to consider idleness and beggary as the happiest state of man.

As what Bavaria lost at the peace of Teschner, was nearly made up by the junction of the principalities of Neuburg and Sulzbach; we may reckon with the Palatinate, it

* Surely not false religious opinions, if these countries were only to be obtained by fraud and violence.

contains as much ground as Suabia; that is, about seven hundred and twenty-nine square miles. Now, in the Suabian circle, there are at least one million six hundred thousand people; whereas Bavaria, by a late calculation, has not above one million one hundred and eighty thousand.

The southern part of this country is very mountainous, but not so unfit for agriculture as geographers commonly report it to be. In many of the vallies of these vast mountains, the soil is excellent; and in one corner of them I found an ingenious and industrious husbandman, the only character of the kind I could meet with in the whole country, who had gathered what he had sown sixteen fold. The part which extends from the capital to the Danube and the Inn, is the best arable land throughout the country, and is intersected by several well-wooded hills. The Upper Palatinate, together with that part of the dukedom of Bavaria which lies beyond the Danube, consists almost entirely of mountains. These rise gradually from the Danube to Fichtelberg and the Bohemian ridge of mountains, but are fit for every kind of agriculture.

A considerable part of this, by nature so highly favoured country, has lain waste since the wars. There are many large tracts which the inhabitants call mosses, but which are not so fenny and spongy as the turf and moor grounds of Holland and other countries. In many of them you may perceive traces of the old furrows, and there are proofs sufficient that they have been cultivated, and might be easily cultivated again. Another part of Bavaria is still covered with a luxuriant dark wood, and a third part lies constantly fallow without necessity. Upon the whole, it is more than probable, that hardly one half of the country is cultivated as it ought to be.

The country people, or farmers, are divided into four classes; into whole, half, and quarter farmers, and into those called hausler. The whole farmers plough with eight horses, and are termed einsiedler; that is, hermits, because their farm-houses are at a distance from any village. Many of these farm-houses command a territory of three miles in length and breadth, and the owners employ from twelve to fifteen horses in their tillage (reckoning two horses to every plough, which in some places is certainly too much, but in others also it is too little.) Of such farmers there may be about forty thousand. A half farmer ploughs with four, and a quarter farmer with two horses. The hausler, are day labourers to the rest, and till their bits of property with cattle belonging to others.

We are not to infer the extent of every farmer's possessions from the number of his ploughs. The best fields lie fallow four, six or more years, just as the established custom may be, or the convenience or caprice of the owners may direct. As the farmers have no idea of meadow land, or of stall food for cattle, they excuse themselves for this slight kind of husbandry, by pleading the want of manure. The worthy friend with whom I had so many disputes about the Bavarian war, defended the practice of his countrymen with great warmth. He contended, that the agriculture could not possibly be better than it was, because the internal consumption and the price of grain were too low, an inconvenience, says he, which is remediless; for exportation is impossible, on account of the want of navigable rivers; nor is it possible that the internal consumption should be well increased by manufactures, because the rivers of Bavaria all running to Austria, it will be impossible for us to vie with that country, let us do what we will. This surely was mere sophistical reasoning, used to disguise the inactivity and indolence of his countrymen. It would be hard indeed if navigable rivers were indispensably necessary for the increase of manufactures. The greatest part of the Swiss manufactures are carried on the axle-tree; for what is exported by the Rhine, bears no comparison with many commodities which are exported over land to Frankfort, Leipsig, &c. and

to all the north, and to France and Italy. But Bavaria should not yet think of any foreign commerce, as the rules of prudence require that the ministers should see what is to be saved, before they consider what is to be gained. Whatever is saved is gain, and the securest gain. How much gold does this country annually send away for cloth, stuffs, linen, flax, and rape-seed, oil, tobacco, leather, and a variety of other articles, the materials for furnishing of which it has within itself.

But both court and people appear to be struck blind to their true interest. You know that for many years past, there has been a great outcry through Germany, and very properly, for population, manufactures, and industry. It reached the ears of this court, who immediately, as was natural, began to imitate what was going forward. But without consulting nature for her advice, without inquiring what productions of art would prove of most general use, and serve the most to keep the gold in the country, it thought only of those which would make the greatest shew, and stood high in the list of luxuries. Would you think it? in this unspeakable want of many necessaries, they applied themselves to manufacture porcelain, which could only be managed by artificial means, of which the most honourable was a small lottery. They established manufactures of tapestry, rich stuffs, and silks. They saved, indeed, by this manœuvre, the money exported to purchase the priests robes and ladies gala dresses, but the citizens and peasants were obliged to wear foreign clothes.

One need only observe what goes forward here at the custom-house, to be convinced that the principles of taxation are not understood as they should be. When Austria determined to settle the custom-house duties according to the rules of prudent policy, the officers of finance here saw nothing in it but a mode of increasing the revenue; they therefore imitated the Austrian system, but did not consider that taxes on the importation of foreign wares are intended to operate as penalties, the reduction of which must be as agreeable to a wise government, as the diminution of the revenue of fines levied by courts of justice. The Austrian duties are connected with a great plan. They are intended to reduce the import of foreign wares as much as possible, by increasing internal industry; and to lessen the consumption of such foreign luxuries as are needless, by increasing the price of them. But instead of using the custom-house books as Austria does, as indications of what manufactures are to be encouraged, that the money paid for them may be kept in the country, the financiers of Bavaria consider them as so many sources of positive revenue, which are rather to be increased than lessened.

I should not have troubled you so long with these particulars of the state economy, if I had not thought myself in some measure obliged to shew you in detail, that here they know nothing of the matter.

LETTER XI.

Munich.

A PICTURE of the Bavarian character and manners by Hogarth would be extremely interesting. Great singularity of character is often to be met with in England; but what Bavaria offers exceeds any thing to be seen elsewhere. You know I am no painter; so if I endeavour to point out to you the peculiarities of Bavaria in the abstract, my descriptions will have none of that life and expression which distinguish Hogarth's groups, or Shakspeare's scenes. However I will do my endeavour.

To proceed methodically, for you cannot conceive what a method sticks to me in all I do, since I have breathed the air of Germany; I shall anatomise the body of the Bavarian, before I proceed to the analysis of his mind. In general the Bavarian is stout bodied, muscular, and fleshy. There are, however, some slender people among

them who may pass for handsome. They are something less rosy checked than the Suabians, a difference probably arising from their drinking beer instead of wine, as the others do.

The characteristic of a Bavarian is a very round head, a little peaked chin, a large belly, and a pale complexion. Many of them look like caricatures of man. They have great fat bellies, short clubbed feet, narrow shoulders, a thick round head, and short necks. They are heavy and awkward in their carriage, and their small eyes betray a great deal of roguery. The women, in general, are some of the most beautiful creatures in the world. They are, indeed, something gross, but their skin surpasses all the carnation ever used by painters; the purest lily white is softly tinged with purple, as if by the hands of the graces. I saw some peasant girls with such clear complexions, that they appeared quite transparent. They are well shaped, and more lively and graceful in their gestures than the men.

In the capital they dress in the French style, or at least imagine that they do so, for the men are still too fond of gold and mixed colours. The country people dress without any taste at all. The chief ornament of the men is a long broad waistcoat, strangely embroidered, from which their breeches hang very low and loose, probably to give free play to their bellies, which is the chief part of a Bavarian. The women disguise themselves with a sort of stays in the shape of a funnel, which cover the breast and shoulders, so as to hide the whole neck. This stiff dress is covered with silver beads, and thickly over laid with silver chains. In many places the housewife has a bunch of keys and a knife appendant to a girdle, which reach almost to the ground.

As to the characters and manners of the Bavarians, the inhabitants of the capital naturally differ very much from the country people. The character of the inhabitants of Munich is a riddle to me, and would remain so if I were to stay here many years. I believe, indeed, that it may be truly said, that they have no character at all. Their manners are corrupt, as must be the case with forty thousand men who depend entirely on a court, and, for the most part, go idle at its expence.

Amongst the great nobles, you meet here, as well as elsewhere, with very well bred and polite people; but the people, taking the word in its full extent, are, in an eminent degree, destitute of any sense of honour, without education, without any activity for the state, attachment to the country, or generous feeling whatever. The fortunes of this place are from 1500 to 3 or 4,000*l.* per annum; but the possessors know no other use of their money than to spend it in sensual gratifications. Many good houses have been entirely ruined by play. The fashionable game at the court was formerly called *zwicken*, or pinch; but since *Hombesch*, the minister of finance, has pinched their salaries so confoundedly, they call it *Hombesch*. Many of the court ladies know of no other employment than playing with their parrots, their dogs, or their cats. One of the principal ladies whom I am acquainted with, keeps a hall full of cats, and two or three maids to attend them; she converses half the day long with them, often serves them herself with coffee and sugar, and dresses them according to her fancy differently every day.

The small nobles and servants of the court, have a pitiable passion for titles. Before the present elector came here, the place swarmed with excellencies; honourable, and right honourable. As this was not the custom at Manheim, an order was made to ascertain the different ranks of noblesse. All those whom it deprived of excellency, honourable, &c. and particularly (would you think it?) the women, were sunk in despair; and for the first time complaints were made of tyranny, of which none before seemed to have any conception.

The remainder of the inhabitants are immersed in the most scandalous debauch. Every night the streets re-echo with the noise of drunkards issuing from the numerous taverns, where they have been revelling and dancing. Whoever is at all noble here must keep his mistress; the rest indulge in promiscuous love. In this respect things are not much better in the country.

Bavaria, indeed, well deserves the character given it by an officer of Gascony, of being the greatest brothel in the world.

The country people are extremely dirty. A few miles distant from the capital, one would hardly take the hovels of the peasants for the habitations of men. Many of them have large puddles before the doors of their houses, and are obliged to step over planks into them. The thatched roofs of the country people, in many parts of France, have a much better appearance, than the miserable huts of the Bavarian peasants; the roofs of which are covered with stones, in order that the slates may not be carried away by the wind. Mean as this looks, cheap as nails are in the country, and often as half the roofs are torn away by strong winds, yet cannot the rich farmer be persuaded to nail his shingles properly together. In short, from the court to the smallest cottage, indolence is the most predominant part of the character of the Bavarian.

This great indolence is contrasted, in an extraordinary manner, with a still higher degree of bigotry. I happened to stroll into a dark, black country beer-house, filled with clouds of tobacco, and on entering was almost stunned with the noise of the drinkers. By degrees, however, my eyes penetrated through the thick vapours, when I discovered the priest of the place in the middle of fifteen or twenty drunken fellows. His black coat was just as much bedaubed as the frocks of his flock, and like the rest of them, he had cards in his left hand, which he struck so forcibly on the dirty table, that the whole chamber trembled. At first, I was shocked at the violent abuse they gave each other, and thought they were quarrelling; but soon found that all the blackguard appellations which shocked me were only modes of friendly salutation among them. Every one of them had now drank his six or eight pots of beer, and they desired the landlord to give each a dram of brandy, by way, they said, of locking the stomach. But now their good humour departed, and I presently saw, in all their looks and gestures, the most serious preparation for a fray. This at length broke out. At first the priest took vain pains to suppress it. He swore and roared at last as much as the rest. Now one seized a pot and threw it at his adversary's head, another clenched his fist, a third pulled the legs from a stool to knock his enemy on the head. Every thing, in short, seemed to speak blood and death; when, on the ringing of the bell for evening prayer, 'Ave Maria, ye——!' cried the priest, and down dropped their arms, they pulled off their bonnets, folded their hands, and repeated their Ave Marias. It put me in mind of the adventure in *Don Quixote*, where peace is suddenly restored in the great fray, on account of the helmet of Mambrino, and the ass's collar, by the recollection of what passed in the Agramantine camp. As soon, however, as prayers were over, they were all seized again with their former fury, which was the more violent from the momentary interruption it had met with. Pots and glasses began to fly. I observed the curate creep under the table for security, and I withdrew into the landlord's bed-chamber.

The same scenes occur in the inland towns among the citizens, officers, clergymen, and students. They all salute each other with abusive language; all vie in hard drinking; and close to every church, which are scarce less than 28,700, there is regularly a beer-house and a brothel. A student at the university of Ingolstadt must carry a thick cudgel, and wear a neat cut hat; he must be able to drink from eight to ten

quarts of beer at a sitting, and be always ready to fight, right or wrong, with the officers of the garrison that is quartered there. You may suppose that this does not tend to raise the reputation of the university, which is, indeed, but thinly visited, though the professors are able men, and do their duty, although a proclamation came out some years since to forbid any Bavarian from studying out of the country.

No pen can describe the ridiculous mixtures of debauchery and devotion which every day happen. The most notorious is that which took place in the church of St. Mary, Oettingen, a few years since, when a priest actually deflowered a girl whom he had long pursued, and could only make a prize of there before the altar of the Virgin.

The country people join to their indolence and devotion a certain ferocity of temper, which often gives rise to bloody scenes. When they mean to praise a church holiday, or some public festival which has lately been kept, they say, such a one was a charming affair; there were six or eight people killed or made cripples at it. If nothing of this kind has been done, it is called a mere nothing, a fiddle-faddle business. In the last century, and the beginning of this, the Bavarian troops maintained the first reputation among the German forces. At the battle of Hockstedt, they kept their ground and imagined themselves victors, till the elector who led them was informed that the French were given way in the other wing. Under Tilly and Mercy they likewise did wonders; but since the time of these generals, military discipline has so far relaxed amongst them, that they are no longer soldiers. Indeed no people can shew more abhorrence to every thing which is called discipline and order, than the Bavarians do. They might, however, still be useful as free-booters, whose robberies and all irregularities are more pardonable than those of regular troops. There are bands of robbers about, which are one thousand men strong, and would undoubtedly make good ravaging parties in time of war. There have been instances of their fighting against the military, under bold leaders, to the very last man. But the poorest peasant considers it as a hardship to be drafted into the regular troops of his prince.

The inhabitants of the capital, on the other hand, are the most weak, timid, and subservient people in the world. They have no quickness of parts at all, and you will seek in vain in the town for that liberty, which sometimes indeed degenerates into coarseness of manners, but is still the most agreeable trait in the character of the country people. Under the last government, while the people of Munich were crouching under a despotic minister, and only ventured to murmur in secret, the country people discovered their discontent with a freedom which threatened dangerous consequences. At the same time, an unbounded and inexpressible love for their prince prevailed on them to pull down the inclosures of their fields at the command of the master of the hounds, in order that the game might pasture there. They spake with raptures of the amiable qualities of their lord; indeed they did not pass over his faults, but tried to excuse him for them, and loaded his servants, without reserve, with their heaviest curses, and thus gave every stranger a just idea of the court, while the inhabitants of the town, in the dedicatory addresses of books and poems, extolled the tyrants of the land to heaven. The country people judge as impartially of the present government. I should not, however, have obtained any account of the prince or his servants, if I had not got acquainted with some foreign artists belonging to the court, who were more interested in the state of them both than the natives, who are infatuated with their beer pots. Every shoe-black in Paris knows all the great people of the court, pries into their private life as well as their politics, and condemns or approves at discretion; but here you meet with many court-counsellors and secretaries, who know nothing of the great people except their names. To conclude, the unadulterated Bavarian peasant is gruff, fat, dirty,

lazy, drunken, and undisciplined; but he is brave, economical, patriotic, and such a slave to his word, that when it has once been given it is never broke. As to his hatred of regular discipline, it is partly owing to the discouragement thrown upon the military way of life by the clergy, and partly to their being no provision for disabled soldiers. Something too arises from the prince's not being military; for in the year 1778, when the imperial troops were recruiting at Straubingen, and carried about with them a picture of the emperor in his uniform, many of the natives immediately enlisted on hearing that the emperor was a soldier.

LETTER XII.

Munich.

YOU are extremely right in thinking that this court would be of great consequence, if it knew how to make use of its powers. It is able to measure swords with the king of Denmark, and Sweden is not much superior to it in force; for if we take from the sum total of the subjects of this northern potentate's power, the Laplanders, and the rest of its almost entirely unserviceable people, what remains will scarce exceed the population of this territory. Bavaria has one million one hundred and eighty thousand; the Palatinate on the Rhine two hundred and twenty thousand; and the dukedoms of Julich and Berg about two hundred and sixty thousand men. The total number, therefore, of the subjects of this court, amounts to about one million seven hundred and twenty thousand. I know that in some state papers they are reckoned at little more than one million four hundred thousand, but certainly the subjects who live in Westphalia are not included in this calculation.

There is likewise a great difference about the income of the court. The very industrious, and in general the very accurate, Mr. Busching tells us, in the last edition of his excellent work, that he is informed from good authority, that the income of Bavaria amounts to eight millions of Rhenish florins, or 800,000*l.* and this agrees with the calculation commonly made here. I told you, however, in my last, that very few people here are acquainted with the state of the court, and that they are induced, by a ridiculous vanity, to make more of things than they are. Some, who ought to have been in the secret, would have persuaded me, that the court had from twelve to sixteen hundred thousand pounds yearly income. I saw it was impossible to get at the truth, otherwise than by inquiring particularly at the proper offices into the state of finances; at last, after long search, I made out, with tolerable certainty, that the aggregate income from the taxes, customs, excise, forests, mines, &c. hardly amounted to 500,000*l.* In this estimate, one of the most considerable articles, the trade with the Salzburg and Riechenhaller salt, is not included. This is reckoned by some at two millions, but it is most highly probable that it does not produce more than one. We may therefore most safely state the income of Bavaria at six millions of florins, or 600,000*l.* The revenue of the Palatinate on the Rhine amounts to about 1,700,000 guilders, or 170,000*l.* and that of the countries in the circle of Westphalia to about 1,500,000, or 150,000*l.*; so that on the whole, this court may have a revenue of nine millions of florins, or about 900,000*l.* You perceive by this statement, that the income from the lands on the Rhine amounts to something more than the half of the revenues of Bavaria, notwithstanding that it does not contain one half as many inhabitants as Bavaria; but this difference, as well as that which the profitable Bavarian salt occasions, is overbalanced by the better employment of the above-mentioned lands, by more diligent husbandry, by greater taxes, by more lively trade, and by more profitable duties of all kinds.

If Bavaria were as well peopled and cultivated in proportion to its extent as the countries on the Rhine connected with it are, it would yield three or four millions of florins more. I have told you already, that it contains a space of seven hundred and twenty-nine square miles. The Palatinate and the dukedoms of Julich and Berg, all together, hardly contain two hundred and forty square miles; but this space, which is not a third as large as Bavaria, has half as many inhabitants in it, and yields more than half as much revenue.

This difference arises, in a great measure, from the great attention paid to monks in this country; an attention which must necessarily prevent any increase of population, any excess of knowledge, any industry, or a more improved cultivation to the country. There are two hundred cloisters in this country, and at least five thousand monks. Many of these cloisters have incomes of 3000*l.* or 4000*l.* a year; that of Niederalteich has not less than 4000*l.* per annum. Without exaggerating, one may rate the revenue of the cloisters and other religious foundations of this country, at about two millions of florins, or 100,000*l.* which is a third part of the whole income of the country. The damage which the monks do the country is most notorious. This appears with regard to the farmers called hermits, whose children they are very assiduous to make monks of, because they receive with every one of them, one, two, three, or more thousand florins. The consequence to the country is, that by this diminution of the laborious part of the community, the property remains in too few hands, and the country is never above half cultivated. The country also loses something by the sons of the other farmers who are bred in convents; for the education given them unfits them for every profession, but those of idle authors or comedians. The propensity to idle life, to feasting, and beggary, which reigns over all Bavaria, is countenanced and sanctioned by the example of the fat priests. The people envy them strongly their blessed idleness. The jugglery, the brotherhoods, church feasts, and corner devotions of these holy quacks, employ the attention of the multitude so much, that they spend the third part of their time amongst them. Interest prompts them to keep the people in a state of stupidity, and therefore they are constantly in the field ready to oppose, with almost inconceivable fury, every thing which tends to improve and enlighten the understanding. They alone are to be thanked for the shocking wildness of manners which appears in Bavaria. Their cowls contain the essence of christianity and all morality. They preach nothing but masses, which are very profitable to them, the rosary, the scapulaire and ridiculous mortification to the body, by which means many a blockhead has got the name of a saint. The deceived countryman believes, that confession and a mass, which costs fifteen pence, will wipe away the foulest sins, and considers the telling his beads as his most essential duty. The secular priests are as few in number as the monks are many. These ought naturally to form the manners of the country; but they are held in much less veneration than the others, because their dress and appearance is not so extraordinary. In Bavaria, however, they do not deserve more respect than the monks; for the greater part of them differ from the peasants only by wearing black, having a more expensive table, and a handsomer and better dressed house-keeper. In other things they are equally lazy, untutored, and ignorant. Their parishes are four miles in compass, and produce from four to 600*l.* per annum. What an advantage it would be to the country, if these livings were to be divided into five or six smaller ones, and filled with a better race of holy shepherds! At the same time, the monks should be prohibited from interposing in the care of souls, or what would be rather more advantageous, though not to be expected under this government, they should be extirpated altogether.

If the estates of the convents, which formerly belonged to the electors, and were given away in melancholy moments, were to be re-assumed, and if all foreigners without exception were allowed a free exercise of their religion, their national debts would be very soon discharged, and the country immediately put on quite a different appearance. But Charles Theodore is so far from being capable of such exertions, and is so little acquainted with his own interest, and with that of his country, as to be founding a new convent in the Palatinate on the Rhine, and making a present of the wealth of the ex-jesuits (another sort of monks) to the knights of Malta. What shall we say of the private man who is loaded with debts, and yet makes religious foundations? But here no reasoning will apply.

The overbearing greatness of many Bavarian farmers gave rise to some considerations in my mind, which deserve to be farther noticed. I divide the country people into three classes; 1st. Into those whose properties are too small to live by, and who must serve others to obtain their full maintenance. 2dly. Into such as can depend on means sufficient from their own property. And, 3dly. Into those who possess more than is necessary for the convenient support of a family, and who are called, more or less, rich farmers. At first sight it appears fair enough, that the land-tax should be equal for all, and that all should pay in proportion to the ground they hold; but it is not so; on the contrary it is a great political error to make the peasant, who has not half sufficient to maintain his family, pay as much in proportion as he who has a full competency; for first, it is a political axiom, that three or four middling citizens are more valuable to a state than one rich one, although his capital may much exceed that of the others; and secondly, though an entirely equal partition of possessions and gold in a state, were it possible, would indeed be madness; still, under the conviction it is impossible every prudent ruler will conduct his administration as if it were not so. The most unhappy countries are those in which the greatest riches and the greatest poverty are to be met with at the same time. Such a state cannot subsist long: one part of the inhabitants must be despots, the other slaves. In the fermentation incidental to such a country, persons really free are either thrown out or destroyed. One over rich farmer gradually swallows up all the poor in his circuit. He lends money on the ground of the poor, seizes the occasion of a barren year to purchase cheap a little property of his neighbour, and when he is not restrained by feelings of honour, has innumerable artifices to get possession of any piece of ground which lies convenient for him. I saw with astonishment, in some republican states, how some rich farmers had found means to dispossess a whole community, and become the tyrants of the neighbourhood. In monarchies the evil is not so great; but, however, it is always sufficiently so to require to be opposed with every nerve.

Let us now compare the advantages which a rich farmer can draw from his lands, with the advantages resulting to a middling, or a poor one. The poor man must sell his produce as quickly as possible, and generally at a low price, because his creditors are urgent. The middling one cannot keep the price up long, because he is in danger of being obliged to borrow money, and of losing by the interest as much as he could gain by laying by. But the rich one can speculate, and seldom bargains at the low price at which the others are obliged to sell the earnings of their sweat and toil. He buys grain from the low people round about, or he has previously advanced them the price of their crops; they must therefore let him have it at his own price, and then he raises the price of grain in the market. By inundations, or hail storms, the small farmer has often not seed enough for the ensuing year. The piece of ground in course

lies waste; and when the rich man possesses it, he cultivates it with double and treble profit, and becomes, at the expence of the poor and the state, richer and richer, till at last, often to the great injury of population, a dozen small farms are swallowed up by him; the young gentleman, his son, who is meanwhile at study, will not any longer continue in the country, but fixes himself in town, lets his lands, and adds another insignificant idler to the state.

Ought not, then, the rich farmer to contribute something more to the state, in return for those advantages which he derives from having his property so much better circumstanced than that of his neighbours?

I conceive it, therefore, highly just that, in the imposition of taxes, some respect should be paid to the different kind and condition of farmers. The poor one should not pay so much in proportion for a piece of ground as the middling one, nor the latter so much as the rich one. On the contrary, the state should endeavour to relieve the poor one till he became as thriving as the middling one, and to prevent the last from aggrandizing himself to the injury of population. I would also in my republic, which, like unformed chaos, is yet floating in infinity of space, fix some middle point, and in the laying of taxes, make the tax to correspond with the degree in which the income of a single farmer falls short of or exceeds this point. For example: in my republic a thriving farmer should be one who possessed land to the amount of six thousand florins of property. Thus every one who had under four thousand florins of capital, should pay one per cent. he who varied between four or five to six thousand dollars, two per cent. he who possessed more, three per cent. and whoever possessed the double of so much, should pay four per cent. for all that was above the middle point. Thus, in purchasing a piece of ground, the poor would have a just advantage over a middling farmer, and the middling one over the rich. It is true, my officers would have occasion for more arithmetic, and it would be necessary to run a little more up and down; but leave me to take care of that, when I have once got my state upon a sure ground and establishment.

To return now to our* Bavaria, you can very easily and clearly imagine to yourself how far it is from being what it might be made. If the debts were paid off, the number of subjects and quantity of income would enable the elector to keep a standing army of forty or fifty thousand men; and could, as things now are, if these parts of his possessions were as well cultivated as the country on the Rhine, increase them to sixty thousand, and command high respect from his mightiest neighbours. When his successor comes to the government, the resources will still be granted by the accession of the dutchy of Deux-Points, and possibly also the state œconomy will be better.

LETTER XIII.

Salzburg.

THE way from Munich here is very dull. It lies through a vast plain, only here and there broken by gentle elevations. The many dark woods, the miserable and thin scattered peasantry, the want of towns, and the continual dread of robbers, make one hasten

* The many projects which the author has formed for Bavaria, gave him a right to call the one made by him his Bavaria. In the year 1740 an Austrian general made frequent use of the expression, *Notre Baviere*. A French officer, who was treating with him for an exchange of prisoners, heard him a long time, and at last said, "Monsieur, nous avons une chanson dont le refrain est: Quand j'ai bien eu, tout la terre est a moi."

out of Bavaria as quickly as possible. For seventeen long German miles there is no place of note but the dark Wasserburg, which stands on one of the barren sand-hills, through which the river Inn winds.

When you come to the frontiers of Salzburg things mend. The prospects are more varied, the habitations of the peasants appear neater, and the cultivation of the country improves. About half a mile from this town there is one of the prettiest prospects I have ever met with. Conceive to yourself a vast amphitheatre; the back ground of the picture is occupied by high rocks lifting up their heads to heaven. Some of them, which are rather on the side, are in the shape of pyramids. These vast masses terminate by degrees in wooded mountains to the back, and in beautiful and cultivated hills to the side of the prospect. Precisely in the midst of this scene stands the town, which is commanded by the castle standing on a high rock. The river Saltz gives the mixed landscapes still more life. Here and there it spreads itself out, and its banks in many places are shaded with deep hanging woods.

The country about this town forms a striking contrast with the barren, desolate wilds of Munich. It is indeed very striking, and exhibits a matchless and admirable union of nature and art. The stream divides itself into two unequal parts. To the westward, where the greatest part of the town lies, there rises on the wide plain a high, round, steep and hard rock, which has the castle as a crown on it. The river winds along by the foot of this rock, and at a small distance from it, there rises a mountain of soft stone directly perpendicular on both sides, and about one hundred feet high. Upon this natural wall, which is much higher than the highest house of the town, there grows a thick wood, in the midst of which are several plantations. Through the part of the wall where it is only sixty feet broad, they have cut a handsome passage. On the other side of the river, there is the most romantic rock ever seen. It is a kind of naked wall, which stretches along the plain from the river for three miles, and is five hundred feet high. I cannot better describe the peculiarity of this situation to you, than by bidding you conceive the town as the centre of a semi-circle of hills, the two parts of the river as semi-diameters, and this wall as a radius of the circle.

The town itself is very handsome—the houses are high, and built all of stone. The roofs of the houses are in the Italian taste, and you may walk out upon them. The cathedral is the handsomest building I have seen since I left Paris. It is built of freestone, and is an imitation of St. Peter's at Rome. The portico is of marble, and the whole is covered with copper. Before the portico there is a large quadrangular place, with arches and galleries, in which is the prince's residence, and the abbey of St. Peter. In the middle of this place there is a statue of the Virgin in bronze; it is fine, but of an unnatural size. There are large areas, encompassed with handsome buildings, on both sides of the church. In the middle of that which is to the left, there is the most magnificent fountain of marble I ever saw, and some valuable figures of gigantic size. There is likewise a fountain in that to the right, but it is not to be compared with the former one, and the Neptune of it makes but a little pitiful figure. This town contains many more excellent buildings and statues, which remind you that the borders of Italy are not far distant.

As far as I know of the inhabitants, they appear very social, open, and lively, and uncommonly attached to strangers. Until I shall get better acquainted with them, I must give you an account of some excursions I made into several parts of Bavaria, in my way from Munich.

Freysingen, an episcopal residence, though not ill built, is on the whole a miserable little place. It consists solely of monks, strumpets, a few melancholy students, and poor

mechanics. The prince's castle is pleasantly situated upon the side of a mountain, from which it commands a delightful prospect over great part of Bavaria, and the mountains of Tyrol and Salzburg. The bishop's possessions lie scattered through Bavaria and Austria. His income may perhaps amount to 30,000 florins, or 3000*l.* a year, and he keeps his lord high steward, his master of the hounds, his counsellors, his body guards, his music, and his cook and butler, which two last have undoubtedly the most to do.

From Freysingen I travelled on to Ratisbon, a dark, melancholy, and very large town, which you know is the seat of the diet, and contains about twenty-two thousand inhabitants. I really do not know what to say to you about it, except that the bridge over the Danube is a very heavy one, which was built by the Devil, and that I met with very good quarters at the White Lamb, the master of which is the civillest and most accommodating landlord that I have yet found in Germany. One would imagine the number of envoys from the different princes of the empire who are constantly resident here, would give life to the place; but you cannot think how dead every thing is. If it were not for the prince of Thurn and Taxis, the emperor's principal commissary, and post-master-general of the empire, you would not believe the town to be the seat of the diet. But this gentleman, whose income is about four hundred thousand florins, or 40,000*l.* per annum, gives operas, comedies, wild-beast baitings, balls, and fire-works. He is indeed a very worthy person, and does honour to his place by his greatness of mind and noble way of thinking. This gentleman may be said to do the honours of the diet in the strictest sense of the word; for the rest of the ambassadors are forced to live very economically, on account of the smallness of their incomes. Many of them go about in hackney-coaches. As every thing that is for their use comes into the city duty free, the people of the place make heavy complaints of their servants for carrying on a large contraband trade. Indeed they conceive that what they lose by this, is more than an equivalent for what they gain by the diet in other respects. The fact is, that the ambassadors from the greatest powers, who have large incomes, and seem to be paid for holding great state, hold none; and as the other ministers regulate themselves by their example, one may be several weeks in town without being sensible that the diet is assembled. Our ambassador is one of the foreigners who is most eminently distinguished for his knowledge. Both he and the secretary to the embassy, Mr. Herissant, the son of a bookseller at Paris, are particularly well acquainted with German politics, and also with German literature.

The business of the diet is very tedious. This is owing to the prevalence of party on all great occasions, and the jealousy which the great powers entertain of each other; for the forms according to which business is done, are in themselves very simple. The diet consists of three colleges, to wit, the electorate, that of the prince's, and that of the college of the states. The two first are called the higher colleges, though they have no essential pre-eminence over the other in the common business of the diet. All these colleges assemble in a hall, to receive the emperor's propositions; thence they retire into three separate chambers, where the votes of each other are collected, in a manner well calculated for the purpose. The majority decides in each chamber as to the rules of that chamber, and so does the majority of the three colleges as to the determination of the whole. When the three colleges are unanimous, it is called a conclusion of the diet, and is laid before the emperor, or his principal commissary, as a judgment of the diet. When one college differs from the two others, its conclusions are transmitted to the emperor. The resolutions agreed on are immediately executed, and at the conclusion of the diet, are entered among the decrees of the empire.

The electoral college, besides the advantage it naturally derives from the small number of voters in it, whose decisions are still of as much weight as those of the other two, has a great additional influence from the circumstance of the five secular members of it having near twenty votes in the college of princes. Since the death of the last elector of Bavaria, it consists but of eight voices; the elector and archbishop of Mentz is the president. It is not yet settled who is to have the decisive voice in case of an equality; but as this is an event to be expected, it is thought that there will soon be a ninth elector chosen from the house of Wirtemberg or Hesse-Cassel. The only obstacle is the jealousy of some of the electoral houses, lest the emperor should propose one of his own dependants.

In the college of princes there are in all one hundred votes, of which thirty-three are ecclesiastical, sixty-one secular, and six collective. These last consist of the two benches of prelates and abbesses, namely, the Suabian and Rhenish, and of the four colleges of the counts of the empire, namely, the Wetteravian, Suabian, Westphalian and Franconian. Each college of counts, and each bench of prelates, has one vote. There are twenty members on the bench of Suabian prelates, and nineteen on that of the Rhenish ones. The Wetteravian college of counts has ten members, the Suabian twenty, the Franconian sixteen, and the Westphalian thirty-four. There are many counts of the empire who are not included in this number, because though they have been raised to the dignity of count, they have not yet taken their seat at the diet. Other seats are vacant, because the lands they are attached to have fallen into greater houses, the masters of which consider the privilege of voting as counts, as slender and inconsiderable. The college of princes has this privilege peculiar to it, that one house can have many votes; thus the present elector Palatine has seven votes, and his successor, the duke of Deux-Ponts, will have eight; the king of Prussia has five, and after the death of the present prince of Anspach and Bareith, will have seven; the elector of Brunswick has five. This arises from the rank of principality in the empire being vested in the property, not in the person; so one person may possess several properties, each of which separately claims his title of principality. Austria and Salzburg take it by turns to preside over this college, the one one day, and the other the next. The archbishop of Besancon, and the king of Sardinia, as duke of Savoy, have for a long time left off sending ministers to the diet, so the college of princes consists now only of ninety-eight votes. The college of the states consists of fifty-one, and is divided into two, namely, the Suabian and Rhenish. On the first there are thirty-seven, and on the other fourteen seats. The state in which the diet is held has the direction.

The imperial court has a great influence in all the three colleges. The three ecclesiastical electors have been almost constantly creatures of the emperor, who spares neither gold, threats, nor promises, to inspire the canons of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, in the choice of a new archbishop. Formerly our court used the same methods of acquiring influence in the empire; but that channel is now stopped up for ever, by the vigilance and activity of the court of Vienna. The emperor has the same weight in the princes' college. Almost all the ecclesiastical princes are his true sons. The chapter of Luttrech is the only one, in modern times, which has dared to withstand the emperor's influence in the election of the sovereign. Besides these means of gaining influence, it has always been the maxim of the imperial court to raise the members of the hereditary dominions, who possessed the smallest fief in the empire, to the dignity of princes, in order to insure them a seat and a vote in the diet. It is thus that the houses of Lobkowitz, Dietrichstein, Schwarzenberg, Lichtenstein, Auersberg, and Thurn, have been introduced into the college, in spite of the protestations of all the old princes,

merely to strengthen the influence of the house of Austria. The dukes of Arenberg are amongst the oldest princes; but as by far the greatest part of their possessions lie in the hereditary lands of Austria, they are almost totally dependant on the court of Vienna. Many others of the old houses, on account of the situation of their properties also adhere to the emperor, who from one cause or other, may be supposed to be secure of half the votes to carry whatever he has a mind should be carried. In the college of towns he rules almost without control; for as these are almost all encompassed by most powerful princes, they require the particular protection of the court of Vienna to prevent their being totally crushed.

Powerful as the emperor's influence may be under such circumstances, still the states find means to counteract the stream, and interrupt its force. Mably has justly observed, in his remarks on the history of France, that if you consider the empire as composed of independent states, who have leagued with each other for mutual defence, one could not devise wiser regulations than they have instituted to secure their liberty from internal usurpers. The definition of the constitution of the empire, "It is a confusion preserved by God's omnipotence,"* is a just one as long as the empire is erroneously considered as a single self-subsisting state; but if you view it, that is, as an assembly of many free states, who have knit themselves together by a certain political system, one shall discover in place of confusion, a great deal of order; and instead of unmeaning connection, a great deal of prudence and foresight. The dam which I have mentioned to you, is that law which provides, that "the majority in the imperial colleges should not be decisive, either in religion or those matters in which the states could not be considered as one body, or where the catholics were of one, and the protestants of another opinion." In these cases the colleges divide into parties, and however small in number one party may be, its decree is held equal to the other more numerous one. Religion alone gave rise to this law; but in latter times the genius of politics has made good use of it, and all the catholics who are necessarily dependant on the emperor's court, have found it of service for a smaller number of protestants to be able to oppose the emperor. Since the power of the king of Prussia has got so astonishingly high, he is at the head of the protestant party, although Saxony has the apparent government of it, and he protests often very vehemently against things in which religion is not in the least concerned.

From Munich I went to Inspruck, and from thence into the Tyrol. I will reserve what I have to say on that subject till its proper place, which will be when I come to the Austrian territories; besides this letter is already of the proper length.

LETTER XIV.

Saltzburg.

IT was with great pleasure that I wandered over this romantic country, and at one time standing on some immense peak I viewed under me the clouds, towered on clouds, boundless plains, innumerable lakes, rivers, and brooks, vallies of tremendous depth, and the bare summits of huge granite rocks, with the sensations which are peculiar to such heavenly regions. Sometimes I take my abode in the deep hanging brow of a mountain, in a shepherdess's hut, who dwells the whole summer through with her flocks in this subterrestrial region, and is visited only by her lover, who clammers up two or three miles of the mountains to her, some wild-goat hunter, or by chance some strayed knight like myself; there I live a day like an ancient patriarch on milk and cheese, count

* Est confusio divinitus conservata.

the flock which in the evening assembles round the hut, at the sound of a flute, and which at the moment I can think are my own, sleep upon a heap of hay far more tranquil than you upon your hypochondriac down bed, and then enjoy the beauties of the rising sun, with a luxury and delight, which at operas, comedies, balls, and all the usual places of entertainment, you must look for in vain. Sometimes I visit a lake, in the bosom of a high mountain, which charms my sight still more, if at break of day I find it mantled over with a mist. Then with greater pleasure, I survey the rising sun drive, and disperse the mist into the valley, and the gilded mountain tops emerging high above it, now the wind by degrees discovers the lake like a mirror, and the mist, like a night spectre, creeps through the interstices of the mountain into some neighbouring cliffs. Then I make a little voyage in a hollowed tree, which here must do the service of a ship, and breakfast on exquisite butter and honey, in some neighbouring peasant's house, and smile when I think of you, who are sitting at your tea-table in your learned night-gown, and critic night-cap, swallowing with your tea, some as watery stale production of the day, and from all that rot-gut stuff, get swelled and puffed with wind, which you vainly endeavour to dispel by rhubarb, and all the preparations of your medicine chest.

The part which is towards the town has the appearance of an immense pyramid; but it stretches backwards into a rock, which is a mile long, and takes six or seven hours to walk round. A common traveller will reach the top in five hours, but the goat hunters, who climb like cats, do it in three. There is a prospect from it over all Bavaria, and you may reckon nine lakes in sight. The most charming part of the prospect, is the principality of Berchtholdsgaden, which lies to the south of the mountain, and consists of a woody wall encompassed round with vast heights of the most picturesque granite. Amongst them the Watzman is distinguished by its perfectly conical appearance. The appearance of the lakes around the dark woods have an unspeakably fine effect. The prospect into some of the neighbouring vallies of Salzburg, is not less beautiful.

This mountain seems a proof of the truth of the system taken up by Mr. Buffon, with regard to mountains. It consists of a mass of granite, worked into the soil, in the declivities and depths of which, here and there sand and chalk-stone lie as if floated in water. The lower parts of the mountain are well wooded, and it has some very good mines of red and white marble. From one of these mines there is a fine prospect of the town; at some distance from them, in a wide gap of the mountain, there is a very remarkable water fall. A rapid stream (which in spring when the snow begins to melt, must be much larger than it is now) breaks out from a cleft of the rock; which you enter by means of some artificial steps. In the cleft, where one shivers with cold, you hear in the inside of a mountain a dull rumbling like far distant thunder. Probably the mountain has some lake in its bosom, into which the snow and rain water precipitating from above, occasion the noise. There is not a doubt but this internal body of water must in time prove destructive to the mountain. The tradition of the country is, that the emperor Charles the Great, and his whole army, are confined and shut up in this mountain until Doomsday, and will continue till then amusing themselves with this terrible noise. On a certain day of the year, about midnight, the emperor is to be seen with his train of ministers and generals, going in procession to the cathedral of Salzburg. Were it not that you are so well acquainted with the wonders to be met in the Sierra Morena at the mouth of the Quadiana, I could lay before you a legally attested account of wizards, whose white beards by length of time, have grown ten or twenty times about the table on which they lie sleeping in the mountain, and of hermits a thousand years old, who have led strayed goat-hunters through subterraneous passages, and shewn them fairy palaces of gold and precious stones. From the cleft whence the spirit of the great

Charles issues to walk by night, the stream precipitates itself with a loud noise, and falls in a variety of cascades down the deep and narrow gully which it seems to have dug itself in the hard marble. Here and there it has hollowed out basins of marble by its fall, which no power of art could have given a better polish to. Indeed they are so nicely constructed, that the lovers of antiquity in the neighbourhood have actually been at the pains to prove that they are ancient baths. Quite below, at the foot of the mountain, behind a mill, the fall presents a most picturesque appearance. It is not very high at this point, but very singular, because the water is divided into innumerable threads, which cross each other in such varied and strange ways amidst the fragments of the rock which have fallen from above, that no imagination can devise a cascade so fanciful and capricious. Here on the detached rocks are small pine-trees, which infinitely increase the beauty of the scene. The water of this stream is so cold, that you could not hold your hand in it ten seconds; and yet in the greatest sweat and perspiration, you may drink as much as you please, without the smallest danger, as you digest it as easily as air. When I am perfectly faint, I do not know a better cordial than this water.

That part of the principality of Salzburg which lies to the north of the capital, is likewise very mountainous, but it produces sufficient grain for the support of its inhabitants. But about six miles from the town there is a long narrow valley which stretches itself first some miles southward and then westward, is bounded by vast mountains, is watered by the river Saltza, constitutes the greatest part of the principality, but scarcely affords one third part of the necessary grain. The entrance to this valley is called the *Lueg* or *Luhk*, a word which in low Dutch and English signifies look, and answers to the watch tower of many imperial towns and territories. This pass is a deep narrow hollow between naked, suspended, perpendicular rocks of granite, which hang over on each side, rise to an enormous height, and through which the Saltza pours with great impetuosity. Above the river they have cut a path in the rock, and there is a gate with hardly room enough for a single carriage to pass, protected by a battery, so that a few people here could withstand a whole army. The other approaches to this valley are equally well guarded, and nature seems to have fortified it as well as Wales.

Besides this large valley there are several lesser ones adjoining, which belong to this principality. They are of the same nature as the other, and the inhabitants of them live chiefly by breeding cattle. In many places you may find very rich farmers, who own from sixty to fourscore head of great cattle. They export some cheese and butter, but not near so much as they might do, if the inhabitants were as industrious, frugal, and disposed for trade as the Swiss. Besides horned cattle they also breed great numbers of horses which are very strong, and are exported to great distances for the purposes of heavy burden and draught; their shape is not handsome; their heads are too thick, and their hind quarters too high; but I remember well to have seen in some towns on the Rhine, a single Salzburg horse drawing a weight of forty quintals, and a very heavy cart besides from the river to the town. The farmers use them to hard labour at three years old, and this is the cause why they soon become stiff, and cannot serve for coach horses. The emperor gave twelve pounds for one for his artillery. The dominions which this prince has in Carinthia, are, in point of natural advantages, much the same as these; but what he possesses in Austria is too inconsiderable to be mentioned. Upon the whole, this country draws near the half of its necessary corn from Bavaria.

The peasant of this country cannot content himself with cheese and potatoes, as the Swiss does; but must always have his meat, which, however fat it may be, he constantly dips in hog's lard. He must have an abundance of good bread, beer and brandy. Considering the natural situation of the country, this too expensive mode of living would make them the poorest people in Europe, if the extravagance was not counterbalanced

by a prudent and admirable œconomy in other respects. The Salzburg peasant clothes himself from head to foot; every family weaves a sort of coarse dark gray cloth, from wool which they grow and prepare themselves. They also make their own shoes and stockings. Their dress is by these means cleanly, simple, and graceful. With all this, the equality between the income and expenditure of the country is chiefly kept up by the mines.

The salt-works at Hallein are without comparison the most considerable. The internal part of this mountain, which is about four miles distant from this place, consists of crystals of salt, mixed with a great deal of earth. In order to clean it, they dig large hollow chambers within-side, and fill them with water, which washes the salt, and lets the earth sink to the bottom. The water thus impregnated is conveyed into pans and boiled off. In course of time the chambers fill of themselves again with salt, and the treasure is inexhaustible. One of these chambers, when it is lighted up, makes one of the prettiest sights in the world. Conceive to yourself a hall about a hundred feet square, the walls and ground of which are composed of crystals of every earthly colour, and which reflect the light so wonderfully that you would think yourself in some enchanted palace. In order to carry on this work, the wood of the forests along the Saltza and other rivers is floated down them. This may perhaps in time put a stop to it, for the small woods are already visibly thinner.

From the unfavourable situation of this country, it cannot use the whole of this treasure for itself, but is obliged to give up the most part to foreigners. All the country round is either Austrian or Bavarian. The first have salt sufficient for their own use, and all importation of foreign salt is prohibited. On the other hand, the Bavarian salt-works at Ratisbon is so productive, that it not only provides sufficient for that country, but also can afford a considerable quantity to foreigners. In consequence of all this, the archbishops of Salzburg have found themselves obliged to enter into an agreement with the dukes of Bavaria, in virtue of which, these take a certain quantity of salt every year, at a very moderate price, and furnish Switzerland and Saabia with it. By this means the salt trade of Salzburg is properly in the hands of Bavaria, who gain full three times as much by it as the princes of Salzburg. The value of the salt which Bavaria stipulates to take yearly, amounts to about 200,000 florins, or 20,000*l.* What is disposed of in the country itself, or carried into Austria clandestinely, makes on the whole about 350,000 florins, or 35,000*l.* of which two thirds may be clear gain.

The gold and silver mines of this principality make a great figure in the geography of Germany; but compared with the salt-works are not worth mentioning. In the registers of the custom-house I have seen the entry of all the gold, silver, iron, copper, and other mines or pits, on an average of the last ten years: the prince's clear gain from all his works, was about 65,000 florins, or 6500*l.* a year. He works them almost all himself; for some years past he has lost in digging a gold mine in the neighbourhood of Gastein, about 20,000 florins, or 2000*l.* a year, which he has ventured, in the treacherous hope of being rewarded in time with a rich spoil, and partly that the valley where it is dug, whose inhabitants live solely by these works, may not become a waste. The iron here is brittle, and in no great request. The prince has also a brass manufactory on his own account, but the calamine necessary for it grows every day more scarce in the country.

Mr. Busching says, in his account of Germany, that he "learns from good authority, that the income of the archbishop amounts to four millions of florins," or 400,000*l.* If the prince would make me his farmer-general, I durst hardly offer him 1,200,000 florins, or 120,000*l.* for his whole revenue. I am pretty confident that the taxes, tolls,

and crown-lands, &c. in which I include the produce of the mines, &c. do not yield much above 600,000 florins, or 60,000*l*. The excise, customs, and other taxes levied in the capital, together with the prince's breweries, must bring in 435,000 more or 43,500*l*. before I could clear any thing by my contract.

The extent of the country is estimated at two hundred and forty German square miles. There are only seven or eight towns, some of which are not to be compared with a Suabian village. The total number of inhabitants is computed at two hundred and fifty thousand, of which the capital contains fourteen thousand. There is only one manufacture in the whole country, which is a small one at Hallein for cotton stockings, and night-caps. Since there has been a good road made to Trieste, Salzburg carries on a considerable trade in spices and drugs, with which it supplies a great part of Bavaria. The roads through this mountainous country are in general very good. Notwithstanding here and there you pass on wooden bridges hung by chains over some dreadful abysses, the heaviest carriages have nothing to fear, except perhaps the being overset by a violent blast of wind, or being covered by a fall of snow in spring. On my journey to the bath at Gastein, one of the wildest regions of this country, I saw all that was possible to be done to render the most dreadful abysses and steepest rocks passable. In this journey I saw also one of the most remarkable water-falls which I ever met with. A powerful stream precipitates itself almost from the clouds, upon a rock beneath, which rises a hundred feet high above the way, and thence so strongly recoils in an arch, that a traveller who passes under this arch is not in the least wet. In front this fall cannot be seen, because it is too narrow, and the opposite rock is too steep; but a little distance off, when viewed from the side it presents a most extraordinary aspect.

LETTER XV.

Salzburg.

I AM a lover of mountain scenes, and by no means one of those whose feelings are only to be excited by what is monstrous. who love strong emotions, because they are commonly insensible to the gentler affections, and who seek for satisfaction from barren rocks, from boundless plains of ice and snow, because by intemperate use of the joys which milder regions present, they are disgusted with them. To me the most uniform plain is variety enough, to keep my heart in that degree of warmth, and my senses within the limits which are necessary for the uninterrupted enjoyment of nature. I embrace the tree which suddenly affords me a shade, after I have long wandered through a barren and level spot. The moss upon a heath allures me, and the rivulet which steals through some unextensive meadow, interests me sufficiently without the noise of a water-fall. I am however, impartial enough to do all justice to the mountain views, and allow them, in respect to beauty, the preference over the plains. The pulse of nature beats stronger here, every thing discovers more life and energy, every thing more loudly and emphatically speaks an almighty Power at work. The stream which, without knowing the path it must pursue, meanders slowly through the plain, rushes through the mountains and grows impetuous in its course; the motion of the clouds, the revolutions of the sky, and the peals of thunder are all more strong and animated. The vallies in the fair season of the year, are filled with finer perfumes of flowers and herbs than those of the plains, whose soil is not so fit to preserve their radical moisture, and where their exhalations are dissipated more widely in the air. Nature here is more varied and infinitely more picturesque. Of her different shades, an inhabitant of the plain can form no conception, but from the contrast, they all, even the smallest features of them, appear more

striking and engaging. Here at once nature presents the peculiarities of every season, and the most different climates. As long as the summer lasts, in the bottom of the valley the heat of Africa is felt; in the middle of the mountain you enjoy the moderate temperature of spring; and the top reminds you of Siberia. And how various are the forms, chains and heaps of mountains and hills!

Man resembles his soil, unless education and society change him. The peasant of this country bears the stamp of nature upon him. His movements are quick, like the stream in his wood; he is boisterous in his passions, like the atmosphere; he breathes strong as the oak which shades him; and is faithful, firm and true as the rock which bears his hut. The life and variety of the scenes which nature offers him, render his head richer in conceptions, and his heart warmer than it would be if he dwelt upon an uniform plain, and gave himself up to nature as he does here. His distance from populous places, and the scattered situation of the huts, which give him few opportunities for distraction from his own concerns, preserve his manners pure, dispose him to reflection, and make him more attentive to his own proper business. In his make, the expression of his countenance, his gestures and language, he has greatly the advantage of the Bavarian peasant. I regret incessantly that my want of sufficient skill in the provincial dialect prevents my communing with these mountaineers, so agreeably as I wish to do. The unspeakable openness of heart which they shew, their frequent instances of good-will and affection, together with the good humour and native pleasantry legible in their looks, endear them at first sight to every friend of humanity. Many of them still wear long beards, and those in the remoter parts thou every body, even their princes. The disease of the throat is not uncommon with them, though it be not so prevalent as some travellers choose to report it. In general they are a very handsome set of people.

The diminution made in the population and agriculture of these lands, by the emigration of the protestants about fifty years ago, is not yet recovered. In this masterpiece of bad government, the weakness of a prince, and the selfish treachery of a minister, were beyond measure conspicuous. I have read over the papers which give an account of this wonderful event, to my great edification. Those are much deceived who ascribe the cause of this extraordinary commotion to religious principles, propagated in these mountains at the time of the reformation. From the writings before me, it appears that very few had any distinct idea of the Augsburg or Helvetian confessions of faith. These may possibly have contributed something; but most of these new protestants became so through reflection and discourses among themselves, the causes of which were furnished by maxims selected from catholic sermons and religious books. Had they been allowed unlimited freedom of religion in the country, they certainly would have founded an entire new sect, which would have had little resemblance to either Calvinism or Lutheranism. Most of those who were heard judicially in their own defence, answered the question, "Whether they would confess to the Lutheran or the Catholic church? directly, "No, to neither of them. We believe, but not what our countrymen believe, but keep ourselves merely to the scriptures." Many circumstances, with which the reformers of the sixteenth century had no concern, occasioned a sort of rebellion of men's understandings. Peasants and mechanics became preachers in their own houses, or under some tree in a sequestered place. In short, we must do these people the honour to say, they were almost entirely their own teachers. It was when they were obliged to seek foreign protection from the oppression of their own lords, and enter into treaty with the king of Prussia, that they declared themselves of a sect, which, by the treaty of Westphalia, was privileged in the empire, and they did it because no other means could have secured them from total oppression.

The archbishop of that time was a good man, who truly loved his subjects, and did every thing possible, according to his judgment, to guide them in the straight path to happiness. He sent capuchins as missionaries into the mountains, whose capuchins and beards however could get no hold on men whose understandings were awakened. He prayed incessantly for the conversion of his strayed sheep, and spared neither gold nor kind words to recover them back to heaven. The loss of so many souls was far more grievous to him than the departure of so many poor from the culture of his lands, and the consequent diminution of his income.

His chancellor, however viewed things in a quite different light. He had calculated what benefits he could derive to himself by the emigration of so many thousand inhabitants, and the sale of so many estates. He made use of the weakness of his prince, on this most plausible occasion, to fill his own purse. He represented to him how dangerous it was for the safety of his yet right-believing subjects, to permit heretics to dwell among them. Taking advantage of the following answer made by one of the adherents to the new doctrine to a neighbour, who had given him great provocation: "Stay only till the king of Prussia's six thousand men draw near; we shall strike all your heads off. He is another kind of monarch than the archbishop, and he is already on his march to us, &c." The patriotic chancellor discovered high treason, in a speech which was only the expression of a rash, unguarded moment of passion. By a single word he became the actual cause of the retreat of about twenty-five thousand men, by which he gained about fifty thousand, and the archbishop lost one hundred thousand florins of his yearly income. The king of Prussia sent two commissaries here, who were ordered to protect the property of those who chose to retire into his territories, and brought out of the country the greatest part of the gold which was got by the sale of the houses, properties, and goods of the refugees.

There are still over all the mountains many adherents to the new doctrine. I made acquaintance with one, who is in every respect too remarkable not to introduce him to you also. Some days ago I visited with another gentleman the sheriff, or as he is termed here, the constable of Werfen, a very polite and clear thinking man; for, in the most remote parts of these mountains, the information of the people exceeded my expectations. This excursion gave me pleasure in every step.

From the pass of Leug, where the great valley begins, the road runs for two miles into Werfen, through a narrow gully, between naked rocks, which in many places stand like heaven's high walls on each side. The scattered clumps of wood at the foot of this chain of mountains; the wild variety in the course of the river Saltz; the extraordinary incisions, formation, and complexion of the rocks; the marks of the former height of the river, visible many fathoms above its present bed; the singular station of the very few habitations; and the striking disposition of the whole, gives this otherwise solitary landscape sufficient attractions to fix a traveller's attention. The castle of Werfen stands by the spot of this name, where the valley begins to widen remarkably, upon a detached rock of a conical form, which rises in the middle of the gully. On one side of it there is scarcely room for the road, and on the other, scarcely room for the river. The front of the castle commands a prospect over the wide part of the valley, which runs between hills, part of which are well cultivated, and part covered with rich woods; and from the back you see the narrow deep glen, through which the traveller has come, the rocky points of which are shining in the sun, while in the depth below perpetual darkness sits encamped. In the castle many prisoners are confined, who are sometimes obliged to work in chains. I was struck peculiarly with the form and countenance of a man, of whom I had already heard much reported. He has the figure of a handsome elderly

man, of something more than sixty years, who still preserves a fine ruddy complexion. His strong long beard, and beautiful black hair, are here and there mixed with gray very thinly scattered. His carriage is as light, and he holds himself as straight as a youth in his full strength. His forehead, and the whole formation of his countenance is regular, and his large blue speaking eyes, must fix the attention of any one the least acquainted with mankind upon him. An inexpressible serenity of soul, and the pride inseparable from a great character, are pictured in his countenance. I desired to hear him tell his history, and now give it you from his own words, as nearly as I can.

"I have been now," said he, "twenty-four years a prisoner here. I still remember the emigration of the many thousands of my countrymen, in which, though I was then but young, I took great concern. As I grew up, the memory of this event made the strongest impression on me. The joy with which so many of my neighbours quitted their native country, to shun any force on their consciences, and be unrestrained and free in their faith, had something great and affecting in it to me. This made the remonstrances of my friends and acquaintances, who did not agree in opinion with the capuchins, find an easy access to my mind. I opened the scriptures, compared the doctrine I met with there with the pope's, and formed my own religion, the principles of which I did not keep very secret, because I believed them true. As at that time the capuchins, who wandered about the whole country as missionaries, had spies every where, they could not fail but hear at last of some assertions which escaped me in the heat of religious disputation. They instantly pursued and persecuted me wherever I was. At last they came into my house, and insisted on a confession of my faith. I answered according to my conviction, and laid my doubts before them; however this did not signify. They constantly went from the point; it was of no avail to interrogate them on matters of faith; faith must be implicit, and I must deliver a confession of faith. I told them it was utterly impossible to believe what was contrary to the conviction of my mind; but all did not serve.

"When I saw that they could not convince me, and that they paid no regard to my internal conviction, I told them to leave me in peace, and staked my honour and my life to them that I would conceal my religious opinions, nor make any converts to them. This was in vain; every day they rudely broke into my house, and pressed me to a confession of faith which belied my conscience. Sir, I did all that was possible to obtain peace from them, but it was impossible. One day, as I returned fatigued from the field, and was going to refresh myself with some provision, the capuchins came again riotously into my house. I had for some time before this resolved not to say a word to them, except good day or good evening. As they began their old clamour again, I heard them a long time composed and quiet, and took my fare with better relish the more they cursed me. However, as there appeared to be no end of it, I retired into a corner behind the oven, to let them rail as long as they pleased. But even there I was not secure; at last I threw myself impatiently on the bed, as one of them approached me even here, and dunned in my ears, I turned my back to him, but immediately there was another of them at the other side, who made a still more horrid clack than his companion. At last I became enraged, and told them I was master in my own house, and as they continued still to behave worse and worse, I sprung up, seized the first thing I could lay hold of, which I believe was a broom, and beat them out of my house. I was now treated not only as an obdurate heretic, but as a blasphemer who had laid sacrilegious hands upon the holy priests. They took me prisoner, and brought me here in chains. At first I suffered dreadfully. A hundred times I said, if they would only convince me, I would confess with heart and soul. But it was all to no purpose. They

endeavoured to force me to go into the church to confess, to reveal my opinions on religion, &c. I told them I could publish nothing further of my religion, than that I did not believe what they believed. They either would or could not convince me, and I then became impatient to go to the church, but they told me I could not be permitted, unless it was for the purpose of changing my faith and confessing my errors. The incessant importunity of the capuchins for a confession of faith from me was the most insufferable of all. All my solicitations to be indulged, and all remonstrances of the futility of a verbal confession unless the heart joined in it, were of no service. At last I resolved to behave like a mute and hold no more discourse with them; which resolution, for eighteen whole years, I have literally persisted in; a few years ago they begun to treat me more kindly, and since that time I have resumed my speech."

The constable confirmed to us that this extraordinary man had not uttered a syllable for eighteen whole years; and that during that time no one had ever seen a cloud upon his brow, or a feature of ill-humour in his countenance. Whatever was enjoined him to do, which did not concern religion, he complied with calmly and always cheerfully. A slight cast of disdain of the people about him is all that has been remarked. When one considers that his clearness of head, his open nature and good humour, must very naturally and very strongly dispose him to society and the communication of his sentiments, his voluntary dumbness must appear astonishing. By his good behaviour during his captivity, he has induced the prince, who is a great lover of toleration, to let his chains be taken off, and at the request of the constable a considerable addition has been made to his daily allowance. He has gained so much confidence, that they have made him a kind of superintendant over his fellow prisoners. He has often been sent entirely loose and free to work with them at places from whence it would have been easy for him to have escaped; but his character is a better security for his person than the strongest chains. He has procured to himself, without being sensible of it himself, so much respect from his brother captives, that with a single word he can keep them better in awe than the jailor with his staff. Nature has secured to him a superiority over the multitude of mankind, although she bred him in a cottage. His leisure hours are at present employed in teaching a young incendiary, who has lain for some years in prison, in chains, for wickedly setting fire to his father's house, to read and to write, without however instilling into him any of his religious opinions. These he preserves so secret at present, that I could not with the most confidential entreaties, and all my prayers and petitions, obtain any disclosure from him. All he answered was, "I do not believe what the capuchins believe, and want nothing but a bible to lead a contented life." Some years ago his wife was permitted to see him; but, without shewing the smallest desire to enjoy her, after some warm and kind exhortations for her welfare, he dismissed her. A bible, after which his soul thirsts so ardently, they are backward to allow him, because they are unwilling to add any more flame to his enthusiasm. All the Saltzburg ladies and gentlemen, in whose company I had the honour of seeing him, discovered the highest respect for him; but they were all unanimous in declaring that it had not been very political conduct to become a martyr for so small a matter as was demanded of him.

The country people here are uncommonly lively and gay. The young women of these sequestered corners of our continent all fresh as roses, and lively as the roe, yet understand the art of coquetry as well as our Parisian dames, only the allurements which they display for conquest are more natural. They know how to employ the ornamental parts of dress to the best advantage. If they are disposed to make a lover happy, neither the shame of an illegitimate birth, nor the fear of being obliged to maintain a child, is of any consideration. Custom sets them above the first, and the ease of maintaining a

child makes them disregard the other. The punishment which they incur for such a faux-pas is hardly worth mentioning. Murder of infants is extremely uncommon here; without constraint, without reserve, they all yield to the impulses of nature. The young girls kiss and shake hands, in the open church on Sundays, with those they love. On a nightly visit, however, the lover is rather in a hard situation; for however unfriendly the weather may be, the window or door is not opened to him, until a certain watchword is given, which consists commonly of long rhymes, in which he is obliged to express, in a mysterious manner, his sufferings and smart. This custom is very old, and in many of the remote parts of the mountains sacred and inviolable. Nor can the connection between the parties, however long or however close, enable them to dispense with it. A young peasant very seldom forsakes his girl, particularly when, after having two or three children by her, he can marry her.

The inhabitants of these mountains are so contented with their state, that they consider their country as a kind of Paradise. Those who live in Dintner Valley, a frightful gap between naked rocks, through which the river Dintner runs, have a saying, "When any one falls from heaven he must fall into Dintner Valley." Which is as much as to say this valley is the second heaven. For a long time I could not explain why the good people entertained such a high opinion of a deep glen, where often for weeks together it snows so much that one can neither come out nor go in, and which forms so striking a contrast with many neighbouring and very attracting districts. I considered it at first as irony, but I learnt at last that it was meant entirely in earnest, and that the unlimited freedom which the inhabitants of this extraordinary Paradise enjoy, had given rise to this high hyperbole. They consist solely of shepherds, miners, and iron melters, who are entirely free from taxes, and on account of their small payments to the government and their remoteness of situation, are little taken notice of by their superiors. The taxes paid, in general, by the inhabitants of this country are very moderate, and the freedom from the extortions under which the rest of Germany groans, contributes, no doubt, greatly to the good humour of the people. Till within a short time, estates were taxed in proportion to their value, the beginning of this century, which, as you may suppose, bears no proportion to the present price of things. The attempt the present sovereign has been making to raise a more equitable tax, has occasioned some murmur: there, however, he is not so much to blame, as his income is proportionably much smaller than that of the other German princes; and what he has done, has not only the sanction of the states of the country, but is guaranteed by them, so that the people have no cause to fear a farther rise; but what makes him unpopular, is his excessive love of hunting, which has occasioned some acts of oppressive power, for which after all, his servants and ministers may be more to blame than himself. In several parts of the country, the farmers are prohibited from driving their sheep to certain pastures bordering upon woods, lest the game in these should be deprived of sustenance. This, to a people who, as I told you before, make all the woollen cloth they wear from the shearings of their own sheep, must appear an intolerable hardship. Prohibitions of this kind must also be attended with very bad effects of another sort. The peasants of this country are very averse to all kinds of innovation; there have been instances of their declaring somewhat loudly, that they would put themselves on the same footing with the Swiss; and yet when their prince dies of old age, they shew an uncommon affection for him. O that princes knew how to set a due value on the affections of their fellow-creatures!

Many of the peasants of this country still wear long beards, and go with their heads uncovered, and their breasts open, at all times of the year. As they are extremely

hairy, and very much sun-burnt, this gives them a very formidable appearance at some distance, but when you come near them, their friendly looks, and appearance of integrity, recommend them very strongly. They are courageous and strong, and would no doubt make a stout stand in defence of their own country; but out of it, according to the report of the best officers, they do not make good soldiers. Like all its inhabitants of mountains, they do not bear climate well. Besides this, the peculiarity of diet which they have been used to from their youth, and are obliged to give up in the field, makes them unfit for service. By good fortune their sovereign has little concern in keeping up the balance of Europe. In general, they are much more civil than the Swiss, and by no means so thirsty of gain as these are, who, however hostile they may be to paying taxes themselves, never fail to lay strangers under very severe ones. I have several times been shown my way, and received other small services from these people without being able to make them take any thing for their trouble. Fare ye well.

LETTER XVI.

Saltzburg.

IN Pilati's journey through different parts of Europe, I remember to have read an anecdote, intended to paint the intolerant spirit of the Saltzburghers. It is indeed very true, that persons of all ranks are obliged to kneel down in the streets, when the host passes by, a ceremony made particularly distressing, by the peculiar brutality of the Sacristans of the place. I have likewise heard some good hearted girls lament, with a most serious tone of compassion, that some friends of mine, who have been here a few days, are protestants. Except however the kneeling to the sacrament, which every man may easily prevent, as the bell is heard at a great distance, I do not see what a protestant has to be apprehensive of. There are many companies in every rank of life, into which a stranger may be admitted, let his religion be what it will. Money and good words will procure you meat, in most of the inns, on fast days; and the people, who, especially in such places, mimic the manners of their superiors, have lost much of the ferocious and intolerant spirit they had contracted under a bigoted prince.

There is very good company to be met with amongst the nobility, particularly amongst the canons, several of whom are distinguished for knowledge of various kinds. The present metropolitan, who is brother to the well known count Firmian, the governor of Milan, is well acquainted with the best Italian, French, German, and English writers. He has almost a complete collection of the latter in his well chosen library. He is a most amiable man, and makes the best use of his benefices, which bring him an income of 20,000 guilders, or 2000 pounds a year. The high steward, who is another brother of the governor's, is a great lover of painting, and a deep connoisseur in it. His fine collection of the portraits of artists, most of which are painted by himself, is hardly inferior to that of Florence. The shock this gentlemen lately felt from one of the severest afflictions which can strike a father's heart, has weakened the powers of his soul, and spread a cloud over the not to be described and almost infantine goodness, that beams upon his countenance. He had an eldest son, the hopes of the family, and a very promising young man, who was already dean of Passau, and bade fair to be a bishop, if not archbishop of Saltzburg. His father made him a visit, and took him out a hunting. They were on different sides of the hedge, when unluckily the father gave fire, and shot the son through the heart. As soon as he had done it, he sprung through the hedge like a madman, tore his hair, and wallowed in the snow. They were obliged to tear him away from the place by force. Count Woltfegg, another of the canons, has taken

a journey through France, purposely with a view of becoming acquainted with our manufactures. This gentleman is well known to our best artists, but his particular passion is botany, in which he is very excellent. The groom of the stole, count Kuenburg, is a very sensible man, extremely pleasant, witty, and sociable. His library, in the formation of which he has not consulted the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, contains all our best authors. The bishop of Chiensee, the count of Tieb, and several more of the high nobility are respectable, both on account of their knowledge and virtues. The upper nobility of the place is made up chiefly of Austrian families, who distinguish themselves by their affability, their knowledge of the world, and their manners, from the stupidly proud Bavarian and Suabian barons. On the other hand, the lesser nobility, the swarm of little court gentry, render themselves ridiculous by their pitiable lust after titles, and their wretched pride. You must here visit about a hundred *Gnadige herrn*,* who live upon three or four hundred florins a year, which they receive from the court, but whom you cannot offend more than by calling them plain sir, or their wives plain madam. A man who lives here must accustom himself to put in *Gnadige herrn* at every third word, unless he chooses to pass for ill-bred. Such, however, is the astonishing poverty of this class of people, that you visit several *Gnadige herrn*, who take up with housekeepers places, or the office of sisters in the hospitals. They all complain that the court doth not give them enough to live according to their rank; but unluckily, I have never been able to find out what their rank is. Most of them have neither estates nor money; but they would look upon it as a great degradation to suffer their children to be brought up to any trade or business. The court is therefore compelled to make their appointments as slender as possible, that it may be able to keep them from starving; though above two-thirds of them are superfluous servants. Their rank, therefore, seems to depend on the pleasure of the court to feed a great number of useless servants, and on their impudent confidence in that pleasure. Once, however, give them their right titles, and you will find them the best people in the world. Many of them amuse themselves with French and German literature, particularly with all that relates to the stage. The rage for the theatre is as violent here as it is at Munich; and they look for the coming of a company of strollers, with as much eagerness as the inhabitants of Siberia look for the return of spring. A French engineer, in the prince's service, has built them a pretty theatre. It is adorned with columns, which support nothing but a black board before the curtain, with the arms of the prince on it. Upon the whole, knowledge seems to be more diffused here than it is at Munich. Though the governor is an ecclesiastic, there are not near so many cloisters, in proportion to the size of the two places, as in Bavaria; and the ecclesiastics of this place are very advantageously distinguished from the others, by good manners, humility, an endeavour to live up to their character, and other virtues. Government is likewise much better understood here than it is at Munich. Too much cannot be said of the head of the present prince, but of his heart, I know nothing. He knows that he is not beloved by the Saltzburghers, and for that reason neglects them, and shuts himself up. I believe the complaints made of him to be much too violent. They accuse him of sending above 300,000 florins to his family at Vienna every year, and part of the states of the city, that is, almost all the chapter of the cathedral, have brought actions against him, in the imperial court of Vienna, for taking the ready money out of the chest, and filling it with paper, which they cannot change into cash. I do not know how far the charge made by this respectable chapter may be well grounded; but it is certain, that he has displayed an uncommon depth of acuteness and

* German title of noblesse, which means, gracious sir.

penetration, in his defence of himself. Several of the present canons were hostile to him, from his first coming to the archbishopric, which they had entertained hopes of themselves, and which was procured for him by the court of Vienna. Supposing him, however, to rob the country of part of its property, it is certain that he disposes of the rest to the best advantage. He has founded several good seminaries of education. He is not at all partial to his own order, as appears from his having taken away at a stroke 100,000 florins from the Augustinian monks. One half of this he put in his own pocket, the other half he has given to the public. As in every thing else, so also in his passion for hunting, the only passion he has, he is extremely parsimonious. A battalion of the finest soldiers I have hitherto beheld, disciplined in the Austrian manner, and the officers of which are attached to him, secures him from all accidents.

Every thing here breathes the air of pleasure and joy. They eat, drink, laugh, dance, sing, and gamble in the extreme; nor have I yet seen a place where you may have so many different pleasures for so little money. They converse here upon religious and political topics with a freedom that does honour to the place; and with regard to books, you may have almost every thing which the German presses produce, without any restraint. One of the resorts of pleasure is the garden of Hellbron, belonging to the prince, which is about three miles off, and where they sell beer and wine. The most remarkable thing, except some very fine marble statues, is a very large park, in the midst of which is a hill.

The university of this place is kept up by the congregation of Benedictines, who supply it with professors. As having studied here is a kind of requisite for preferment to the subjects of the Suabian prelates of the empire, it is a place of great resort for these; but there are few students besides these and the natives, though the chairs are filled with able men. The funds of the university are indeed too small to make it possible for all the objects, which the literature of the present day embraces, to be properly taken care of. They do not amount in all to above 5000 florins, or 500*l.* per annum.

I do not know what to say about the national pride, for which these people are so much censured. With regard to myself, I respect whatever at all contributes to the happiness of mankind, how small and insignificant soever it may appear. How wretched should we be if we were to be robbed of the pleasant play of our fancies! The inhabitants of this country are extremely angry if you call them Bavarians. I had conceived to myself, that as their country is within that circle, they were as true Bavarians as the Wirtembergers are Suabians; but I was told that the comparison with the Suabians did not hold, for that no particular part of Suabia is properly called Suabia; whereas the circle of Bavaria, taking its name from the dukedom which constitutes the greatest part of it, might as well have been called the circle of Salzburg. All I can make out clearly from this is that the Saltzburghers will have nothing to do with the Bavarians, whom they consider as infinitely inferior to them. Indeed it is true that there is a little more taste, a little more *savoir vivre*, and a little less bigotry in this place than in Bavaria; but the rating themselves so excessively high, and degrading the Bavarians below the rank of wild beasts, is undoubtedly owing to the good fairy Phantasy. At least the gentlemen and ladies ought to remember that if the horizon is a little clearer here at present than it is all around them, it is entirely owing to the present archbishop, who, with his holy rod, has dispelled the magic darkness of superstition in his domains. A revolution of the same kind may raise the Bavarians much above what they now are in a short time. Indeed there are still symptoms enough here of the darkness which totally overspread the place fifteen or twenty years ago. The prisons allotted to ecclesiastics have in them a priest, who, some time since, in order to impress his parish with a greater

hatred of sin, and a greater fear of the devil, dressed up the school-master of the place like Beelzebub, and in the midst of service called him up from a hiding-place he had provided for him, to bear witness to the truth.

This country is singularly interesting to a botanist, or mineralogist; but having the misfortune, unluckily, to be very little known, the discovery of the treasures contained in it is reserved for futurity, when either a man of genius shall addict himself to these pursuits, or the swarm of idle travellers who hover like cock-chafers alternately about the Appenines, the Alps, Etna, and the Pyreneans, shall at length for once take their flight to these parts, and by their cry excite some foreign genius to the task. The Zillertal is particularly rich in different sorts of variegated stones, and in many parts of the hills you meet with very scarce European plants. In fine there is room for weaving many an hypothesis on the plants of the hills, on the work and production of the waters in them, and on the revolutions of nature that may still be expected.

Before I dismiss you I must give you some account of a marquisate in the holy Roman empire, which hardly a geographer amongst us is acquainted with the existence of. It is the marquisate of Berchtolsgraden, of which there is a fine view from the top of the Unterberge, which is its limit to the north. It consists of a small narrow vale, encompassed around with rocks, and hardly contains three thousand souls. The place is broken by some lakes, and the lower part of the hills is covered with deep woods. A few days ago, we had an excellent dinner in one of the large islands of the lake, made up of fish we had caught in it, some exquisite venison, and Tyrol wine. Mark, that there is no deficiency of cooks in the most distant and sequestered nooks of this country.

The nature of this country being favourable neither to agriculture nor pasture, the inhabitants have given themselves to works of art, which fail mankind in no part of the earth, and are mighty and powerful enough to turn the hardest stones into bread. It is in these remote vallies that they make the greatest part of the toys with which Nuremberg and Augsburg carry on so considerable a trade. The horses with spurs, little rasps, cuckows, wooden mannikins, rats, and mice, and all the play-things for little children; also the crucifixes, straw quadrille boxes, powder and pomatum boxes, and all the play-things for great children; in a word, the greater part of the articles which go amongst us under the name of German toys, come out of this gulf. It is a pretty sight enough to behold two or three families gathered together in a hut, and to see the great plump hands of the farmers occupied in giving a finish to the smallest articles. There is occupation for the gray-headed, as well as for prating infancy. The very small price for which the makers part with these commodities, makes it impossible for them to accumulate riches; but they have enough, and are happy with it. These good people little think that their productions are brought to us, and that the Spaniards drive a very profitable trade with them in both the Indies. A small part of these people also occupy themselves in salt making; but as it must all be carried through Bavaria, which abounds in the commodity, they part with it for a song. In this article they suffer much from a powerful neighbour on the Salzburg side; for Salzburg has extended its salt mines far beyond the limits that part the two countries; and though the marquis has made several remonstrances, no body has attended to his complaints.

Besides this country, the marquis of Berchtolsgraden possesses some estates in Austria and Bavaria; the value of which altogether may amount to about 60,000 guilders per annum; but the dissipation of former marquises has occasioned the contraction of a large debt.

LETTER XVII.

Passau.

I SAILED hither from Salzburg, on the Saltza and Inn. Water journeys have great allurements for me, from the variety of company one generally meets with in them. The vessel was very full as far as Burghausen. Here a great part of my companions got out to go on a pilgrimage to the neighbouring Ottingen. The pilgrims consisted of a great number of young persons of both sexes, who seemed to have far other purposes than those of expiating their old offences. As we spent the night together at the inn at Burghausen, I had opportunity enough to see that there would be a great weight added to the former load.

There still remained company enough on board for my entertainment. I met with no great entertainment from some Austrian recruits, and some students who were going away for the vacation; but a *gnadige frau*,* from Salzburg, who was going to Vienna, with a view of getting into a cook's or chambermaid's place, which her rank did not suffer her to accept of in her own country, made up to me, and was very good company. This good girl so entirely won my heart by her ingenuity, her taste, her good heart, and her variety of knowledge, that I desired she would call upon me at Vienna, and let me know in what I could serve her. A young woman, who leaves home for the first time, must feel herself sadly distressed in the midst of a large city.

We passed the boundaries that part Austria and Bavaria. The small part of Bavaria to our right, which has lately come into the possession of the Austrians, does not make more than thirty-eight German miles, and hardly contains sixty thousand men. The revenue it furnishes is about 18,000 rix-dollars, so that it hardly seems worth the eighth part of the expence which Austria has been at in the attempt to gain it. The views, however, which this court had in this undertaking, are far more extensive than was thought by the court of Versailles, where the whole was considered as a dispute about a nutshell. This is not the first time that the king of Prussia has been obliged to apprise our wise minister of the consequences which the steps of certain courts would draw after them, consequences which would otherwise certainly have been overlooked. When the court of Austria found the king of Prussia as formidable an adversary with his pen as with his sword, and were compelled by the light given to Russia, to have recourse to negotiation, they pretended that they wanted to make the Inn under Wassenburg the limit betwixt Bavaria and their dominions, and from thence to penetrate into Bohemia by the Iser, the Danube, and the Upper Palatinate; and in return for this they proposed to cede some of their possessions in Suabia, to the court of Munich. Our minister the baron de Breteuil would gladly have consented to this exchange; but the accurate knowledge which the king of Prussia had of the advantages and situation of these countries, enabled him to open the eyes of our court and of Russia. He shewed them that Austrian Suabia could be no equivalent for a great part of Bavaria, because the income which the Austrian country yielded was already the highest that could be got from it; whereas the lands in Bavaria, considering the bad cultivation of them at that time, might easily be made capable of producing much more than what they were estimated at. He shewed them that Austria would be a considerable gainer by the exchange, which would effectually

* Titled woman.

ally put it in possession of Bavaria, by giving it the salt-pits at Reicheshall, and the trade for the Salzburg salts; that by this means it would not only possess itself of the remainder of Bavaria, but render Suabia, and a great part of Switzerland dependant on it for a very important commodity; that Salzburg and Passau would, in fact, though not in appearance, become dependant on the court of Vienna, and that finally the Palatinate, restrained as it already is by the possessions of Austria on all sides of it, would have no power at all, and be entirely unable to make any efforts whatever.

These representations were attended with such effect, that the emperor was obliged to put off the making his German dominions square, to a more favourable opportunity. I am of opinion, however, that sooner or later Bavaria must bow to the Austrian yoke, however reluctant it may be to the operation. As a citizen of the world, and a friend to mankind, who, when the fate of a large country is at stake, I always consider more the advantage of my fellow creatures than any other circumstance whatever, I wish that this alteration may soon take place. A much better government than they at present have, or are likely to possess whilst they remain a separate people, would not put the Bavarians in possession of the advantages they may expect from the uniting with Austria; the natural consequences of which will be certain peace, a much more extensive outlet for all their country produces, and the enjoyment of many things which Providence has denied to them, but bestowed plentifully upon Austria. Now, if you add to all these permanent and perpetual blessings, the present good to be expected from the system of government adopted by the family which now sits on the imperial throne, the well wishers of Bavaria cannot help hoping to see the pretensions of that court enforced by a mightier arm.

Passau is a very miserable, and those parts only excepted which lie about the Danube, and near the residence of the prince, a very ill built town. It relies for subsistence on the court (the income of which is estimated at about 220,000 florins, or 22,000*l.*) and on the canons, whose benefices are some of the fattest in all Germany. A stall here is supposed to be worth more than 3000 florins per annum; whereas those of Salzburg are not worth more than 2600. But besides this, it is to be considered that almost every canon possesses two, three, or four prebends, and is a member of one or more of the Chapters of Salzburg, Augsbourg, Ratisbon, and other places; so that there are few canons in Germany whose incomes are not more than 5000 florins per annum. The inhabitants of these several holy cities are all much alike, as drinking and wenching are their great occupations; and the poverty and good humour, which seldom forsake those who are thus addicted, render them affable, obsequious, and humble. The cathedral is a fine Gothic building, which well deserves to be seen. The jurisdiction of the bishop, who is dependant only on the pope, extends almost to Vienna, but his authority in Austria is already very much limited. In time it will be confined to his own doors, as the imperial court (to judge by what it has already done on the side of Venice) seems determined to render its territory as independent as may be, of all foreign spiritual jurisdiction. There are fine china manufactures and potteries in this country; the produce of the former is carried as far as the Rhine.

Some writers upon Switzerland have contended that the Danube rises in this country, and not in Suabia. Their principal reason for saying so is, that where the Inn joins the Danube at this place, the first of these two streams has a greater body of water than the other. Suppose for a moment the fact to be true, still it would be a dispute of words; for who will refuse the public the privilege of calling a river by whatever name it pleases? Let it be called what it will at its source, the river Brege in the Black Forest, which when it meets the Danube is certainly much the largest of the two, is nevertheless

obliged to give up its name to it: but the very plea on which the Swiss ground their pretensions is only a deception. It is impossible to take a very small part of any river from a given place for the full measure of its greatness. The difference of soil in the bed, a stronger stream, and a variety of other circumstances make the mass of water in a river very different at different places. Here, when the Danube meets the Inn, the former is cramped up by hills; whereas the other running free is of course much wider. But the Danube contains far more water upon equal ground, and far above Ratisbon, before it has received the great rivers Allmuh, Nob, Regen, and Zier, is already a much mightier river than the Inn, which does not gain a great deal by the accession of the very unsteady and irregular Saltza, betwixt Wassenburg and Inspruck. Without doubt, therefore, Suabia has the honour of being the birth place of the mighty Danube, with which only the Volga amongst the European rivers can measure itself. If you come now to compare the whole course of the two rivers (which join here) from the source to the place of meeting, the Inn, by reason of its windings, certainly runs over more ground, but it is not to be compared with the Danube for width. Till it comes under Chuffstein the Inn flows in a very narrow valley; whereas the Danube dominates over the whole plain of Suabia and Bavaria. The Iller and the Lech, by having run into the Danube during a long way, soon become as considerable as the Inn is at Inspruck. This last river being confined to a very narrow valley receives no nourishment but from small streams; whilst the Danube gathers all the fatness of one of the richest lands possible in water, during a length of upwards of forty, and a breadth of twenty miles.

The course I have hitherto pursued in my journey through Germany has carried me through three large plains respectively watered by the Rhine, the Neckar, and the Danube. The first of these is bounded by the Bogesian hills and the Black Forest, which run parallel from north to south. By the Black Forest it is covered from the cold east winds, and the different arms of these parallel hills likewise defend it from the ungentle influences of the north. It enjoys an even and temperate climate, which allows the vineyards to ripen admirably. The plain of the Neckar is of the same temperature as this last: but the immense plain of the Danube lies exposed to the blast of every wind under heaven. The greatest part of it is exposed to the north and north-east, as is visible by the course of the rivers Iller, Lech, and the Iser. Here father Bacchus's power can avail nothing against the fierceness of Boreas and the north. Many attempts have been made to plant vines on the Iser and Danube below Ratisbon, but hitherto they have only produced grapes for eating; I believe that this whole tract of country is too full of wood and water for the vine to ripen in it. But after all, what was Suabia and the country about the Rhine in the times of Tacitus? Little did the Romans think that the vine could grow in Germany. Did they not even doubt whether fruit could grow there? And yet Suabia now produces lordly vines, which may dispute for excellence with the Falernian and all the Roman wines; and the still wilder Bavaria has plenty of good corn.

The fact is, that the air of a country changes with the cultivation; the drying up of marshes render it warmer. The evaporation, too, occasioned by numbers who live together, may work on the air. No doubt but in time still more successful experiments with the grape will be made in Bavaria. The slopes of the hills on the left side of the Danube, betwixt this place and Ratisbon, promise a good place to plant the vine in, as they are well guarded from the noxious winds; and the wine which is actually made in the country about Passau, truly merits the name of wine.

This large vale of the Danube, which at this place is covered to the right by the arm of Bavaria, and to the left by the Syrian hills, produces likewise the best kind of corn. It would very easily nourish as many men again as it actually does. Corn is often so

cheap in Bavaria, as hardly to pay the farmer for the trouble of raising it : one hundred and seventy pounds of rye are frequently sold for about two florins.

Navigation is by no means so well understood in this country as it is upon the upper Rhine ; they do not yet understand how to sail according to the direction of the river. Most of the vessels which go by here come from Ratisbon and Ulm : they are without decks or masts ; they are built only of fir boards, and are sold again either at Vienna or elsewhere. The emperor has promised great rewards to such masters of vessels as will build their vessels like those on the Rhine ; but in this as in every thing else, it is difficult to make the mechanical part of the public tread the track they have not been accustomed to.

As the navigation of the upper parts of the river is not yet established, there is often a want of horses at particular stages, so that you are frequently obliged to hire horses for the whole journey, though there are several places in which you might do very well without them. The vessels on the Rhine have the convenience of being able to go sometimes with two and sometimes with six horses, according as the wind and streams happen to be favourable. They are obliged for this to the constant navigation of the river, which enables the people who inhabit the shore to have hackney horses at small distances from each other. Some of these obstacles will fall away of themselves as soon as the commerce of the country about the Danube grows more considerable ; the largest ship which goes from this place to Vienna carries 2000 quintals, which is about the load of a two-masted vessel. Farewell.

LETTER XVIII.

Lintz.

I WAITED at Passah for the vessel that goes every week from Ratisbon, and meant to have gone as far as Vienna in her ; but the people stopt so often in the calmest weather, under pretence of fearing an approaching storm, that my patience was quite worn out. I could very well see that their true motive in stopping thus often, was to get rid of some of their contraband goods in the small places on the coast. Besides this, my company had but small charms for me ; it consisted of a number of mechanics, who worked their passage, and of farmers' daughters who were going to Vienna for a service. Many of these were obviously with child, and seemed to have left their country in order to be delivered, with less shame and expence, in the hospital at Vienna. Austria is generally supplied with a plentiful number of recruits of this kind from this side. Such society not being at all to my mind, and on the other hand the city of Lintz, with the country round, presenting a fair prospect of amusement, I could not resist the temptation of giving up a few days to become better acquainted with it.

At Engelhastzell our baggage was searched. Every thing was conducted in the best order possible, and with a great deal of gentleness ; the putting the custom-house seals to the merchandise of our vessel took up a whole day. It is still a riddle to me how the ship's company contrived to pass their contraband commodities (of the existence of which I was well assured) ; for the custom-house officers did not appear to me to be of a sort to suffer themselves to be bribed : as for me, the searchers directed their whole attention to my books ; they took away from me Young's Night Thoughts, which I had purchased out of compassion from a poor student at Saltzburg, but suffered Gibbon's Works to pass. You know the last. The first is an excellent christian, but his invective, not against the catholics in general, but against those only who would not allow him to bury his child, has placed him amongst the Machiavels, Spinozas, and Bolingbrokes.

How ridiculous a thing does every index expurgatorius in the world appear, when one sees, as one often does, that the bare title often damns a book; and when one considers, that no college of censors upon earth is equal to the task of reading over all the books that come out, so as to be able to give timely orders for stopping them on the frontiers of the country. Gibbon is a declared enemy to religion, and yet has been able to make his way into Austria!

In truth this is the only weak part of the imperial government. The prohibition of books only serves to raise their price in the country. In Switzerland as well as at Innsbruck, Salzburg, and many other places, I was assured that large quantities of forbidden books were every year introduced into Austria from this side of the frontier. Officers of the first rank, presidents, and counsellors, take a share in this trade; nor has the prohibition any other effect than making a Baile's dictionary (for instance) the true price of which is five guineas, sell at Vienna for 100 thalers; and for this price you may have enough of them. No doubt the same trade is carried on, from the Saxon and Silesian sides of the country.

As soon as you set your foot on Austrian ground you begin to find that another system of government prevails from what you have lately been accustomed to see.

The farmers' houses, their clothing, their tools, their agriculture, every thing about them is better than in Bavaria. Yesterday I saw some farmers going to market in calashes. They had all the appearance of rich English, or North-Holland farmers. Their looks, their well fed horses, and their whole apparatus, bespoke a degree of opulence, which their long, brown, but very neat coats, their large shoes without buckles, and their large short cut hats, did not seem to promise. They call these farmers here, landers, and their great numbers do the legislature much credit. You meet, indeed, now and then with beggars, who solicit your compassion for a bride or bridegroom just married; but this is more a compliance with an old established custom of the country than a matter of necessity. The large gray or black felt hats, as well as their whole clothing, make the farmer's daughters look very handsome.

Upper Austria is shut out from the fructifying west and south winds by large hills, and even the cleansing north is forbid entrance by the Bohemian mountains. Only the east has free entrance into it; nor can a country that has so much water be otherwise than very moist. The number of hills and woods too are very unfavourable to agriculture, so that the riches of the country consist chiefly in pastures, in salt, and apples, the quantity of which supplies the want of wine.

The situation of Lintz, which is the capital of this country, is extremely beautiful. From Schlossberg, which is on the west side of the city, you command a magnificent view of an immense plain to the right of the Danube. This is terminated to the south by the lofty hills of Styria, whose heads often top the clouds. The city, which is on this side the Danube, rises directly over against you, like a magnificent amphitheatre. The semicircle of beautiful high hills, by which it is encompassed, extended to the Danube. The deep white ground of these hills is thick covered with villages and houses, and amidst the hanging woods on the side, there are some castles which make a very fine appearance. The majestic Danube gives still more grandeur, life, and variety to this beautiful prospect.

The city is very handsome. It is built almost entirely of freestone. There is so much industry, happiness, and prosperity, among the eleven thousand inhabitants who dwell in it, as to make the Bavarian cities appear like so many poor-houses, in comparison of it. There are several considerable manufactures here, and the trade of the city is very extensive. There is very good company to be met with amongst the numerous and polished

nobility, the officers who are constantly quartered here, and the several professors of the place. The city is open on all sides, and the town and country seem so united, that, if my spirit of knight errantry would allow it, I would pitch my tent, and lay up my travelling staff here. The nobility of the place chiefly consists of families, whose incomes are too small to allow of their living creditably at Vienna. One advantage, which arises from this is, that they abate much of the hauteur, which renders the conversation of the Upper German nobility in general so unbearable.

The young women of this place have much better manners, more reading, and are in all respects better qualified to appear with advantage in society than the Bavarian dames; but they lose in body what they gain in mind. Their general want of colour, and their faded looks, in which are so strong a contrast to the animated open countenances of the others, are commonly attributed to the waters, and damp of the place; but I am of opinion that the evil lies elsewhere. A large garrison seldom contributes to the health of young women. The dress of the women of the lower rank is the handsomest I have ever seen. Their constitutions seem to be very warm, which explains the shrivelled state of their bodies.

The treatment of strangers here does not correspond with the softness and gentleness of manner which the Austrian government assumes in every thing else. We were carried like prisoners from the vessel to the guard-room, where I was obliged to wait above half an hour, in a stinking room, before the officer, who had the appearance of an inquisitor, had examined the several mechanics, and was at leisure to expedite my passport. This gentleman seemed to me to have it much more at heart to make recruits, than to recommend himself to his superiors by his good treatment of strangers.

Happening to have left my tobacco-box on board I took a walk in search of it, through a very pleasant country, to the place where I knew the vessel must stop. I arrived just as some lower officers, with very fierce and surly countenances, were got on board, once more to visit the mechanics, who imagined they had been dispatched at Lintz. They took away two Bohemians, under the pretence that the natives were not allowed to go from one province to another without a special permission. The men were indeed soon released on shewing their passes, but in the interval the vessel had sailed, and the men were obliged to walk several miles before they could come up with it again. The object of the soldiers was certainly to oblige these good people, by their delay, to enlist. A traveller in France, be his rank what it may, has no impediments of this kind to apprehend. As soon as his pass is sealed, and his trunk searched, nothing more can stop him. I was standing this morning on the banks of the river, to see them unload a vessel from Ulm, on board which I mean to take my passage to-morrow. Amongst the passengers were two of our countrymen, the one an elderly man, who was going to Vienna to get his bread as a language master; the other a friseur. A serjeant, with his bayonet fixed, asked them for their pass, which he tore out of their hands, with a ferocity I was not at all surprised at, because I knew it was natural to him. The language master was offended at it, and mustered all his German together, in order to make the soldier sensible of his importance. Though the serjeant could not make a word out of what the poor Frenchman would have said, yet the vivacity of the manner having made him conjecture it must be something not sufficiently respectful, he gave the other a punch in the ribs with the bayonet. On this, the Frenchman appealed to the spectators, and told them, that people were not thus treated in his country; but the only answer he got for this remonstrance, was from one of the mob, who advised him, if that was the case, in future to stay at home. Such treatment does not prepossess a

stranger, who happens to have no opportunity of seeing better company, with a very favourable opinion of the country.

Remonstrances in general are but ill received here. The omnipotent stick is ever ready to answer interrogatories; and a man soon perceives, in every occurrence, that he is come into a military government, the foundation of which is absolute subordination. It is true, that persons of a certain rank are not exposed to this; but what then! It appears to me, that whatever be the condition, or station, man owes to man good will and civility. Amongst us the least soldier is open to remonstrance, and answers it as well as he is able. Every body seems eager to shew the stranger that they take interest in his fate, that they are glad to see him in their country, and that they have a pride in giving him as good an opinion of them as possible. The reason why we were treated with more civility at Engellhastzell, is, because it is a frontier town, and there are no troops quartered there, on account of the fear there is of desertion; so the civil officers are obliged to give good words: but here, when the air resounds with the strokes of the corporal's stick, every look of the lowest servant must be considered as a command. Brother, in what regards politeness and humanity, a Frenchman has a right to be proud. This is no prejudice. In the other nations of Europe, civility is confined within the very small circle of the higher orders; but we must do our common people the honour to allow that it is by no means so with us. As for the boasted freedom of speech of some of our neighbours, it is often no more than a ferocity, and wildness of manner, produced by a very bad education.

Our boat was built after the model of Noah's ark; it had no windows to it, was decked all over, and the men, beasts, merchandise, and vermin, were packed up together in it without any distinction. The quarterdeck supplied the place of a cabin.

A high pile of chests of sugar formed the inner wall of this, and on one side of it there was a little opening left, which they called a window, but through which there hardly came light enough to shew that it was day. There was another opening made on the side of the foredeck length-ways, about the middle of the vessel, not large enough to let a dove fly in with an olive branch. Through this, with very imminent danger of life, we were obliged to do our necessities.

As there was no outlet to these cloaks, nor any cabin boys on board to clean them, you may conceive what balsamic exhalations every now and then filled the boat, especially as it happened to be uncommonly full of passengers. I lay for the greatest part of the time stretched out on the roof of this ark, but was forced to cling very close to the edge of it, that I might not be plunged into the water, by the least motion arising from the change of the rudder, or by running on ground. It is, I assure you, no small exercise to secure the feet properly in these expeditions. The beautiful prospect I enjoyed made the journey tolerable. From Passau hither, the banks of the Danube are covered with the hills which surround the plains of Austria. These hills stand in general so near each other, that it is only in a very few places that you can call the space between them a plain; in many places they hang over the river like broken walls. Notwithstanding this, the shores are well inhabited and wonderfully cultivated. It is true, that between Lintz and this place, which are distant from each other twenty-eight German miles, you meet with no great cities, but there are many small ones, and a great number of villages and meadows, all which shew that the inhabitants are much at their ease.

What afforded me the greatest pleasure was the winding of the river; sometimes we coasted along vallies encompassed with hills, the slopes of which were gentle enough to admit of cultivation to the very top. The fore-ground of the beautiful perspective ex-

hibited either a well cultivated village or a large meadow, the white of which contrasted singularly with the dark groves of the broken mountain behind. And now the boat comes nearer and nearer to this place, which shuts in the whole prospect, and seems to swim upon the water; now we are only a hundred paces distant from it, without being able to discover on what side the stream will wind out of the vale. We fear to run aground on the walls of a town, or to put into the streets of a village, when at once a prospect of a quite different kind opens to our right; the river turns by a sharp corner out of the clear vale, into a narrow, wild, obscure glen. This is like being carried at once out of mid-day into the darkest night; for the perpendicular high hills and groves on each side do not suffer the day to break through. But the back-ground is covered by a thick darkness, which hardly allows of distinguishing the tops of the high hills from the deep blue of the sky. The fore ground is filled with a dark gray, which agrees wonderfully with the colour and figure of the hills and woods. No noise breaks the stillness which reigns in this solitary vale, save the far-sounding stroke of a wood cutter in a neighbouring wood, or the song of some bird. And now we are approaching the end of this frightful prospect, and expect to be restored to day through some subterraneous passage, but the scenery grows darker and darker, and the way we are to get out appears more and more a riddle to us: with anxious looks we seek for an opening in the rocks, by which we are imprisoned on all sides; when lo! as if by a stroke of a fairy's wand, there opens a cheerful landscape on the left, to the sight of which we are introduced through a narrow gulf. Our ravished eyes now wander over the beautiful hills, the various woods, numberless villages, the castles and country houses, the vineyards and gardens, which during a long tract are reflected by the river. In this manner the prospect is always changing, the variety being such as leaves you more to expect in every change, and always gives more than it had promised.

I had two adventures on board of this conveyance, which turned out like the famous wind-mill business of the renowned Don Quixote. I am almost ashamed to give an account of them. In my way here, through Ulm and the other cities, I had heard so much of the danger of passing the fall and whirlpool of the Danube, that I had thought of throwing you and Nannette into no small terrors, by the description of the perils I had undergone. But you may now be at rest, my dear children, though I should have this Scylla and Charibdis to encounter a hundred times. The fall is a spot in which the river, having been confined for a time betwixt two high hills, breaks with an impetuous noise over a wall of rocks, which meet it directly in its course. This sounds very terrible; but towards the right side of the river, the stream has worn these rocks so much, that even at this time, when the water is lower than ever it was known to be in the memory of man, the largest vessel may sail over, without being exposed to any danger. Possibly, some hundred years ago, there might have been some risk, and this may have made this place so famous in all the southern parts of Germany, and in all the relations of voyage writers and geographers; but at present there is a great noise about nothing, and the incessant flowing of the stream will soon do away even the name of this frightful place. The country about the fall is wild and romantic to a degree. A broken rock, in appearance like a square tower, stands about twenty paces from the shore, in the midst of the roaring flood. The common passage is betwixt this rock and the shore. They have erected a cross on this natural castle, to which the travellers address their prayers: it makes a very picturesque appearance amidst the wild briars that surround it. Upon the whole, I was much more amused with the beauties of the country, than frightened with the danger of the place.

We left the whirlpool,* which is met with soon after the fall, about twelve to fifteen paces on the right, without being affected by any of its undulations. Commonly there is room for more vessels than one to pass betwixt it and the shore, without any danger: so that when the master carries his passengers through it, it is only done to impress them with needless terrors. When the water is deepest and strongest, it cannot suck in a vessel carrying a moderate burthen; but is only dangerous to the small craft which obstinately persist in going through it. As far as I could see, it is not above twenty feet in circumference. To sum up all, neither of these places are as dangerous as many parts of the Moselle, the Maese, the Rhone, the Loire, and the Rhine, which yet are commonly passed by without any apprehensions.

A great variety of circumstances concur to excite an idea of danger in both these parts of the Danube. Low mechanics are fond of speaking of them, and magnifying the danger, that they may increase their own importance in having gone through it. Others more simple, who come to the place with strong conceits of what they are to meet with there, are so struck with the wildness of the prospect, and the roaring of the water, that they begin to quake and tremble before they have seen any thing; but the masters of vessels are those who most effectually keep up the imposition. They make the passages a pretence for raising the price of the freight, and when you are past them, the steersman goes round with his hat in his hand to collect money from the passengers, as a reward for having conducted them safely through such perilous spots. When our master (who yet very well knew how much it was for his interest to keep up the credit of his monsters) saw how little attention I paid to them, he assured me, in confidence, that during the twenty years he had sailed the Danube, he had not heard of a single accident. There is infinitely more danger from the many wooden bridges which the vessels must necessarily pass through. The arches of these are, for the most part, so close to each other, that there is hardly room enough for a large vessel to pass betwixt them. The common passage-boat, which has travellers and valuable wares on board, has nothing to fear, both because the sides of these vessels are so high, that they cannot easily ship water, and because the people belonging to the vessel, and who are to answer for the goods, take care that they shall not be exposed to danger; but from the Inn at Stein, where we stopped to take a view of the cloister of Molk, and the country round about us, we saw three ships laden with wood sink under the bridge. The few sailors which were on board jumped into a wherry, and endeavoured to take in as much of the wood, with which the Danube is covered on every part, as they could. The sides of these ships are hardly more than a few inches higher than the surface of the river, and the least jostle they meet with makes them ship water enough to sink them.

The gatherers of wood are miserable people, who can get nothing by any handicraft. Their wretched ships are of no value, and in case of accidents, the men can always save themselves on board the small boats, which they have in tow for the purpose. Most of the miscarriages are to be ascribed to their wantonness.

Throughout the whole of this journey, we met with very good and very cheap inns. There are no men waiters in these parts, but the duty is done by young women, who seem ready for more services than one. There reigns throughout an excessive cleanliness and a high degree of ease and prosperity.

Paris by no means strikes the eye so magnificently as Vienna does, when you approach the latter by the river. At a distance of a few miles you first discover the high tower of St. Stephens, in a narrow vale, through which the stream winds. The windings of

* The German words are, Wirbel and Strindel. They probably mean one and the same thing.

the vale soon remove the tower from the eyes of the traveller, who still looks eagerly for the place where the immense pyramid, now vanished, pointed out to him the habitation of the Cæsars. Soon after, high hills covered with vineyards close up this vale, when to the left there opens an immense plain, in which, by degrees, the traveller discovers a part of the city: the right is covered with hills, partly wooded, and partly cultivated, which come down to the river. The magnificence of this beautiful spot is much improved by the royal cloister of Neuberg. At length you come to a straight rock, which hangs almost down upon the flood below. On the top of this there is a cloister, and at the bottom the beautiful village of Rusdorff, which you almost take for one of the suburbs of Vienna. When once you have passed the rock, the capital occupies the whole horizon. Its several parts commend themselves the more to the eye, from their being at great distances from each other, and many of them situated on high eminences. The number of large buildings, the noise that broke upon my ears from all sides, and the forest, as it were, of houses, made my heart beat, notwithstanding all the pains I could take to think of Horace's Nil Admirari.

When we landed, my trunks underwent another search by the custom-house officers. This passed over without any disagreeable circumstances, as they did not take the trouble to inspect my pockets, which I had filled with forbidden books. The journey from Lintz hither lasted six days, though it is commonly performed in two. The reason assigned by the sailors was the usual one of contrary winds; but I knew the true cause to be, the contraband goods they had on board. The journey from Ratisbon hither costs two ducats; one of which pays your passage, and the other your provisions, which consist of fresh fish, salt meat, and some vegetables. When the weather is fine, you may sleep on board without inconvenience. Cheap however as this journey of fifty-six German miles seems to be at first sight, I did not find my account in it; the frequent and long stoppages of the ship obliging me to live much on shore, and to spend my time and money at inns.

The best way, when you are fortunate enough to meet with company at Ulm or Ratisbon, is to purchase a small decked vessel, which you may have for sixty or seventy guilders, and which will hold fifteen or sixteen people. The vessel may be sold again at Vienna, often with profit, and you perform your journey in four, five, or at most six days; whereas a common vessel is fourteen, and often sixteen days in going the journey. Three or four sailors and a good steersman will think themselves sufficiently paid for their trouble, if, when you come to your journey's end, you give them the vessel.

LETTER XIX.

YOU have no idea, dear brother, of the trouble I had to provide myself with a proper habitation. I ran about the city three whole days with my laquais de place, before I could get housed. It is not here as at Paris, where there is an office in every part of the city, giving an account of what houses or lodgings are to let, and for what price. Here every owner of a house puts up a bill before his door, stating very circumstantially what rooms he has empty. As the houses consist of five or six stories, and each story has an owner, who may have a room or an apartment vacant, you often find the doors of the houses plastered all over with advertisements, and may be near half an hour reading, before you get the information you want to arrive at.

The first room I saw was up four pair of stairs. The looks of it did not displease me; but as soon as I heard that the owner was a Gnadige Herr, I said in French to my laquais, "Away, I will have nothing to do with a Gnadige Herr, who has half of his hired habi-

tation to underlet." The next house I went into, I mounted up six pair of stairs. When I was got to the top, there came out of a lower apartment a little diminutive man in a night gown; he had a pen sticking behind his ear, and was followed by a maid, who gave him the appellation of your honour. Only your honour, thought I to myself, this may do. I went into the rooms, and was half induced, by the pure air I breathed in these upper regions, to close the agreement, when it came into my head to open a window, and look what sort of prospect I should have. I could discover nothing but roofs of houses and chimneys, which entirely took away all view of the city. "Away," said I. So we saw six apartments that day, without finding any thing that would suit. Amongst other landlords, we came to an Excellence, or rather to a Magnificence (for I had choice of titles) who lived in the back part of a ground floor, and with whom I did not choose to partake of the foul air he breathed. The next day's operation opened with a Gnadige Fraw. She recommended her fraeleii tochter to me for so many things, that it was impossible to think of coming to an agreement with her. "Look here," says she, "my daughter herself will bring you your coffee in the morning; if you choose any tea in an afternoon, my daughter herself will wait upon you with it; if you choose to treat us now and then to a play, and are too late for your traiteur, our cold supper will be at your service, and so on!"—Thou must know, it is not in Germany as with us at Paris; a woman of honour looks upon it as an affront to be offered to be treated to a public place, by a person who is not a relation, or a particular friend. Here it is the custom to frank women wherever you go with them. I soon saw that the pretty girl's services were included in the price of the room; so away I went again. Having again tired myself with searching this day, I began to think that I should not find what I wanted in the city itself, as all the lodgings which have any free air or prospect are infinitely dearer than at Paris. This cannot well be otherwise, as a third part of the inhabitants dwell within the walls of the city, which do not comprehend above one sixth of the ground it stands upon. As the suburbs are at some distance from the city, their extensiveness makes it a desirable object for every one to live nearer the centre of business. The suburbs of Paris are as well inhabited as the city itself. But at Vienna we meet with a great deal of waste ground. Another reason of the high price of the best houses in the city is, that the second story of every house belongs to the court, and is tenanted by its servants. You pay from six to eight guilders (about eighteen shillings) a month for one of the best rooms in a good street, and about three for one of the worst. In the suburb of Mariahef, which is the most wholesome situation in the place, after some trouble, I found a very handsome room, which commands a fine prospect, for three guilders a month.

I cannot go from hence to town without a great deal of trouble. In Paris you are forced to walk up to your ankles in mud; here on the other hand, you cannot stir out without being choaked with the dust. Vienna lies open to the drying east and north winds, but is protected by its neighbouring hills from the south and west, which keeps Paris in almost perpetual rains. When it has rained here a whole night, all is dry again a few hours after sun-rise, and by noon the clouds of dust begin to rise. Indeed, when it rains more than a day, the dust makes the mud exceedingly deep. When I would go to the town, I must cross the wide and naked plain which parts us, which I am obliged to do, with my handkerchief to my mouth, in order not to be choaked with dust. The hackney coaches of this place are always in a trot or a gallop, and as the way to Shombrun lies by my windows, it requires some good luck, as well as some care, to go through the clouds of dust, without being run over by a hackney coach, or without running ground of some other traveller.

In case of a siege, the distance betwixt the town and suburbs would give the besiegers great advantages; but it is very unlikely that such a circumstance should ever happen. The Turks have been the only people in modern times, who could carry their wars to the gates of the capital, a thing which the king of Prussia did not dare attempt, after the most successful battle. At present the strength of the imperial house is so superior to that of the Porte, that I believe the present court keeps up the fortifications, only with the view of keeping the city itself in subjection. Another reason indeed, may be assigned, which is the ruin that would fall upon several families, who subsist entirely by letting their houses, if the value of them was to sink one half, which it would certainly do, if the empty space before the city was to be built upon. As things now are, there are several habitations worth from 2 to 300,000 guilders, or from 20 to 30,000 pounds* per annum, which constitutes the whole fortune of their possessors. Any man who is out of debt, and has a house in this city, is accounted a rich man. The house of the bookseller Trattner is an object of 30,000 guilders (or 3000*l.* a year) to him. The advantages that would accrue, in point of health and convenience, by carrying the city on to the suburbs, and by that means thinning the choaked up habitations, would not make amends for what those who have houses must unavoidably suffer by the change.

Within these few days I have begun my usual circle in and about the city, in order to be able to form to myself an idea of its separate parts. It takes up almost two hours to go from the end of the suburb of Wieden to the end of the suburb of Leopold, which is larger than the town, and parted from it only by a small arm of the Danube. The going from the suburb Rossau to the end of the suburb Landstrasse, took me up about another half hour. Vienna certainly stands upon much more ground than Paris does. It has twenty-six suburbs; but many parts of them are not built upon, and about a third of them is occupied by three or four hundred gardens, not above three or four of which are worth seeing. The suburbs best inhabited are the Rossau, the Josephstadt, St. Ulrich, Mariahilf, a part of the Wieden, and the Leopoldstadt. The largest of them all, after the Leopoldstadt, is the Wieden, the inhabitants of which have a great resemblance to those of the suburb St. Marcel at Paris.

There are scarce eight buildings in the whole town which can be called beautiful or magnificent. The most distinguished of these are the palace of Lichtenstein, the emperor's library, and the chancery.

The emperor's palace is an old black building, that has neither beauty nor stateliness. It is a great mass of stone, which was built seven stories high, in order to contain as many inhabitants as possible. There are hardly three squares, or places here which make any figure at all. The greatest thoroughfare is from the emperor's palace over the coal-market, the Graben, the Stockameisenplass, and through the Carntnerstrasse. In all these places, particularly in the narrow and irregular Stockameisenplass, the thoroughfare is as great, and the motion as lively, as in any street of London or Paris. The stream of this great concourse reaches as far as Leopoldsgate, and throughout the whole of the high street of the suburb of Leopold. There are not more than eight buildings worth looking at in the suburbs; and the taste of the buildings about the gardens, and the summer-houses, is miserable.

According to the common report of those from whom one has a right to expect accurate accounts of their native country, the population of Vienna amounts to at least a million. Busching, in his geography, will hardly allow it to pass two hundred thousand. In my opinion the public and the geographer are equally mistaken. In the last year, which was not remarkably fatal, according to the bills of mortality, the number of the

* Surely a mistake. The guilder is 1*s.* 9*d.*

dead amounted to ten thousand, that is about half the number of those who die at Paris. Now if you make allowance for strangers, of whose deaths you can have no accurate account, and multiply the sum by thirty-six, you will have the true account of the population.

I was assured by a man of consequence, who was in the way of getting at good information that a very little time ago, the population was estimated at three hundred and eighty-five thousand, strangers included. This reckoning will appear accurate; for we must consider that the air and water are much better here than they are at Paris, where the numbers are allowed to be seven hundred thousand, of whom twenty-one thousand die every year. Doubtless Vienna has as many inhabitants in it as Naples; and those two towns are the most populous in the world, after Constantinople, London, and Paris. Whoever is a little acquainted with other large cities will see, in a moment, that Vienna must contain above two hundred thousand people.

I am not yet sufficiently acquainted with the manners, customs, and amusements of the inhabitants of this place, to be able to give you any certain information about them. All I can say is, that to judge by external appearances, the great appear uncommonly fond of magnificence. I was shewn the prince of Lichtenstein, mounted on a very fine horse, and attended by at least eight persons, some of whom were dressed like hussars, and seemed to be a kind of body guard. He is supposed to be like the emperor, in manners, gestures, and face; and some think that he attempts to copy him in externals. As to my part, I own that in the glimpse I had of them both, I could not discover the resemblance; and there is one thing in which they certainly differ, for the emperor undoubtedly does not like to go out with so numerous a train of followers. I saw him taking the air: he was in a cabriolet, and had a single footman behind him. He affects simplicity and popularity almost in the extreme.

In the short time I have been here, I have seen more splendid equipages and horses than there are in all Paris. Our fashions prevail here universally. Dressed dolls are regularly sent from Paris for the purpose of teaching the women how to put on their gowns and dress their heads. Even the men from time to time, get memoranda from Paris, and lay them before their tailors and hair-dressers. I heard a lady telling another yesterday at the play, with an air of the profoundest wisdom, that the queen of France had worn the same kind of head dress as she had then on, four weeks ago at the theatre. All the women I have hitherto seen are painted up to the eyes and ears like the French ones. The knowing ones tell you, that the eyes acquire a kind of fire by this means, which gives an inexpressible animation to the whole look; but I believe I have often told you and Nannette, that I am barbarian enough to wish to wipe away all the red off a lady's cheeks with a wisp of straw and coarse sand, even though the eyes should lose all their lustre by it. After all, the rouge of the ladies here, like that of our Parisian dames, seems to have become a necessary evil, to hide the yellowness of their skin. I saw several of them who had every reason to cry out, *La verole mon Dieu, n'a rouge jusqu'aux os.*

LETTER XX.

Vienna.

OUR new philosophers are unanimous in declaring against large societies; as for my own part, I take things as they are, and am contented with what I find, whenever an alteration appears dangerous or impossible. It is very true that when you look on the dark side of them only, great cities seem a disgrace to humanity; but put one of these philosophers to the proof, and let him tell you how London, Paris, or Vienna, are to be

made less without shaking the whole state, and rendering a large portion of the present inhabitants unhappy.

Wherever there is much light, there will of course be a great deal of shade. Take them all together, there is more good than bad amongst mankind; though, therefore, you should allow the wickedness of individuals to be more visible in large cities, than it is in the scattered cottages of the inhabitants of the forest, mountain, or desert; it is plainly owing to the following reasons, viz. Because the natural propensities of the two legged wild beasts have more opportunities of shewing themselves without disguise here; because we can see the wickedness of so many that are drawn together, as it were to a point, and in cottages it escapes us; because this very contrast is rendered more striking from the attention which the police, who has no power to reward the good, is compelled to pay to the punishment of the wicked. Our philosophers, who declaim on this head, have more spleen than good humour about them, and had rather see black than white; but the greatest part of them are so little in earnest in their declarations, that even the very serious John James of Geneva preferred living at Paris, to living with those very Savoyards and inhabitants of the Valais, in whose praises he was so full.

It has been said of London, that you may see heaven and hell there at once. This, with a little allowance for the difference, which the strongly pronounced character of the Englishman gives to all he does, is true, I believe, of every large city in the world. But, on the other hand, the newspapers, which are every day published in these cities, exhibit instances of virtue in all ranks of life, which the half savage has no idea of. The good there is about man discovers itself in great cities as much as the bad, and ought to be respected by every true friend to humanity, in a much greater degree than the virtues of savage life, for as much as it is not the working of a senseless instinct, but the result of a greater degree of knowledge and more lively feelings. Conceive to yourself the sublime answer of a mechanic of the suburb St. Marcel at Paris, to a monk who comforted him on his death bed, by telling him that he must of course be glad to go out of this world of tribulation. "Good father," said the dying man, "no sins molest my conscience, my days have glided away softly, and in uninterrupted pleasures, and the world has been no place of tribulation to me. I resign myself willingly to the appointment of Providence, and die without a sigh; but, had it pleased the Creator to increase the number of my days, I trust that my trade———" Think of the young man who maintained his family for some time with his blood, which he sold to a surgeon, who wanted to make experiments with it. Recollect the young woman of St. Jaques at Paris, who stood firm against every offer of seduction, and maintained herself, mother, and little sisters, by occupations so laborious, that they destroyed her beauty and impaired her constitution. These, and a thousand more such cases, which the history of Paris furnishes us with, will teach you, that in large societies men excel in virtue as much as they do in vice, and that all the stories of the natural place of man, and the advantages to be found in it, for the purposes of happiness and virtue are, for the most part, only the beautiful dream of abstract reasoners. For my own part, brother, I have found the man of the woods, whenever occasion was given for it, full as wicked as the inhabitants of the most peopled towns and cities. The propensity, indeed, to oppress and cheat his neighbour, cannot be so visibly discovered in the former as it is in the latter, because the neighbour and he do not often come into such strong collision; but when the latter is good, he is so in a much higher degree than the half savage.

It is said, that certain modes of education, certain customs, and a bad government, bow down to their yoke those who live with more simplicity. But all the half savages we are acquainted with (and as to the whole ones, we shall know nothing certain of

them till the country beyond the moon shall be discovered) are also under the influence of custom, education, and government. On the other hand, it must be observed, that the inhabitant of numerous societies is more easily polished, and when he grows wicked, more easily converted than the half savage, who sets his life on his customs and manners. Even at this time the most enamoured partizans of the Swiss find only in some scattered parts of Savoy, the reliques of the manners they so much admire, and these, they must confess, will be done away in the next generation: whilst, on the other hand, the corruption to be found among the inhabitants of the Grisons, and some of the democratic cantons, surpasses every idea, which a man not acquainted with the place can form of it, with this additional cause for despair, that the evil is here remediless; whereas the inhabitants of Paris, London, and Vienna may grow better in some generation.

I found it necessary to make these introductory remarks, because, though I was not capable to say as much good of the people of Vienna at present as I could wish, I was willing you should be convinced that I am in perfect friendship with them, and do not mean to advise them to separate and live behind the hedges like gypsies, in order to make their situation better, by approaching nearer to the state of nature. In every part of the world I meet men towards whom my heart warms, and have no necessity to wander with our knight errants among the vales of Piedmont, Savoy, and Switzerland, in order to find fellow-creatures to be proud of. I do not know whether these gentlemen meet with what they are in search of, but it is certain that they all come back again very soon.

What distinguishes the people of this place from the Parisians is a certain coarse pride not to be described, an insurmountable heaviness and stupidity, and an unaccountable propensity to guzzling. The hospitality of the table, about which you have heard so much, is only an effect of pride. During the four weeks I have been here, I have hardly been able to dine above four times by myself. It is the custom when a man is first introduced into a new house, to fix a day in every week for him to be a regular guest there. In the first house I dined, I conceived that the people had a real pleasure in seeing me; but I had not sat long before I had invitations enough, from the company present only, to last me a month. But when they ask you, they all do it with such faces which seem to say, "is not it true that we are far more hospitable than your Parisian gentry?" Sometimes they go still farther, and make themselves very merry (that is, according to the Vienna mode of being merry) with our sparing niggardliness. It is certainly true, that a man eats much better here than he does at Paris, and he certainly also eats a great deal more. At the common tables of the people of a middling rank (such as the lower servants of the court, merchants, artists, and the better kinds of mechanics) you commonly see six, eight, or even ten dishes, with two, three, or even four kinds of wine. They commonly sit two hours at table, and they took it as a very uncivil thing of me that I refused to taste many dishes, though I was compelled to do so, to save myself an indigestion. But, alas! so soon as the body is satisfied here, so soon does the mind long for the friendly dines and soups of Paris, which you know are more intended for the feast of reason, and the flow of soul, than the dainty pursuit of indigestions, choleras, and apoplexy. Here the only entertainment, mingled with the very serious business going forward, are some very bad low jokes. At the best tables here (I mean those of the second order) you commonly meet a monk, but more commonly a player, whose very refined wit enlivens the whole company. The monk is commonly seated by the lady of the house, whom he coquets with; the player is seated at the other end, and laughs at him till the whole route breaks out into shouts of laughter, far above the capacity of common lungs or ears either to join in or bear. When the conversation takes

a more serious turn, it is always about the theatre, which is the utmost length to which criticism or observation ever extend in this country; but the players are far from being the company here that they are at Paris. None of those with whom I am hitherto acquainted know their mother tongue. At Paris, undoubtedly, we should not admit into good company, men who neither by their wit or their manners can raise themselves at all above the lowest of the vulgar.

Upon the whole, you meet here with none of the briskness, the spirited pleasure, the unconstrained satisfaction, and the interesting curiosity about what is going forwards, that you find at Paris even amongst the lowest orders of society. No body here makes remarks upon the ministers or the court; no body entertains the company with the novelty or anecdote of the day. You meet with numberless people of the middling ranks who have nothing to say of their ministers, their generals, and philosophers, and who hardly know even their names. Nothing is taken care of but the animal part. They breakfast till they dine, and they dine till they sup, with only the interval of, perhaps, a short walk and going to the play. If you go into a coffee-house, of which there are about seventy, or into a beer-house, which are the most elegant and best furnished of all the public houses (I saw one with red damask tapestry, pictures with gilded frames, looking-glasses, clocks *a-la-Grecque*, and marble tables) you will see nothing but a perpetual motion of jaws. One thing you may rest assured of, that no one will come up to you or be troublesome with questions; no man there talks at all, except with his neighbour, and then he most commonly whispers. You would conceive you were in a Venetian coffee-house, where they all take one another for spies. When I say all this I desire to be understood as speaking of the middling rank only, who in all countries are what properly may be called the people, for as to the people of rank, they, with a few shades only of distinction, are the same throughout all Europe; and the lowest classes hardly mix with society. No doubt, a gentleman introduced, as Dr. Moore happened to be, would meet with many an *Aspasia* capable of being classed in the same line with her immortal prototype; (that is, the vicious part of the character excepted;) an *Aspasia* whose circles are constantly filled by the wisest philosophers, the deepest statesmen, the greatest generals, the wisest, mildest, and most affable of princes; but it is not in assemblies of this kind that the characters and manners of a nation are to be met with.

The sociableness, good taste, and polished manners, which render the present court so remarkable, are a consequence of the travelled education of the present emperor. His father, indeed, had relaxed something of the Sultan manner in his court; but Joseph is the first of his house who has considered himself as a man born for all mankind. Formerly one of the old nobility considered it as a disgrace if a common citizen even did but look at him; and the lesser, or second order of noblesse, were excluded the court, as is the practice in Spain. There are instances of persons, even of the rank of field-marshal, who could not gain admittance. The whole train of science was banished under the notion of pedantry, and the arts, ever tasteless without it, were employed only to dress up harlequins. The emperor Leopold, indeed, had some taste for music: but conceive to yourself this prince a cotemporary of Lewis XIV, at a time when the arts were in all their glory with us) with his imperial crown on his imperial shoulders, looking out of his palace window to see a set of the lowest buffoons that ever disgraced a stage with their tricks, sing and dance in the court of the palace. Prince Eugene was the first who introduced any thing of a taste into the country; the first who gave a general love for French literature: he lived in the strictest friendship with the wits and artists of his day, and was the same here for the arts, that he had been in the imperial army, where he had had as much to encounter with from folly and superstition, as from the

largest hosts of the enemy. The monks, particularly the jesuits, resisted his benign influence as long as they could. In Charles the VIth's time no kind of literature was held in esteem, except that which related to merchandise and finance. A few days ago there fell into my hands a book, which, without a doubt, is the best publication of those dull times; it treats of finance, and though written in most barbarous German, lays down the best principles of this science. These, however no king has followed but the king of Prussia, who has availed himself of them, to the no slight detriment of the country in which the book was written. The author's name was Schroeder; he was in the emperor's service. Every thing, however, except finance, was in utter darkness, and even the sermons were farces. Towards the end of the last reign, things began to be upon a better footing; but the empress, who, with all her excellencies, has a weak side, which is that of wanting to make all her subjects angels, sees every improvement that is proposed, only as it regards her religion; besides this, she has a little of the Spanish etiquette left about her, and loves old unpolluted nobility.

Notwithstanding the care the empress takes of the morality of her subjects, all the charities depend upon the court alone for their support. We meet here with no cure of St. Sulpice to raise 300,000 livres a year for the relief of the necessitous. The archbishop Migazzi is as bigotted and as dependant on the papal hierarchy as our Beaumont, but he gives no million of livres yearly out of his income to secret distress, as the good archbishop of Paris does. I question whether it would be possible, upon any occasion, to get a collection of 10,000 guilders from hence. Though Vienna has several houses in it with which the most opulent in Paris cannot be compared, pride, gallantry, and dissipation, are all the feelings the people of this place are susceptible of. Though most of the richest people have been for years oppressed with debts, they have not yet learned to confine their expences, and would think it a shame to live within bounds. As to the middling orders, they live from hand to mouth, and are well satisfied if they can make two ends of the year meet. Economy is a term entirely banished from the place. Every thing swills and lives for the pleasure of sense only.

LETTER XXI.

Vienna.

THE police of this place is entirely taken up with the object of suppressing every thing that indicates vigour and manly strength: that, however, is not the best police, whose only object is to make every member of society as secure as possible, but that which knows how to give the greatest security to the whole, and at the same time encroaches as little as possible upon the freedom of individuals. It is certain, that by setting watches about every citizen's house to take an account of what is going forward at his table and in his bed, and to follow the several members of his family wherever they go, you may guard effectually against disorder; but who is there that exists on earth, and loves the order that is kept up amongst galley-slaves?

The wise Creator, whose government ought to be the model of every wise legislature, left us that free will which we so often abuse. He gave us strong incitements to good, without taking away the power of doing evil. In this liberty, notwithstanding the mischiefs which arise from it, consists the true greatness of man. Religion teaches us, that in his own good time God will punish the wicked and reward the good. Without the freedom to do ill, we should have neither moral feelings nor moral happiness, and God would not be righteous towards us.

We cannot follow a better model of legislation and police, than what is set us by the Creator. As it is the business of legislation to punish the wicked without partiality, and reward the good with a liberal hand; so the police, which is subordinate to it, ought to have no other object than to give it the means of rewarding virtue and punishing vice. To go further than this, and endeavour to make moral evil physically impossible, is an offence both against God and man.

Human justice knows of no evils but those which spring from offences which are hurtful to society; she and her handmaid the police have no right to turn a tribunal of justice into a tribunal of confession, nor imperiously to extend their power to the internal morals of a man. Even if the generality of mankind had much more worth of character, and much greater moral feelings than they have, yet ought there not to be such an inquisition as subsists in this place, by the establishment of the consistorial police and other courts.

Probably Vienna is the only city in the world which has a court called a special commission of chastity. A few years ago the spies of this extraordinary tribunal used to follow the young people into their houses; not only so, they used to break into their bed-chambers and visit their beds in the middle of the night. The horror which this raised in society was so universal, that the emperor found himself obliged to use all his influence with his mother (who promised herself great things from these exertions) to obtain some limitations of them. The spies of the police were in contract with the whores; these used to decoy the young men to their houses, and when they were together betray them. The young people had then nothing for it but to allow themselves to be plundered, in order to avoid being carried before the commission of chastity, and the spies and the whores divided the booty between them. The evil is now in some degree corrected by the interposition of the emperor, but the public walk called the Prater is still surrounded by tenanted spies, who trace the young men to trees and bushes in order to prevent offences that are only possible, and have not actually been given.

It is the opinion here, that the best way of preventing fornication and child-murder, and of increasing population, is to compel a man who has a child sworn to him to marry the woman immediately. I was told a curious story on this subject. A young man was summoned before the consistory, to make answer to a young woman who claimed him for a husband. As he was in the outer chamber waiting for her, he saw another poor young woman who was come there on a like errand. Having made himself acquainted with all the circumstances of her case, and finding that the supposed father of the child was fled, and not likely to appear, he offered her a good sum if she would take him in the stead, and date her complaint prior to the time of that which he expected to be brought against him. She promised him that she would do so, and he went to the judges full of confidence in the success of his project. The court having asked him whether he had slept with the person before him, and he having confessed, he was told that he was a father, and must give the woman his hand. To this he made answer that he had no objection, but that there was a person in the anti-chamber who had older claims upon him. Upon her being called in, it appeared visibly that she was farther gone than the other. The first plaintiff was therefore ordered to content herself with a sum of gold and go away. The young man now pleaded that he had compounded matters with the other lady; but, to his inexpressible astonishment, she denied it. The judges then asked for witnesses, and he having none to produce, he was obliged to give his hand to one, whom he had seen a quarter of an hour before for the first time in his life.

I know several men who have been made husbands of in this manner. Their wives, for a time, drove on a general trade quietly with their customers. When these began

to fail, they picked one out of the number, whom they thought would make a good husband, and summoned him before the court. The proof of having slept together, even without any consequences having followed, was deemed sufficient to establish a claim. Some of these very honourable pairs are known by the whole town.

I know of another method to prevent whoring and child-murder, much more effectual than this is; but then unluckily it does not so well answer the other object which these legislators have in view, namely, the increase of population. Shakspear is the author of the police I would propose. I do not remember in which of his plays it is that he makes a Vienna bawd say, "if the police will effectually banish fornication, it should castrate all the men."

These marriages by compulsion are attended with very pernicious consequences, both to society and the state. I do not know whether they prevent fornication, but it is certain that they much increase adultery. Truth, confidence, and love, the most holy and most useful bands of society, they entirely dissolve. The man, who, from the circumstance of his having been compelled to give her his hand, is obliged to consider his wife as a whore, cannot be her true friend, cannot have that respect for her which is absolutely requisite to make a happy marriage. It is, indeed, astonishing how indifferent the married people of this place are to each other. I know that this is the case at Paris too; but there it arises from the manners, and not from the government, as it does here. Nor, indeed, are conjugal love and fidelity so extinct amongst persons of the middling rank in society at Paris, as they seem to be in this place. I believe, too, that even population, which this foolish law is intended to promote, suffers considerably by it; for it is an observation which has often been made, both by moralists and physicians, that, without love betwixt the parties, the marriage bed often proves barren. Most of the pairs I am acquainted with, who have been married by compulsion, are without children, and in general the marriage bed is not fruitful here. The indifference of the parents for each other likewise extends to the children, amongst whom all the fine feelings of love and friendship are stifled in early infancy. It is, no doubt, owing to this want of the affections of social and domestic life, that the people of this place have so few moral feelings as they have.

It is true, indeed, that every thing has its good as well as its weak side. The consequence of this people's want of spirit is, that their vices are as few and as weak as their virtues. Nothing is heard here of the tragedies which are so frequent at London, Rome, and Naples. Pick-pockets, cheats, bankrupts, thieves, spendthrifts, pimps, and bawds, are the only criminals known in Vienna. The Austrian has not strength of character enough to be a highwayman; and a Saxon gentleman, who has been settled here some years, and has travelled over the whole country, assures me, that he does not remember to have heard of such a thing as a duel. I was witness to a scene yesterday which strongly marks the character both of the people and the police of this place. A well dressed man had a quarrel with a hackney coachman about his fare. They soon came to high words. One of the six hundred spies, who are divided about different parts of the city, came up. The gentleman grew warm and gave bad words, which the other returned with interest. At length they shook their fists at each other, but neither ventured to strike; for it seems there is a law, by which, whoever strikes first is punished, let the previous provocation have been what it will. Had either but touched the hat of the other, it would have been reckoned a blow, and he would have been immediately taken up by the watch. As it was, they parted, after affording a quarter of an hour's laugh to the populace. The duration of these frays may be longer or shorter, ad libitum; but there are few examples of their ever being carried farther than words.

The court has nothing to fear from a revolt. In the beginning of the last century, indeed, the protestants made a little stir; but all was soon quiet again. Indeed, the Viennois is too enervate for an insurrection. On the other hand, he feels nothing of the warm glow which fills the breast of a French or Englishman for the successes of his country. The several provinces of France have frequently made great presents to their kings in time of war, and we have often seen collections made in coffee-houses for building ships of the line. Here there are very few, if any instances of this kind. Subordination is the only characteristic feature of this people; nor have I ever seen a spark here either of the Englishman's love of liberty, or the Frenchman's feeling for the honour of the grand monarch. The pride even of the army is too personal, ever to admit of any sensibility for the honour of the state. The songs of the French soldier are, as you well know, poems which inspirit and lead him on to glory, by reminding him of what his ancestors have done and suffered for their country; but here I seldom hear the soldier sing at all, and when he does, it is mere ribaldry. Not, however, that I doubt but that, in spite of their bad singing, an Austrian army would put a French one to the route; but that is owing to another cause. I only discuss this subject en passant, and shall reserve myself to speak more fully to it, when I come to Berlin.

The individuals of a country which exists only by subordination, will of course be weak and feeble characters. It is true that the most illimited obedience did Sparta no harm; but the reason was, because it was not the reigning feature of the people, but only a means of securing the freedom after which the nation thirsted. The British laws are some of them very severe, and the discipline of their navy as strict as that of the Prussian army; but as these severities do not run through the whole of their government, they do not destroy the feelings of the people. Though no nation has so much checked the power of their kings at different periods as the British has done, yet the history of no nation affords more instances of the devotion of individuals to the sovereign. The same love which the Englishman has for liberty extends to the person of the prince, whenever the prince leaves the constitution unimpaired and manifests a love for it. The upshot is that the Briton will preserve strength of character as long as the constitution of his country lasts; whereas the subjects of despotic princes will be weak and grovelling in spirit.

The great, whose first passion is the love of power, will of course consider strength of character in their subjects or dependants, as a natural enemy whom they must seek to subdue. Consequently their object will be to make the state to which they belong a machine in the strictest sense of the word, a machine of which their will is to be the only soul. Such machines at this day are even armies become, and it is a true remark made by several writers both of these and other great machines of state, that the weaker every individual member is, the more durable and the stronger the whole will be. I know it, I confess it; all I desire is not to be the member of such a corps. The government of this place endeavours to make some amends for the universal subjection under which the people are held, by a most exact administration of justice, by taking measures for universal security, and by the free admission and encouragement of every pleasure (the single one of lawless love alone excepted) that can delight the human mind. Whilst in France a country gentleman may be thrown in prison by a governor of a province, and continue there all his life, the lowest footman here is assured of having the strictest justice done him, if he has occasion to complain of his lord, even though he were the lord high chamberlain. The police is so vigilant and acute, that the most subtle thefts are commonly discovered, and the owner gets his goods again. Almost all the imperial houses and gardens are almost constantly open to the public. The players are under the

peculiar protection of a court, who shews in every thing, that the restraint it lays the people under arises more from principle than the desire of tyrannizing over them. And yet, notwithstanding all this pleasure, and all this security, I had rather be exposed to a London footpad, or have the bottles and glasses whistle round my head on the last night of Vauxhall, than enjoy all the placid tranquillity of this place. These last are disorders indeed, but they are disorders which are inseparable from a strong national character, such as is that of the people by whom they are committed.

LETTER XXII.

Vienna.

AS soon as the emperor governs this country alone, a revolution will take place here, that will render the present inhabitants a phenomenon to the next generation. He is a philosopher in the true sense of the word, although he does not, like Rodolph the Second, gaze at the stars with Tycho Brahe. He loves mankind, and is acquainted with their value. I know no public inscription that does a prince more honour, than that which is over the gate of the public garden here. "A place of pleasure for all men, prepared for them by their friend." Joseph is a professed admirer of all that is called private virtue (*les vertus bourgeoises*) and his principles of government are as republican as those of most of the states who at this day call themselves republics. Hitherto, however, the different way of thinking of his mother has prevented much of his theory from being carried into practice.

The bright sides of this empress's character are so striking, that one can hardly observe the darker ones. In private life, indeed, such small spots would appear not only venial, but in some degree respectable; but it is the misfortune of greatness, that the smallest weakness of the governor has often a sensible influence on the happiness of the governed, so that the least personal vices are often the greatest political defects.

Whoever sees the empress now, discovers that she has been a beauty. Within these few years she has begun to be subject to some of the infirmities of advancing age; but the best judges still discern a strong constitution and lively temperament in her. I saw her for the first time in the church of the Augustine Friars, where she was attending a religious ceremony, and immediately recognized her, not so much by her likeness to her pictures (from the truth of which age has of course taken a great deal) as by the air of majesty which strikes every one who has the honour to approach her. She has the strongest passions, but has never been subdued to the least unworthiness, by those to which nature in general the most inclines, and which her constitution the more particularly exposes her to. Possibly she is an only, most certainly a singular instance of a princess, over whom religion and honour have had more influence than the demands of an impetuous constitution, and the allurements of unlimited power. This probably arose from her having herself chosen her husband, who was the man of his day most likely to secure the affections of a woman. To him she was passionately devoted, but her affections never wandered a step beyond the bounds of the strictest decorum. Vainly has scandal endeavoured to find out anecdotes to feed on in her life. Ten well made strong children yet living are so many witnesses that her husband possessed all her love. At his death, she forbade herself all farther thoughts of the passion, and made a vow to lament him for ever; a vow to which she has religiously adhered. She is always dressed in black, and wears no ornament of any kind. Who, that is acquainted with the history of Elizabeth K——, and so many other sovereigns, can help being astonished when they read this?

Her warm love, however, made her husband pass many a weary hour. It was impossible for jealousy not to have great power over a heart, the violence of whose motions was only kept in by a sense of religion. It is not very certain whether she had ever real grounds for suspicion; but every body at Vienna remembers that a certain lady was obliged to leave it, because the emperor, who was very courteous towards every body, but particularly so to the ladies, had made her some common place, unmeaning compliments.

The empress's benevolence, of which religion is the principle, approaches almost to profusion. She refuses relief to none of those who stand in need of her assistance; and the meanest of her subjects finds the way to make his distresses known to her. Her steward has hardly any thing to lay before her, but accounts of charities. Her liberality particularly shews itself towards widows, especially such as are of high birth. Many persons, amongst whom are widows of ministers of state, receive pensions of 6000 guilders (300*l.*) from her. Her partiality to high birth makes her desirous that every person should live up to his or her rank. With respect to the public foundations of charity, she behaves as an empress should do. The library, schools, hospitals, and poor-houses, cost her immense sums. I am assured, that the debts she has contracted by this liberality amount to upwards of twenty millions of guilders; and one of my friends informed me, that she gives away three millions per annum in private charity.

Who now would imagine that, under so worthy a character, merit often starves, whilst large sums are lavished upon the worthless? Who would imagine, that the prejudices of religion could have so far gotten the better of her natural disposition, as to make her refuse assisting an officer who had been crippled in her service, unless he embraced the Roman Catholic religion? After several conversations with the priest sent to him by the empress, this gentleman plainly perceived that he must turn scoundrel, to be relieved. He determined therefore to quit Vienna; which he did, and went to Holland, where he died a general officer. Since the present emperor has begun to have any influence in business, merit has no longer any such oppression to fear, but it must still make use of all its weight to break through this species of obstacles, which however at all times are more the work of the priests than of the empress.

Her impetuous temper often breaks out into gross gusts of passion and anger; but as soon as the storm is past, she endeavours to make amends for the mischief or injury she may have done whilst it raged. I was told an anecdote, which if not entirely true, yet gives a great insight into this part of her character. An officer, who had a favour to ask, had his name written down in the list of those who wanted audiences. He waited a long time, till his turn (which is religiously observed) came to be introduced. At length he was called in, but he had hardly made his obedience to the empress, according to the Spanish etiquette, when she broke out into such a storm of opprobrious abuse, as almost made him sink to the ground. Her vivacity made her eyes roll with fire, and the motion of her arms was rendered so quick by it, that the man was afraid she might do a little execution upon him, with her own high hand. Twice or thrice he attempted to put in a word, but the storm of the monarch's indignation was too strong to be controlled, and he was forced to wait till she was fairly out of breath. He then mustered up all his courage and said, "Surely your majesty must have forgotten I am N. N." As soon as she found that she had been mistaken in the person, she made him a formal excuse, and her desire to set all things right again carried her so far another way, that she settled an handsome pension on him. She is by no means proof against pride, but is proud of the dignity and the greatness of her house. She weeps tears of joy as often as she hears how her children, particularly the emperor and the queen of France are

beloved by all the world. This family pride, joined to her quick feelings, are the cause why she considers all the princes who have been at war with her at any time, as her personal enemies, and has never forgiven any of them. The emperor's last wife, who was a Bavarian princess, had cause to regret her father's having attempted to rob the empress of Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the imperial crown. She made her feel the superiority of the house of Austria, over the house of Bavaria. Thus far is true, but the fables which have been raised on this foundation are too wild even to deserve a serious refutation.

Fame has not reported falsely of this great princess. She is a true woman, and it is by the amiable passions of her own sex that she is most distinguished. She was not at all offended at being told by the relation of another great sovereign, whom she was complimenting on the reputation of his friend, "may it please your majesty, my sister is still only a woman." All the tints in Theresa's character are the shades of a lively female character. She was the truest, but the most jealous of wives; the most affectionate, but at the same time the severest of mothers; the most friendly, but at the same time the most imperious mother-in-law.

Her character, however, has sometimes risen beyond the strength of a man. The resolution with which she defended her hereditary dominions against so many powers united to oppress her, excited the astonishment of all Europe. Her love of justice is so great, that she immediately desists from any pretensions she has formed, which are not reconcileable with it, when she is shewn that they are not so. Though the king of Prussia knows that she bears him a grudge (which she will carry with her to her grave) he is so satisfied of the general rectitude of her principles, that whenever they have a dispute, his only care is to have his reasons properly stated to the empress herself, by his ambassador. The nobility of Genoa, as I was informed by an officer who took a great part in the revolution of 1746, exclaimed with one voice, "O, if it were possible to bring our grievances before the empress herself, we should be sure of obtaining relief." The cry of these republicans at the time when they were most sorely oppressed by Austrian armies, was the finest praise that Theresa could have heard, but she heard it not.

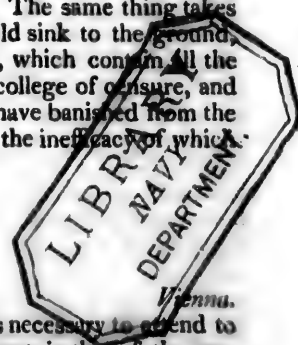
Amidst the various species of knowledge she possesses, there is one which unluckily fails her, the knowledge of mankind. According to the custom of her house, she was bred up in an elevation which has not allowed of her seeing with her own eyes the necessities of ordinary life, and the true interests of the people she reigns over. Her whole education was so conducted as to make her the dupe of flatterers, who made her believe that nobles and priests were a superior order of men to laymen and common people. Priests and flatterers have at times betrayed her into actions which her heart would shudder at, if she could see them in their right light. An instance of this was given some years ago, when, in an insurrection of the Bohemian peasants, the emperor endeavoured to obtain the abolition of the feudal tenures. This he did because he knew the true situation of these poor slaves, who did not themselves know what they desired, but were only driven to what they did by hunger. There was indeed little to lay to their charge besides having hunted some barons out of bed; but the wives of the Bohemian nobles so far prevailed upon the empress with their tears, that soldiers were sent into the country, and many poor people were hanged as traitors, who were in fact only the victims of hunger. As this happened in the memorable year of scarcity over all Europe, when Bohemia, notwithstanding the natural riches of its agriculture, was reduced to the greatest necessity, and as the emperor well knew that the principal cause of it was owing to the avarice of the great landlords, particularly of the priests, he endeavoured to take off the servitude of the lower orders; but his mother's attachment to the

nobility prevented a measure, which would have made a country so favoured by nature as Bohemia is, one of the most flourishing in the world. The empress made it a matter of conscience to deprive a small part of her subjects of the least part of their income by such a measure, but never bethought herself, that the nobility and priests consumed in idleness the sweat and blood of so many thousand people.

A despotic prince, who has not a sufficient knowledge of the world, to see through the people who surround him, is the most dependant man in his country. Notwithstanding all her attention to so many various matters, and notwithstanding all her power, the good empress cannot prevent herself from being cheated by all who approach her. She imagines that she prevents every sin by her establishments of chastity, and does not know how many adulteresses she makes by them. She would indeed be astonished, if she could see only a part of the horns, which the men of this place carry about with them under their perukes. It is said, that the empress insists upon the young women, particularly those who are brought up in the Theresianum, tying their hair &c. in a particular manner; but notwithstanding these ribbands of chastity, I have been assured by a countess, who was brought up in this seminary, that grosser vices prevailed there, than any against which the commission of chastity is directed. I know a woman, who in order to get herself, and her handsome daughter a maintenance, procured the latter an engagement upon a small theatre, which hardly brings her in enough to buy pins for her hair. We know that at Paris the theatre is more a title to a maintenance than a maintenance of itself; but there is this difference betwixt the countries, here the mother carries her cheap daughter from a rehearsal to church, where both tell their beads with down-cast eyes, and the most pious looks, in order to bring themselves into a reputation of sanctity with the police. By this means, persons who love their pleasures, and yet wish to be well with the empress, know no better way of compassing both these objects, than by visiting the churches. Another instance of hypocrisy. There is a well known man of letters here, who translated a prayer book from the French and dedicated it to the empress as an original composition, with a view of obtaining a place, together with the present customary upon those occasions. The plan succeeded; the empress considered him as a pious man, and he had a reward; but he was so lost to shame, as to make sport of the good woman's credulity in the circle of his friends. The same thing takes place with regard to the prohibition of books. The queen would sink to the ground, if she could see one of the thousand private libraries in Vienna, which contain all the heretical, and all the scandalous writers which she conceives her college of censure, and her Index Expurgatorius, which is thicker than that of Rome, to have banished from the country for ever. So it is with several of her other institutions, the inefficacy of which shews they are fit for nothing but to make hypocrites.

LETTER XXIII.

IN order to have any idea of the government of this place, it is necessary to attend to the three contending parties of the state. The first and strongest is that of the empress; it consists of the great personage herself, cardinal Migazzi the archbishop, some monks, principally capuchines, and a few old ladies who make their court to the empress by imitating her peculiarities. This party is always pregnant with commissions of chastity, prohibition of books, driving away dangerous preachers and professors, increasing the papal power, and persecuting the new philosophy. Great part of the old no-



bility, whose prerogatives stand upon the same ground as those of the priesthood, adhere very strongly to this party.

The second party is that of the emperor, and it is at perpetual war with the former. This party employs itself in the improvement of legislation, and the promotion of agriculture, trade, and industry of all kinds; in the extension of philosophy and taste; in curtailing the exorbitant pretensions of the nobles; in the protection of the lower classes against the higher, and in whatever can make gods of men. One of the principal persons of this party is marshal Lacy, who carries on a most unremitting war against the monks, and their adherents. This able general acts here just as he did when he was opponent to the king of Prussia; and the emperor and he are always occupied in planning zig-zag marches, and counter-marches, and retreats; so that general Migazzi, and his brown, black, white, half-black, half-white troops are often obliged to go into winter-quarters, without having effected any slaughter at all. These two parties, who are open enemies, have however some intercourse with each other through the medium of a third, at the head of which is the celebrated count Kaunitz.

Count Kaunitz, the greatest statesmen of our day, and a man who, by great services to the imperial house, has worked himself into the confidence both of the empress and her son, is worthy to be the mediator between them. In his heart he is more favourable to the emperor's party, than to that of his mother; but he is obliged to appear a kind of middle-man, and to give his own philosophical operations that kind of religious cast without which they would not go down. He often covers the marches of the emperor and his great field-marshal, by which means, as alert as Migazzi is, he is often forced to capitulate before he knows that the enemy is in the field. Kaunitz distinguishes himself by his style of living, and mode of expence. These are entirely French, and most magnificent. As nothing can be more contrary to the emperor's rigid œconomy, than such a way of life; it is not certain but that the count, though nothing can shake him, his merits are so well known, may upon a change be obliged to an alteration in this respect, which his age, and the habits he has contracted, would make unpleasing to him.

What with the erection of new schools, and the care to prevent the erection of new cloisters, the battles about new books, and the recommendations to civil and military employments, all the three parties have sufficiently to do. The last point, especially, gives them constant work. There is hardly an employment vacant, but the empress is wearied with recommendations from her ladies and priests; and the emperor, whose candidate is commonly the man of most merit, is almost always sure to come too late. There are a great number of sinecure offices in the country, but many counsellors and assessors have either nothing to do, or put in deputies to do their business for a very little money. The luxury in which these people live is beyond conception. His honour (for every petty-fogging judge of the court of conscience is his honour) must have his gentleman; and her honour, the wife, must have her waiting lady; nor is it as it is with us, where between the gentleman and the footman there are no intermediate ranks; here there must be a maitre d'hotel and a secretary; and as his honour has great business every where but in his own court, he must likewise have his coach. In a word, there is not a court in Europe, except the Turkish, which pays its servants of the second order so well as this does, and yet is so ill served by them.

For several years the empress has given up the direction of the army entirely to her son, and one sees immediately, from the very different style of arrangement which prevails here from that which obtains in the civil and ecclesiastical departments, by whom

it is governed. Though the peasantry of the Austrian dominions have always been soldiers, the finances of the court were in such disorder, till the times of the last emperor, that the Dutch and English were always forced to pay subsidies. The emperor Francis laid the foundation of the greatness of the country; but that it is becoming every day more and more formidable, is owing to one man, who unites in his person, not only the intellect necessary to carry on the greatest enterprizes, but also the greatest knowledge of discipline, and the æconomical arrangements of an army; I mean general Lacy, without a doubt one of the greatest geniuses of the present century. How little, indeed, do some of the greatest wits of the age appear in comparison of a man who goes into the cabinet to plan arrangements against the united powers of all Europe; then runs through an army of 250,000 men, so as to pay attention to the smallest article of the soldiers clothing; at one instant, with the happiest combination of ideas and conjecture of probabilities, lays plans of marches and sieges; the next writes to the taylor and shoemaker of the army to give the clothes a better cut, and the shoes a better slit; then entertains himself with the emperor in laying plans for the better administration of justice, and the greater concerns of the state; then lays himself out to endeavour to simplify the most trifling military manœuvre; then walks through the store-houses, and gives orders for the better arrangement of the stores; and in the next half hour moralizes in the Socratic manner upon any event that happens. In a word, if the power of carrying on several useful pursuits well at one and the same time is to mark the character of a man, there are few to be compared with the field-marshal. Indeed, whoever knows at all what knowledge of the infantry, cavalry, and artillery of an army is requisite to set these great masses in motion, will wonder how the head that can do this can attend to the buttons of a soldier's spatterdashes. And yet, would you think it! with all this, and a great deal more merit in a thousand different ways, this great man (I blush for humanity whilst I write it!) is universally hated, not only by all the people of fashion, but by the army whose father he is! The reason is a very evident one; before his time every captain had an opportunity of cheating his sovereign, by furnishing the soldiers of his company with every article of clothing, and those of a higher rank had a fellow feeling with the paymaster, and divided the contents of the military chest between them. That is now all at an end; the soldier is supplied out of the emperor's warehouses with every possible article for which he can have occasion, and he receives his pay the moment it is due; he is better clothed than any soldier in Europe, and accustomed to a thrift which cannot but contribute to the increase both of his health and strength. All the marshal reaps in return for this is to be laughed at and despised. The monks, who know that he is not their friend, do all they can to make him unpopular; but he is wise enough to laugh at all they can do, and even to amuse himself with the thoughts of doing good for which he receives no thanks.

As for the black band under Magazzi, it is divided into two parties. One of these thinks with the cardinal, i. e. true Bellarmine like, and never misses an opportunity of introducing an ex-jesuit, when it is possible. This, however, is the smallest in number; nor can Magazzi now and then prevent a wolf from being shut up with his sheep; there are even some bishops who only wait the emperor's permission to fall to and level his hierarchy with the ground. In the mean time, however, the cardinal does what he can to keep the public schools and churches free from the infection. A few years ago, a monk took it into his head to preach that, "Priests owe the same subjection to the civil power as the lowest of its subjects; as they enjoy the same protection and prerogatives as these, they are bound in the same manner to take upon them the offices of the state." The church, partly from its own usurpations, partly from the weakness of temporal

sovereigns, has risen, in times of darkness, to a height where the first Christians would not know it again. Every prince is obliged to promote the good of the church as far as it coincides with the good of the state, &c. &c." The cardinal, who in general does not like sermons, immediately marked his prey. The emperor at first took the monk's part with great spirit; this made the cunning archbishop hold his hand; but as soon as the emperor had set out on his travels, the monk was immediately seized and sent prisoner to a convent in Upper Austria, where he still remains, whilst the emperor has nothing to do, but to set down these and many other traits of the same kind in the book of his remembrance.

The great triumph of the archiepiscopal party shews itself in the licensing of books. Nothing can be well conceived more grievous than the situation of the licensers of the press, many of whom are very sensible worthy men. They are often forced to alter almost the whole of a MS. and after all remain answerable for whatever an old court lady, a monk, a fool, or a knave, may see obnoxious in it when it comes out; but their hardest work is to manage what is published with regard to the country; for one grand principle obtains here, which is, that nothing which is Austrian can be bad. What the state of literature is under all these discouragements, shall be the subject of my next letter.

LETTER XXIV.

Vienna.

The powers of the soul are like the powers of the body; as the various exercises of swimming, boxing, dancing, and running give strength and polish to the one, which a continued state of rest would inevitably deprive it of, so to develop the powers of the soul of a people, the mind must have its gymnastic exercises too. Freedom of motion is to the body, what freedom of thought is to the soul, and unnatural compulsion renders body and soul alike torpid and stiff.

Of all the nations mentioned in history, the Greeks and Romans were those whose philosophy was the least united with their religion; and it was probably owing to this cause, that their spirits received an impulse which the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Chaldeans never knew. Philosophy, and whatever was called science among these last, were the special property of the priests, whose interest demanded that they should be smothered in hieroglyphics, and kept from the people. The little that some learned Greeks gleaned from their voyages to the Nile and Euphrates, were not the productions of a fruitful genius; but only tedious investigations, which the slow and progressive labours of monks had traced out. Their celebrated philosophy did nothing for the people; it had nothing benevolent in it; nothing that purified taste or sentiment; nothing that extended the comforts of social life, or advanced the progress of legislation. It was the dry result of solitary studies, and the people who could not understand its drift, took no share in it.

When more modern Rome wove the web of power, and endeavoured to gain the mastery over mankind by commanding their opinions, it was natural that all the arts and sciences should be subjected to religion. The figure of the earth, the spots of the sun, and the whole of the Copernican system were to be reconciled to the letter of scripture, the fathers, the councils, and the papal bulls. Every thing was referred to religion; and had not the pope endeavoured to subject the power of princes to it, we should still have been in the darkness of the eleventh century.

Long after the reformation, the custom of looking upon every thing with religious spectacles still continued. The protestant priests could not forego the old custom of

being the arbiters of morality. It is true, that by the separation they undermined their own power; but they did it by degrees, and without being conscious of the consequences. Though Luther permitted the temporal princes to seize the estates of the ecclesiastics, it is evident from his writings, that as a reformer of the church he placed himself far above all the powers of this world. Calvin's insolence and spirit of oppression in religious matters is well known. Their followers long maintained their usurped domination over the temporal powers, and the regions of science. Some of them are still in possession of it at this day. We must do our author the justice to acknowledge, that it is the first since the times of the Greeks and the Romans, in which true freedom of thought, and a philosophy really beneficial to mankind, has appeared.

No doubt but the English have greatly taken the lead in these matters. That they did so, was owing to the spirit of their constitution in some degree; but still more to the established toleration of so many sectaries, who not being united to each other, could establish no general plan of tyranny over the opinions of their fellow creatures. It was natural for the English, divided as they are into so many sects, who enjoy almost the same privileges in the state, by degrees to consider legislation, science, and whatever else belongs to social life, as independent of religion; whilst, on the other hand, the Swedish and Danish priests, as well as those of some protestant republics, would continue to exercise their empire over all worldly concerns. The spirit of the Englishman, fettered by no restraints, took the eagle flight that carried it beyond the rival nations. Their philosophers allowed themselves to wander through very contradictory speculations. They had their Cynics, their Pythagoreans, their Platonists, their Epicureans, and many others; but they were, like the ancients, all of a mind about the essential duties of man: and the difference of their speculations only set their opposition in a clearer light. Even in the sciences of calculation, they shewed the energy of a genius, that was accustomed to allow itself to expatiate freely in the various fields of science. It is true that they often gave in to the most ridiculous hypothesis, and the most puerile superstition; but these excrescences of the freedom of thought are as inseparable from it, as other excrescences are from civil freedom; nor can you prevent all abuses, without taking away the thing itself that is abused.

All I shall say of our own country, is, that the freedom of thought is much less limited in it by government, than it is in several countries which call themselves free, much less so as to religious matters, than in many protestant countries. I must now return to Vienna, from whence I have taken a pretty long excursion.

I had heard so much, throughout my journey, of the Rhine, of the state of the schools in Austria, and of the great care the empress took in the education of her subjects, and for the improvement of arts and sciences, that I thought of nothing all the way but finding Vienna a German Athens. It was probably owing to these over great expectations that I was so much disappointed. The schools for the young children are, of all the public institutions, far the best, though many things are taught, even here, which can be of no service in life, and only serve to make young pedants and charlatans. Religion and morals are taught them in a way that can neither warm the heart nor enlighten the head, nor is sufficient care taken of the morals. These defects are, however, in some measure supplied, by the insight given into commerce, navigation, agriculture, &c. And it must be confessed, that these schools are the only ones I have hitherto seen in the Catholic states in Germany, in which the children are more taught to be good citizens than good monks. Still, however, the two predominant features of this state, blind subordination, and a regard for monks, are very prevalent here. But yet I cannot conceive how so many families still prefer to trust their chil-

dren to the private education of French women; (who are commonly cast-off strumpets, or foolish chambermaids, who prefer being governesses here, to making fires, and warming beds in France;) or how such swarms of French and Italian abbes are still allowed to educate the young men. It must be allowed, indeed, of the schools, that as they are still new institutions, in which there obtains no thorough well-digested system, and as there are frequently changes made in them, they have not yet had any very sensible effect upon the public manners; but it is probable that the next generation will find the advantage of them.

I attended the several courses read by the public professors. It is certain that the expence of these must be very great to the empress. Not only the courses usually read elsewhere are free here, but they read upon several subjects which you must pay a very high price for with us. Such are the living languages, the sciences of politics, &c. There prevails, however, still a kind of barbarity, which makes one lament the great expence the sovereign is at. Mr. Pilati, the editor of *Voyages en differens Pays de l'Europe*, from 1774 to 1776, says, he has heard it maintained in an Austrian university, "that all the property of the subject belongs to the sovereign." I cannot say quite so much; but I believe that no reader on the law of nature here, would dare to assert that the sovereign has duties to fulfil towards his subjects, as well as the subjects towards him. I was assured that the finding this proposition, in the syllabus of a Benedictine of Salzburg, had given such offence to one of the licensers of the press, that the person who had the book was desired to send it out of the country. The Roman law too, with all its numerous train of comments and paraphrases, so far remote from our present constitution and manners, still supports itself in this famous university, and must make the candidates for the professional chair pedants and false reasoners. As to the *jus publicum*, those who have happened to hear lectures read upon it here and at Strasburgh, would not believe it to be the law of the same empire. At Strasburgh, Germany is considered as a republic, in which the emperor only occupies the place of a consul, or dictator; whereas here he is considered as a most absolute monarch. Our own theology is sufficiently barbarous; but here I have heard them read for an hour together, *de immaculata conceptione Mariæ*. Another time I heard a subtile doctor making very serious inquiry whether, supposing any man to have had existence before Adam, he would have been tainted with original sin! As to Christian ethics, they are still taken from Busenbaun, Voit, and their fellows. I have heard such lascivious descriptions in the public shools as, had they been found in a profane book, would unavoidably have placed it in the index of prohibited books. It is true indeed that Busenbaun, in his *Morality for the Stewes*, has declared that it is right to read plainly upon morality, even though it should excite sinful affections in the scholars, and even though those affections should break out into sinful actions. For he says, "it will do the more good at confession." As to their metaphysics, they are the very quintessence of pedantry and nonsense. Though I was not surprised to hear a learned professor demonstrate, that two single substances could not kiss and embrace each other, and that it was not impossible but that one and the same thing should exist in the same instant a thousand times in different places; I could not well conceive what my learned man meant to do with this last proposition, which I remembered to have seen in a metaphysical book, till at length it struck me, that it was intended to make the people understand how the body of Christ might be in every consecrated host from Canton to Berlin at the same instant; for every thing here has a reference to religion. What amazed me most, however, in my metaphysician, was the seeming extent of his erudition. There was not a metaphysician from the *Æthiopian Troglodite* to

John James, whose works he did not seem to have read through; he quoted from every language that ever existed, and in the course of half an hour confuted at least six antagonists. He amused me, in short, so much, that I could not help going often to hear, and get what I could out of him. At length I borrowed of a student, who was in the same house with me, the metaphysical lecture book he read from, which was written by the jesuit Storchenaw. At first sight you would imagine that this jesuit had found out the secret of making metaphysics overturn all possible knowledge. Not only all the old sects, such as the Pythagorean, Platonians, and Epicureans, but likewise all the fathers of the church were here collected together. Next to these, you find all that has been written in the middle or latter centuries, by Machiavel, Hobbes, Spenser, Descartes, Mallebranche, Bayle, Leibnitz, Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau, Bolingbroke, Hume, Helvetius, the author of the *Système de la Nature*, and a thousand other writers, who certainly never dreamed of being confuted thus in a lump, by a jesuit of the university of Vienna. The student, of whom I borrowed the book, conceived himself to be possessed of the kernel of all these writers, nor had he the least doubt himself to be able to overturn all the fine sophistry of Bayle and Spinoza, with two leaves of his book. You may suppose I was eager to be acquainted with a man who knew so much. But how surprised was I, when a friend of his assured me he had never read a line either of Bayle, Machiavel, Voltaire, or many other writers whom he had confuted! He himself had once lent him three quarto volumes only for one single evening, and in a few days after found them answered in a dissertation.

The best lectures are, without a doubt, those given on physic. Van Swieten has done what was to be expected from him in this branch. The professors affect to be of no sect either past or present, but accustom their scholars to abuse Hippocrates, Galen, Boerhaave, &c. and to trust only to themselves. Except Storck, however, who is physician to the emperor, there are hardly three good physicians here. Yet the method of learning practice is a good one. Every candidate for a degree has a certain set of patients in the hospital. These he visits and prescribes for, and then writes down the symptoms of their disease, together with his reasons for giving the drugs he orders. The professor then comes; looks over the prescriptions, compares them with the state of the patient, and makes his observations on them.

LETTER XXV.

Vienna.

VIENNA swarms with literati. When a man accosts you, whom you do not know by his dirty hands for a painter, smith, or shoemaker, or by his livery for a footman, or by his fine clothes for a man of consequence, you may be assured that you see either a man of letters, or a taylor; for between these two classes I have not yet learned to distinguish. It would be vain for you, however, to ask me the names of these great men; for I confess I know none but the very few who have a real title to that appellation, such as Hell, Martini, Storck, Stephani, Denis, and Sonnerfeld, the only philosopher who deserves the name, the only one who unites useful knowledge to patriotism, taste, and elegance. As to those among the highest ranks, who either cultivate their knowledge for themselves, or employ their talents in the service of their country, they would be ashamed of the title of man of letters, degraded as it now is.

I happened by chance to take up a book, written by a professor of Lintz; it is called the *Learned*, but for its contents might as well have been called the *Unlearned Austria*, as it does not give an account of a single original work that has merit, but only mentions about

one hundred writers of dissertations, bad verses, sermons, and miserable comedies. But the place abounds in such authors, whose knowledge of the world does not exceed that of a common footman. In Paris you would be surprised to find a man of letters not acquainted with the history of his own country, that of Europe, and so forth. Here it is a prodigy to meet with one who knows any of these things.

Many of the emperor's officers, with whom I am acquainted, deserve the title of learned men much more than the miserable wretches to whom it is given. Besides professional knowledge, most of the former possess a certain knowledge of the world, and the habits of conversation; and I know several of them who may be called philosophers, which is not the case with four of the other class.

The Italians and French are generally reproached with having worn themselves out. This may be true, but it did not happen before we had produced master-pieces in every branch of science; whereas these people, as has indeed been acknowledged by their own writers, have gone straight from barbarity into barrenness; nor has philosophy ever had her day here. The reason of this may be easily assigned. Hitherto the daemon of monkery has held the national spirit in its claws; and though attempts have been made to set it free, the daemon has only allowed it liberty enough to play, and has hitherto been both powerful and provident enough to prevent its slave from becoming its master. It is Joseph who must break these chains.

After what I have been telling you of the state of things, you will not be surprised when you are told that most of the men of merit here are foreigners. Lacy, Laudohn and Wurmser, in the army, were not born here; and as to the rest, Storck is a Silesian; Denis, the great Austrian poet, a Bavarian; and Hell, the mathematician, a Silesian; nay, though the higher posts of the state are occupied by natives, yet are the emperor's confidential secretaries foreigners. What is more, all the new enterprises have also been set on foot by foreigners, who have been but indifferently rewarded. The inventor of that most useful of institutions, the penny post, was obliged to run away for debt; a French officer who had been called in to make some improvements in the artillery, had his work made so uneasy to him, that he was obliged to look for more gratitude at Naples; and an Englishman who had taught them the art of gelding horses safely, being paid only in great promises, and neglected when the business was done, was made so unhappy by it, that he shot himself through the head, and left a note upon his table, purporting that he died because he had been led into contracting debts, a thing he was not accustomed to. This neglect of merit is not to be charged to the court. Those who can come into the prince's sight are no where more splendidly rewarded than they are here: but then it must be confessed too, that there is no place where the minions of a court so well understand the art of keeping talents out of sight. The emperor indeed strives to break these intrigues as much as he can, and to meet merit half way; but it is impossible for a great monarch to do every thing.

I have little to say of what concerns the arts, though I saw the academy's annual exhibition of painting and sculpture. The former consisted merely of portraits. In statuary there were only two busts, one of the emperor, the other of the empress, which gave me any pleasure; but you know I am no great connoisseur. The great triumph of the arts is the theatre, of which therefore I shall give you an account in my next letter.

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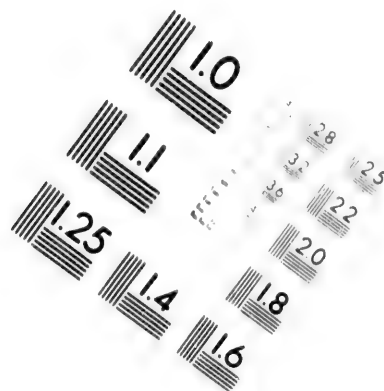
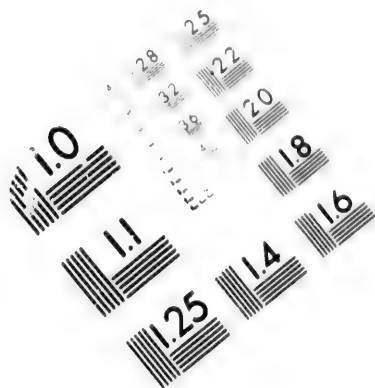
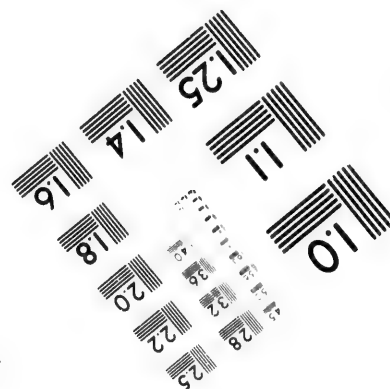
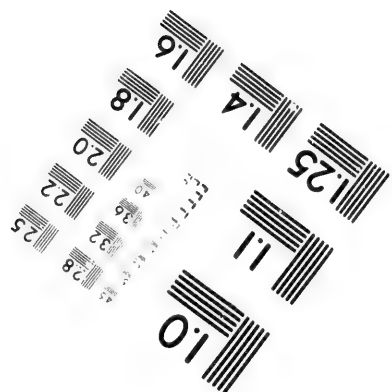
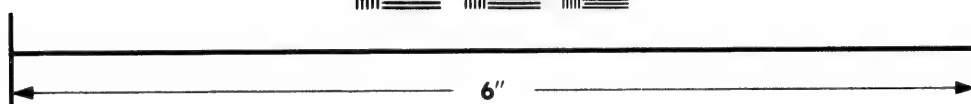
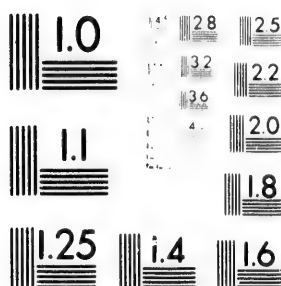


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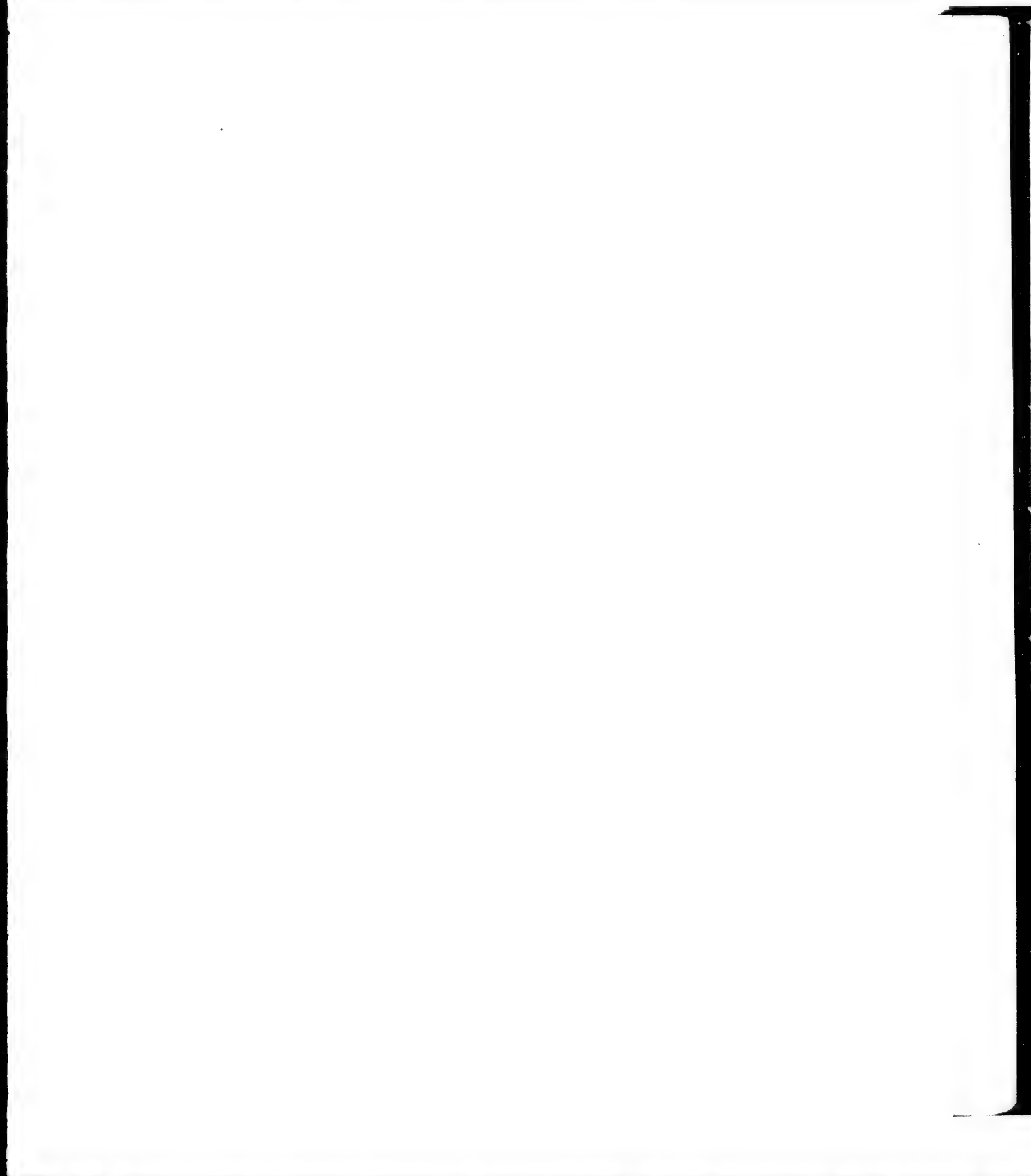
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LETTER XXVI.

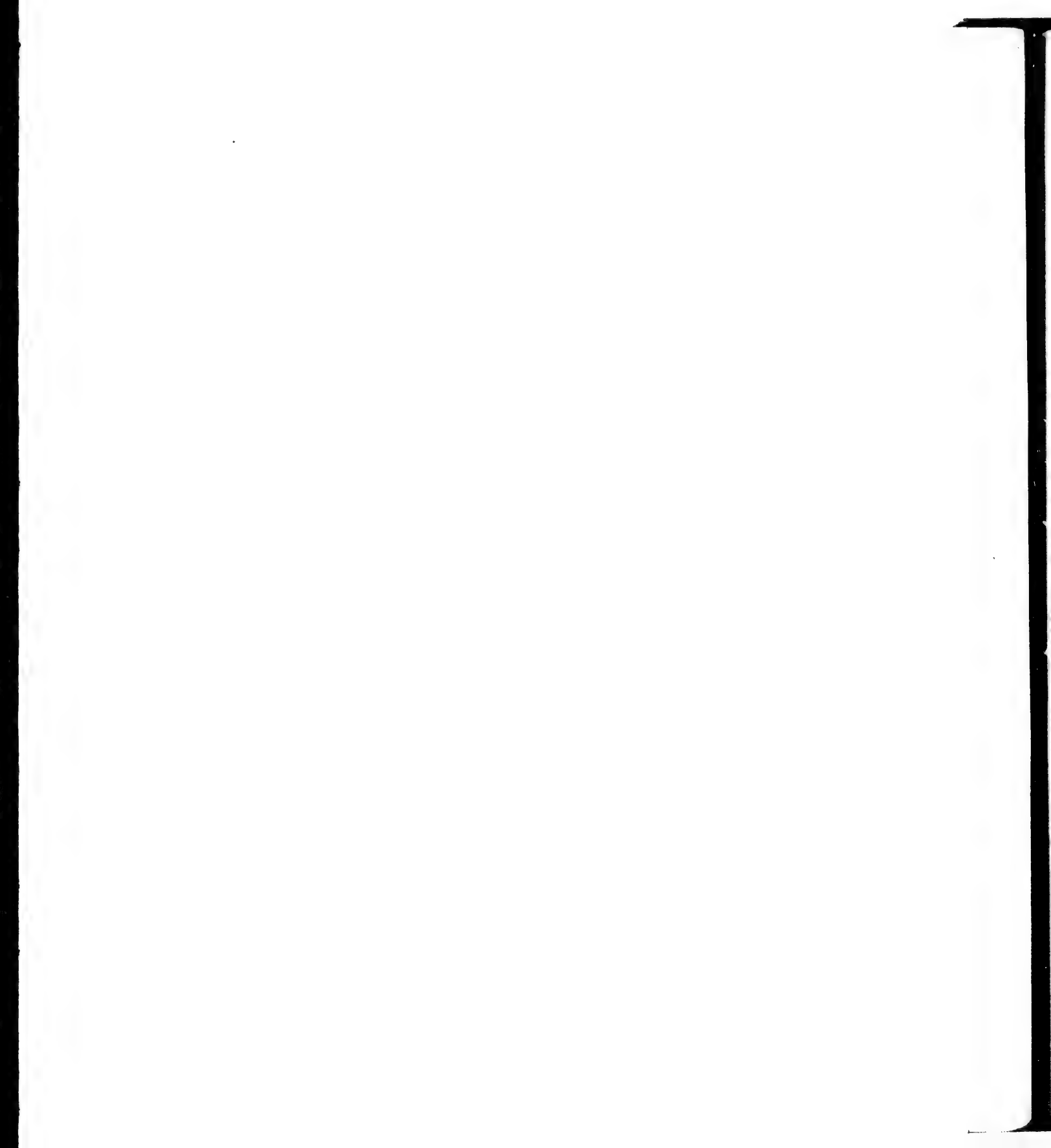
SIXTEEN years since, harlequin was the life of every dramatic performance; nothing was agreeable but what he did or said; though the critics of the northern parts of Germany have hissed him from their stages, the multitude here still wish for his return. When harlequin was dismissed, attempts began to be made towards forming a national theatre; this was done by slow degrees, but it has at length come to considerable perfection. I have seen them play the *Pere de Famille* here nearly as well, I think, as it could be acted on a Paris theatre. The company is select, but it has the same faults as that of Paris; the faults which every company must have that is not under very strong government.

I was conversing some days ago upon this subject with one of the principal actors: "We form," says he, "a kind of parliament amongst ourselves, and the intendant of the court has no more power over us, than the king of Great Britain has over the House of Commons." So much the worse, thought I; the republican form of government, which is always a bad one, must be particularly so for a company of players, part of whom desire always to be the kings and princes which they are upon the boards, and to hold their comrades in the same state of subjection they do there.

I must introduce you to the acquaintance of the principal of these whigs; they are really worthy to be known to you, for they deserve the respect in which they are held, and which has gained them admittance to all the best societies of the place.

The elder Stephanic, the manager, is an extraordinary man off the stage. He has read much, and has a very good heart. He has a great deal of wit, and all the manner and polish of a man of the world. It is a pity that his make is not the best for the theatre; his feet are ugly, and the belly is not quite what it should be, to correspond with the upper part of the body. He endeavours as much as he can to conceal this defect by artificial postures, but you see that his figure hurts him. After Brockman, he is the best speaker on the stage, but not the most pleasing, as his voice often wants force. His pronunciation is remarkably good, which he owes to his education in Saxony. His countenance is naturally expressive, though not so much so on the stage as it might be, from the circumstance of his being fair, and not painting sufficiently. His principal parts are those of affectionate fathers. I have no where seen *Le Pere de Famille* played better than by him; but as he is conscious of the imperfections of his figure, and has to do with an unmanageable set, he is often forced to take up with parts not made for him. On this principle I have often seen him play young, lively princes with no great credit to himself; still, however, there is sense in all he does, and he makes every thing that can be made of a part. Besides several translations from the French and English, if I mistake not, he has written several original pieces.

His younger brother is the direct opposite of him, a rough, stiff, arrogant man, with the face of Medusa, and at first sight he seems more intended for a corporal of grenadiers, than for an actor. He plays the parts of clowns, angry boys, tyrants, executioners, and the like, which are so natural to him, that nobody else can do them as well. He is still more valuable as a poet than as an actor. Notwithstanding all the faults found with him his pieces are represented on all the stages of Germany, even on those where people exclaim most loudly against them: they contain, indeed, a great deal of nature, admirable characters, and often very fine plots. It is a pity that these merits are shaded by some imperfections; but the author is not sufficient master of his language, and his fertility (for he sells his pieces by the dozens) often compels him to take up with impro-



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bable stories. If he would but give himself a little more time to correct and polish, he might pass for one of the best poets of the time. His love for the king, founded on the history of Charles II, his *Deserteur aus Kindesliebe*; his *Bekantschaft in Bad*; his *Wolfe in des keerde*, and his *Unterschied Bey Dienstbewerbungen*, though not worked up to classical elegance, bespeak true genius. He is entirely callous to all criticisms, both in his acting and writing; laughs at, or abuses the critics to their faces, or if needs must, brings them to order with his fists.

Brockman has been here for some years; he was known to fame long before, and enjoyed the same reputation at Hamburgh, which Garrick did in England, and Le Kain at Paris. It was a great while before they could persuade him to come to Vienna, owing to the fear he had of the republican cabals of this theatre, and his not being upon very good terms with his wife, who was engaged here; but at length considerable offers prevailed on him. He is one of those players who do not please you most at first sight, but improve on you the more you see them. You must be accustomed to somewhat of an unwieldy figure, and somewhat of a hoarse voice, before you can value his merits as they deserve; but whoever can get over these slight defects is sure to be enraptured with his expression. Not a shade of passion escapes him. The uncommon ease of his action conceals the extraordinary study which he has bestowed on every motion and every word. He is constantly before the looking-glass, and every thing in him bespeaks understanding, industry, and practice. His chief part is Hamlet, which, however, the republican constitution of this theatre does not allow him to play, as it is a rule here not to take from any man a part which he has once acted, and this part is possessed by Mr. de Lange, a gentleman of whom I shall speak more freely hereafter. Brockman, however, is like Garrick, and can play every part, from the Sultan to the slave. I do not know a greater proof of a thorough knowledge of the world.

We now come to a man who is truly an unique in his way, I mean Bergopzoomer, one of the greatest charlatans, and, at the same time, one of the greatest workmen in his art I have yet seen. He kept a theatrical academy at Prague, where he hit upon the singular device of making every motion of the hands or feet by letters of the alphabet. When he said A, B, C, D, &c. his scholars were to fall into the corresponding attitudes. He is likewise the author of a very dreadful tragedy, the chief character of which (played by himself) dispatches all the rest, and then dispatches himself. Deeds of blood are his forte. I saw him play Richard the Third very well. He is strong, but well made, has a wonderful voice, a lively eye, a great deal of expression in his countenance, and knows how to make good use of all these advantages. He excels even Brockman in art, for he paints his face of all possible colours, in order to hit the face of the person he represents to the life. He puts on a great deal of false hair, which he tears off when he is in a passion, and tosses about the stage by handfuls. His wounds must bleed true blood: when he is in great passions he often spits blood. I saw him throw himself on the ground in Richard, and grin, and grind his teeth in such a manner, as really made me shudder. With all this, there is an appearance of nature in his expression of the passions, that forces an adept in theatrical matters to forget all his trick and grimace. His Fayel* surpasses every thing of the kind I have ever seen. He thoroughly understands the advantage an actor has in using a proper climax of voice. In the part of Camillo Rota, in *Emilia Galotte*, he makes the whole pit shudder, without any motion of the arms or any alteration of countenance, barely by speaking five or six words. Nor does he excel only in the parts of kings and murderers. His sir John Restless, in *All in the Wrong*, is a masterly performance. You know what a difficult part that is.

* A character in the tragedy of Percy.

It is a pity that he will not play these kind of parts oftener. To sum up his character, he is a good companion, and, what is more rare to be met with in a player, a man of fortune.

Amongst all the actors, there is none who has so many friends and protectors amongst the great people as Mr. Miller. The man understands every thing; he makes lotteries at the public assemblies, keeps toy-booths in them for the ladies; has a clever wife and handsome daughter, who play upon the harpsichord in the houses of the great, and he knows how to improve all these advantages. His credit is so good, that he is said, though I believe matters to be a little exaggerated in this respect, to have constantly 50,000 guilders of other people's money in circulation. He lives like a great man with the great. His house stands in one of the best and most expensive parts of the town. He has a suit of rooms furnished with great taste and magnificence. He hires an elegant garden in one of the suburbs, where, in summer time, he keeps open table for all the world. All the wits of Germany bring him letters of recommendation, and he takes them into his house. The acquaintances he thereby makes amongst the great persons here, and the learned persons there, fully pay him for his hospitality. He has also written some plays, but these have not answered so well as his dealings in toys. He is the most insinuating man in the world, and as he endeavours to serve every one, so he is desirous of being served by them. As an actor, he is intolerably vain. His proper parts are those of pedants, footmen, and tattlers; but as he does not like to play a different part on the stage from what he plays off it, he will be enacting courtiers and petits maitres.

Mr. Lange, whom I mentioned before, is a handsome man, and has a very good voice. His fault consists in his being a painter. All his attitudes on the theatre are academical, and his stiff movements remind us of those drawing-schools in which they put the figure in attitudes, in which it is seldom or never seen in nature. He might give up his Hamlet to Brockman, and be no loser; but he has a perversity about him which is a sign of a small understanding. When he is to speak a speech, which he thinks will meet with applause, he comes as near to the pit as he can, and often goes beyond the side-boxes. He has too little understanding to act the parts of ordinary life. His forte is in heroes of romance, and he excels in Coucy, in Fayel. He has no command of his fine voice, but falls by degrees into singing. He often strikes his breast with his double fists. He has many friends, and an amiable wife, who sings very well. By means of his friends he often possesses himself of parts to which he has no other pretensions. In fine, he is likewise one of the few players who are rich.

The only actor of the first class, who remains to be spoken of, is Mr. Steigentesch, whom I had much rather see in a room than on the stage. He is a man of a very universal knowledge, speaks several languages, and has a great deal of wit; but his little figure, and a considerable degree of affectation, spoil his acting, which, however, bespeaks a great deal of understanding and knowledge of the world. He plays beaux and coxcombs, which as well as lovers are in bad hands. I shall say nothing to you of the remainder, as it would make the catalogue too large.

Madame Sakko has the pre-eminence amongst the ladies. She was formerly Mademoiselle Richard, and was more known to the great world betwixt the Rhine and the Elbe, by the charms of her person than by her acting. She seemed for a time to have lost in love pursuits those astonishing talents which nature had given her, but they discovered themselves by degrees, and she has endeavoured to make up for the time lost by uncommon study and application. She possesses a feeling heart, a Greek profile, a fantastic, or, if I may so say, a romantic countenance, eyes full of fire, a very fine per-

son, and a silver toned voice. Those who would be quite melted, must see her in the part of Gabrielle de Vergis. For the first time in my life in a theatre, I felt tears fall from my eyes. Tragedy, however, is not her sole forte; she plays the parts of fine ladies, marchionesses, and devotees, with the same felicity. She has a thorough knowledge of the world, and all the doors of this place, those of the imperial cabinet itself not excepted, are open to her. She is such a mistress of her motions, that a friend of mine compared her to an instrument which plays treble and base at the same time. Indeed, all the motions of her mouth, eyes, arms, and body, are in such thorough unison with, and set off each other so well, that I do not know to what she can better be compared than to an instrument of this sort. There are not three actresses in the world to be compared to her; and she is worthy to be, as she is, the goddess of the public's idolatry. Still, however, she was forced to wait some time before the public saw her merit. Her action, like Brockman's, does not please at first sight, as that of Bergopzoomer and Lange does. This is common to all that is very fine; you must examine and compare the parts, before you can be struck with the beauty and symmetry of the whole.

Mademoiselle Teutscher and Mademoiselle Nannette Jaynet are the next. These ladies would be good actresses if there was no Sakko. I know no other ladies to mention to you but Madame Huber, who on and off the stage enacts the part of a proud, quarrelsome, and foolish wife to perfection.

The whole company is in the pay of the court, and every individual in it, keeps his salary for life, even when he ceases to be serviceable. The highest salary paid by the court is 1200 guilders; besides this the principal actors have 600 guilders for fire and clothes, and what remains of the receipts after the expences are paid, is divided amongst them. The receipts generally amount to 120,000, and the expences to 80,000 guilders a year. The superflux is divided according to the salaries. Those who have children endeavour to procure them a small appointment as soon as possible. In general these are given with great liberality. They made Madame Sakko's husband (by profession a dancer, but of no manner of use) inspector of the wardrobe, with an appointment of 500 guilders; so the two together have 2300 guilders, or about 250 pounds a year. The second rates have from 800 to 1000 guilders, and the thirds from 400 to 600 guilders. Jacynel and his two daughters receive 4000 guilders, or about 400 pounds a year.

The cabals and intrigues which exist in this commonwealth, you can have no conception of: every new part makes a quarrel, in which the courtiers take part; the public suffers accordingly. If this company was under good management, it would be one of the three first in Europe. As things now are, authors are greatly injured. When a play is offered, it is read in the theatrical parliament, when the majority of votes decides whether it shall be acted or not; the consequence of this is, that a good play is often refused, either because some of the first actors have no good part in it, or because they will not leave a good part to another, or because they are not at leisure to study a new part, or which is oftentimes the case, because they know nothing of the merits. The author of a new piece, together with a premium, is entitled to a third part of what his work produces, and may sell the copy. Notwithstanding these advantages, new plays are so scarce, that they have been obliged to call in the assistance of a German opera. The quarrels on these daily occasions betwixt the two companies, and the contempt they have for one another, is truly ridiculous. The empress takes care that the public manners of the actresses shall be more decent than they are at Paris.

Upon the whole, the public of this place has as bad a taste as that of Munich. Every thing here cries out panem et circenses, and the multitude seem to have no other wishes

than to have their paunches well filled, and a theatrical entertainment by way of desert; but neither the taste or morals are improved by this. The generality wish for the return of harlequin, who though he cannot appear as he used to do, with his motley coat and wooden sword, often struts about in the hero's dress to delight them; at least it is only to this that I can ascribe the miserable pantomimes with which the tragic actors intersperse their tragedies. The general taste is for grimace, buffoonery, and exaggeration. Of a good plot, natural and easy dialogue, or pure style, they know nothing. I have heard several things applauded here which would have been hissed at Paris, if the French of them had been as bad as the German was.

Besides the national theatre, six or seven strolling companies occupy the suburbs. These are of the sort I have been used to in Suabia. The actors consist of taylors, perriwig-makers, apprentices, and ruined students, who are sometimes on the stage, sometimes in the hospital, and sometimes in the army. These gentlemen play by a kind of half light, favourable to the purposes of intrigue. Those of them succeed best who have their booths in a garden, where a man may walk with his friend betwixt the acts. They are so conscious that the public does not come to see them, that half the company is commonly in the ale-house whilst the play is going forward, and one man acts three or four parts.

LETTER XXVII.

THE editor of *Voyages en diferentes parties de l'Europe* speaks very contumeliously of the German nobility, and ranks the Neapolitan ones far above them in point of income. He should at least have excepted the Austrian nobles, as there are several there who possess more than any six of the richest Neapolitans he mentions. Prince Francis Lichtenstein, the elder branch of that family has at least 900,000 florins, that is 2,300,000 French livres per annum. In Moravia only, he has twenty estates, which consist of twenty or thirty villages each; he is, without comparison, the richest man in Europe. Lord Cavendish, who passes for the most opulent man in England, has not above 80,000l. a year. At Paris there is not either a farmer general, or a man of quality, whose income passes 120,000 livres. Neither prince Radzivil, nor prince Czartorisky in Poland, nor any of the Russian nobility, have estates like those of prince Lichtenstein. Prince Esterhazy has upwards of 600,000 and prince Schwartzenberg above 400,000 guilders a year. There are upwards of forty people here who have estates of 100,000 guilders a year, the greatest, as Mr. Pilati says, that any Neapolitan possesses, and twelve, besides those I have mentioned, who have as much again. The houses of Charles Lichtenstein, Aversberg, Lobtowik, Paar, Palfy, Kollaredo, Hasfeld Schonborn, and many others are much richer than the dukes Pignatelli, and Matalone, or the princes of Palagonia and Villa-Franca, at Naples.

Notwithstanding, however, these vast revenues, most of the great houses are in debt, which may be very easily accounted for; as in other countries, some one favourite luxury or other has the ascendant, here they all reign; nor is there any species of them you can name, either horses, servants, the pleasures of the table, play, or dress, but what is carried to the utmost excess. Here are several stables of fifty, sixty, or more horses; whoever has an estate of 50 or 60,000 florins, must have from twenty-four to thirty horses; and it is a moderate establishment, which consists only of a maitre d'hotel, a secretary, two valet de chambre, two running footmen, one or two huntsmen, two coachmen, five or six footmen, and a porter. The houses of Lichtenstein, Esterhazy, Schwart-

zenberg, and some others, keep fifty footmen, beside which, the two former have a body guard. A single plate of fruit often costs from 60 to 70 florins, and count Palm once appeared in a coat that had cost 90,000 guilders. It is common to give from 30 to 40,000 florins for a lady's dress; and though hazard is forbidden, there are several games at which you may lose from 15 to 20,000 florins at a sitting.

Prince Rohan,* who some time since was ambassador from France here, endeavoured to vie in expence with the inhabitants of the place, but, besides getting considerably into debt, he was obliged to confess at going away, that though a man spends his money with more taste at Paris, a great deal more may be spent at Vienna. It is, indeed, very true, that they spend their money without taste or enjoyment, and several of them would do better to throw half their incomes out of window, and set the populace a scrambling for them, for they would have as much pleasure themselves. At Paris every man has some branch of œconomy, something upon which he saves, that he may afford to be expensive upon other occasions. There is likewise some discernment shewn in the choice of pleasures, and the poor, the arts, and even the native country, come in for some share of the expence; but here all his idle pomp and magnificence. Amidst the wretched scenes exhibited by the mixture of superfluity and misery at Paris, the friend of mankind recollects that there is a Beaumont and a Cure de St. Sulpice, who divide among the indigent a great part of the superfluities of the rich. But here there is no source of consolation for the old, and often sick beggar, who slinks into the coffee-houses and beer-houses at dusk to procure alms, whilst the great spend upon a single meal, what would feed a private family for a year.

The arts enjoy as little from the riches of this place as the poor do; almost all the palaces and gardens bespeak nothing but a tasteless profusion; and as to collections of pictures, I have seen none but the Lichtenstein gallery that deserves any notice. It is true, indeed, that this may stand in the place of many; it consists of six hundred pieces by the best masters, and is divided into twelve rooms, which have a magnificent appearance, but then this is all that is to be seen besides the imperial collection.

I had forgot to mention one trait exceedingly characteristic of the country. In some houses, the masters of which affect to live in the highest style, it is customary, when an entertainment is given, to provide doses of tartar emetic, and set them in an adjoining room; thither the guests retire when they happen to be too full, empty themselves, and return to the company again as if nothing had happened.

Music is the only thing for which the nobility shew a taste; several of them have private bands of musicians, and all the public concerts attest, that this branch of the arts is in the greatest esteem here. You may bring together four or five large orchestras, which are all incomparable. The number of private virtuosi is small, but there is no finer orchestra of music in the world. I have heard thirty or forty instruments play together, all which gave so just, so clear, and so precise a sound, that you would have thought you heard only a single very strong instrument; a single stroke gave life to all the violins, and a single blast to all the wind instruments. An Englishman, by whom I chanced to sit, was astonished not to hear in a whole opera, I will not say a single dissonance, but one hasty stroke, one too long pause, one too loud blast. Though just come out of Italy he was enraptured with the justness and the clearness of the harmony. There are about four hundred musicians here, who divide themselves into particular societies, and often labour together during a long course of years. On a particular day of the year they have a general concert for the benefit of musicians' widows; I have

* The celebrated cardinal of that name.

been assured, that the four hundred play together as distinctly, as cleanly, and as justly as when there are only from twenty to thirty. This is certainly the only concert of the kind in the world.

One of the most pleasing sights I have seen here was that of the lemonade booths in the summer evenings. They put up a large tent in some of the public parts of the town, round it are several hundred stools, which are occupied by the ladies and gentlemen of the place. At some distance there is a band of music; the wonderful music, the festive silence, and the familiarity which night diffuses over every thing, have all of them an unspeakable good effect.

To see the equipages of Vienna, you must go to a fire-work on the Prater in the summer time. The prater is a wood of oaks and beeches on an island of the Danube, near the city. Towards the entrance, under the trees, there are about thirty tents, furnished with chairs and tables, in which you meet with all kinds of refreshments. The place is constantly resorted to by day; but to see it in its splendour, you must go to a fire-work; about twelve thousand people assemble and take their supper under the trees. Towards the entrance of the night, on a given signal, they flock to the meadow, surrounded with high trees, in which the spectacle is exhibited. Directly opposite to the fire-work is a magnificent amphitheatre filled with several hundreds of ladies, whose high painted cheeks, rich jewels, and light summer clothes, have an unspeakable good effect. The pit betwixt the amphitheatre and the firework is filled as full as it can hold with men. At the conclusion of the festival a most extraordinary sight takes place; a row, of from twelve to fifteen hundred coaches, phaetons, and other four wheeled equipages, goes from the wood to the city, in so direct and close a line, that when they stop, the beam of the hinder carriages are close upon the chest of the fore ones; the consequence of which is, that as they go only in full trot, or gallop, many of the carriages are broke, and the people in them exposed to the utmost danger: most of these are gentleman's coaches, with four or six horses to them; the number of these in this place are at least three thousand five hundred; there are about five hundred hackney coaches, and about three hundred coaches that are let out. Notwithstanding the number of equipages on this occasion, there is hardly ever the least disorder; the foot-passengers have their road, which no coachmen dares to break in upon. The bridge betwixt the suburb of Leopold and the Prater, in which the pressure is strongest, is divided into four parts; the two outermost of these are for the foot passengers, and the innermost for the coaches; that is, one for those who are going from, and another for those who are coming to the city. This order is kept up through the wood and on the chausee in the suburb, till you come to the city, and some cuirassiers ride to and fro with drawn sabres to see that the order be observed. There is no instance of an accident having happened at the time of a festivity; all the casualties that take place through the neglect of coachmen, happen in the daily business of the city; there are, however, never above seven people driven over in a year, whereas at Paris we reckon there are twenty.

As to the fire-work itself, I set it far above all the amusements of this place, not excepting the national theatre itself. M. Stuer, who was the artificer, whose works I saw, understands it thoroughly; he exhibits whole gardens, large palaces, and temples, in due perspective, with all their different shades of colour, and almost as large as the life. His machines are particularly large and beautiful, and often make from six to eight fronts, from fifty to sixty feet long. At the opening of the exhibition, they let off several hundred rockets, which fly up with a noise like thunder, shake the whole forest, and make it light as at noon day. A few years ago he had a rival called Girandolini, who, in the estimation of all connoisseurs, had much more merit than himself, but was

the victim of the bigotry of the public. Girandolini, who, as a stranger, had more difficulty to combat with, than the other, was obliged to uncommon exertions to obtain money, to do as much as Stuer. He had a great number of labourers at work during the whole spring and winter, but in the summer, on the day announced for the exhibition, there happened a great thunder storm, which spoiled all he had done. His disappointment led him to use imprecations, and he was discouraged as an atheist.

The Augarten is likewise one of the summer amusements, at which you may meet with all the fine world. This is a large park, which stands in the same island of the Danube as the Prater does, and is to the east of it; it is a work of the emperor's, who, as the inscription over the door states, has opened it, as a friend of mankind, for a place of relaxation to all mankind. It is, however, visited only by the higher orders; the people who see it is not made for them, voluntarily exclude themselves: it is astonishing in how short a time this park is become what it is. The emperor, who is determined to see his work complete, spares for neither pains or expence to procure trees half grown, and full grown from the most distant part of the globe. Though there are a great variety of different trees and shrubs, and the walks have all the beauties that one can desire, there is a regularity and uniformity in the whole, which makes it like a true English garden. A very broad arm of the Danube, which washes its banks, gives it a great deal of life. The most pleasing perspective in the whole is that of a large forest in perspective, which has been cut through on the other side of the river, and is bounded by the distant hills of Moravia, which flit about it like light clouds. There is a magnificent pavilion, in which is a billiard-table and refreshments of all kinds. Those who wish to see this place in full beauty, must visit it in the height of summer in the morning. The custom has prevailed for some years past, of coming here to drink mineral waters; these, it is true, are fetched from upwards of a hundred miles distance, and can therefore do no great good, nor is there any need of it, for the invalids are most of them very well, and only come here to enjoy the ease and freedom which obtain at Spa, Pyrmont, and other water-drinking places. Here all ranks, particularly the noblesse and the literati mix together; the ladies drink that they may shew themselves in negliges, and the men drink because the ladies are not so stiff in negliges as they are when full dressed.

There are several other places of public resort in this town; that which is most generally visited is the Rempart, which, though exposed to a very warm sun, is almost always full. The middling people cannot go to church in the afternoon, without taking a turn round the Rempart, which takes them up an hour; those of higher ranks walk to shew their dogs, which in this place only are safe from horses and carriages. Hounds are a great article of luxury here; the fine folks endeavour to outdo each other in them; at present the little Pomeranian breed is all the mode; one of them either snow white, or coal black, and with a sharp snout, will fetch from ten to fifteen ducats. Prince X, gave twenty-five ducats for one; every man who sets up at all for ton, must have his spisschen, which is here the proper name of the dog. The peasants, who are the better for this folly, have built a dog-market adjoining to the poultry-market.

The garden of the Belvedere in the suburb of Rennevig, formerly in the possession of prince Eugene, is likewise at present a public walk; the garden has nothing particular about it; but the palace, both on account of its builder, and its admirable situation, is one of the most remarkable places in the town; from the balcony on the terrace, you command a view over the whole town, and all the country round. Some years ago the imperial pictures were moved hither; the gallery consists of twenty-two large rooms;

the lower story is tenanted entirely by Italian masters. The best picture is a cupid in the act of drawing his bow, by Corregio. It was bought for 18,000 ducats, by the emperor Charles VI, but with many other pictures had been entirely neglected and trodden under foot, so that part of it was entirely spoilt, but what remains is Corregio still. The upper story is tenanted by the Flemish masters, who, as in duty bound, do not keep company with the Italians. The gallery is open to every body three days in the week.

About a mile and a half from the city, in a fenny hollow, you meet with Schonbrunn, the summer residence of the empress, but where the confined prospect and bad air did not allow me to stay two days. The palace is immense, built in a truly great style; the furniture, too, is truly imperial; there is one room furnished with tapestry from the Gobelins, that cost 300,000 guilders; here too is the menagerie of wild beasts, so delightfully sung by Metastasio. The most remarkable I saw, was a true elephant of the large breed from India; it was sent as a present from the Stadtholder, who gave 10,000 guilders for it. On an eminence behind the palace the emperor has built a sala terrena in the ancient style, with two rows of pillars on each side. This points out the spot where his mother should have built, if she had chosen to have had a fine prospect and good air. When the empress is here, she sees only capuchins and old court ladies. This is likewise a place of public amusement, as the garden is always open, as is the palace also, at all such times as the empress is not there.

The Kalteberg, which lies on the Danube, about three miles from the city, pleased me infinitely more; the way to it is through a wonderfully well cultivated country. At some distance to the left, on the slope of the hill, and under some very old oaks, you see field marshal Lacy's elegant villa, with his English garden. By degrees you gain a thick forest on the brow of the hill; on the top of this stands the Camaldeuleuse convent, in the finest point of view you can imagine. Under some trees before the convent, are a table and some benches, where the ladies, who cannot visit the inside of the monastery, without special permission from the archbishop, are entertained till their friends return. Every monk has his own separate hut with a little garden belonging to it. To the outer cell there is a terrace which overlooks a perpendicular precipice into the Danube, and commands a prospect of which a monk of this sort is quite unworthy. You have the whole city like a ground plot under your feet; you think you hear the constant hum in it, and your eye carries you over this part of Austria, as far as to the borders of Hungary and Moravia. The majestic Danube winds through an immense plain; at some distance it considerably widens, and being covered with no woods or elevations, casts a silver appearance on the landscape. To your right, the wood crowned hill you are upon gradually decreases to the suburbs, whilst to the left it stretches its high neck along the Danube, to where, at three miles distance, you see the golden hill of Ensersdorf, which produces one of the best Austrian vines. The numberless fine villages, the blue hills swimming on the horizon, and all the various aspects of wood and water, diffuse a delight, which impressed me to such a degree, that I could not help communicating my enthusiasm to the monk, who was near me. "Happy," says I, "must be that brother who inhabits the outer cell." "No," said he, "we are not of your opinion, none of us choose to live in it, for it is too much exposed to the winds, and is as cold again as any other." In a moment the man brought me out of my enthusiasm. You know I am one of those, who in summer never think of winter, and who hate nothing more than to be forced to see the ugly side of things, be they as natural as they may, whilst I am taken up with the beautiful ones. After having seen all that the monks had to shew, hair shirts and all, we gave them money to say a mass for us, and hastened to our ladies under the trees. We had sent before us a cold collation, and some bottles of Shum-

laver and St. Jorger. The day was fine, and the ladies in good humour, so that I do not know whether we might not a little profane the entrance to the holy place. This pilgrimage was undertaken in the first days of my arrival here, but I have often been at the place since, and have found pleasure there, even in bad weather.

There are several other public places, amongst which you may reckon Mount Calvarie, and other places of devotion, which are visited by the young people of both sexes, not so much from motives of piety, as because they are protected from the inspection of the police.

LETTER XXVIII.

Vienna.

THE present court possesses several valuable collections, all of which are as much as possible open to the public. The imperial cabinet of medals hath scarce its equal in the world; there are twenty-two thousand ancient coins; the modern coins are extremely valuable; likewise a very valuable, and to those who wish to study the history of the middle ages, a very precious part of this collection, is that which consists of all the coins and medals from Charlemagne to this time. The thought was Charles the Sixth's, but the collection owes its existence to the emperor Francis, who laid out great sums upon it. I say nothing to you of the several other rich collections of natural history, mathematical instruments, &c. &c. but, that like every thing the court possesses, they are open to every body, without the least trouble. But the library is one of the most precious in the world. It consists of more than three hundred thousand volumes, twelve thousand of which are valuable manuscripts. The building in which they are preserved is one of the handsomest in the town. It is open every morning till twelve o'clock, for all persons who choose to come. They are furnished with tables, chairs, pen, ink, and paper; a secretary looks in the catalogue for the books wanted, which are immediately taken down from the shelves by some livery servants belonging to the court. There are fires in the room all the winter. None of the servants are allowed to take any thing. When once you are acquainted with the librarians, one of whom is always in a room adjoining, it is not so difficult to obtain prohibited books as has been pretended. Mr. Pilati, indeed, in his travels, says, that you cannot have a good book without the archbishop's permission; but I myself read the History of the Council of Trent, and all Machiavel's works through, without any leave.

Exclusive of the court library, there are several other public places where people may read. The bookseller Trattner once took it into his head to have a learned coffee-house in his great palace. He promised to provide the subscribers with all the newspapers, periodical publications, and pamphlets, in all the living languages. If this project had been properly followed, it might have proved the foundation of an academy, or learned society; but the subscribers soon saw that Trattner had no view but what regarded his own pocket. This Mr. Trattner compels the professors to sell him their manuscripts, and pays them not a farthing for them. He conceives himself to have this privilege as bookseller to the court, and exercises an intolerant tyranny over all the booksellers and literati of the place. Notwithstanding the high tone he affects, he does not scruple to descend to the lowest meannesses. He prints over again, with the imperial privilege, works which have been already printed with this privilege in the other parts of Germany. They say he has persuaded the empress, that let a book be ever so successful, the bookseller gets nothing by it, if he pays the expence of printing; so that beside giving him the copy, she often pays the whole expence of printing the book.

takes an interest in; but though Trattner flatters her foibles in many respects, there is not a person in Vienna who disobeys her orders more strenuously. If you will pay him enough for them, he will procure you all prohibited books, even the most scandalous; and these are the only books which the generality cares for; for it is not as with us, where you meet with Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, Voltaire's Universal History, and Rousseau's Social Contract, in the hands of people who make no pretences to literature. Here are many literati who know nothing of these, and the like books, which they leave entirely to the higher nobility, and some of the officers. What succeeds most here is buffoonery, and even the bettermost part of the reading public, is satisfied with plays, romances, and fairy tales. I know a dozen young men of letters, as these creatures here call themselves, who have read nothing since they came from school, but German and French poets. I was once tempted to go round the table of the public library to see what the readers were employed in; two or three out of about four and twenty were reading ancient writers, one was reading Sully's Memoirs, and all the rest had either romances, or were looking over such books as the Museum Florentinum, and the descriptions of the Antiquities at Herculaneum, for the sake of the prints. I must, however, make one observation in honour of the Hungarians; these generally call for the several historians of their own country, and they appeared to me to read them with an animation that bespoke the freedom of their government. May it not be owing to this difference of government, that the Hungarians, as I have generally observed, have more patriotism, and consequently care more for the history of their native country than the Austrians do? I have not found one of all the latter who had a taste for any such thing.

After what I have been saying, it is not extraordinary that the societies of this country should be as dead as they are. The subject of the theatre is soon exhausted, after which there is nothing left but the news of the day, and trifling observations. It is only the women who keep up the conversation at all; these have infinitely more wit, vivacity, and knowledge of all kinds of things, than the men. In several houses I was in, the men had nothing to say after the first quarter of an hour, but their wives and daughters kept up the conversation with great cheerfulness. It is very true, that their fund consists only of the news of the day, but the news gives rise to remarks, and remarks give rise to observations and debates that often prove very interesting; with the men there is not even this resource, for they are too stupid even for this.

The women of this place are handsome and well made, but they have no colour, and their faces are not interesting. They are easy and lively in their motions, their gait, and their speech. They are more composed, more determined, and more manly than the French women, but not so heroic as the English. I cannot give you a better idea of them than by telling you they are between French and English. There are no great beauties here, nor any very ugly women. They have not yet imitated our country women in their winter-dress, which continues to be of Polanaises, trimmed with very expensive furs, which reach down to the feet. As these dresses have no high pockets, are open at the breast, and fall easily about the lower part of the body, they are favourable to the shape, and remind us of the Greek simplicity. A tinge of superstition, peculiar to the women of this place, is united to great sensibility of heart, and rather tends to increase, than to repress love, friendship, and benevolence. Moore has made some good observations upon this subject, but nothing gives a better idea of the thing, than seeing a lady bespeak masses in a convent, and give alms, with a wish that God may recover her sick Cicisbeo.

The Cicisbeo is upon the same footing here as in Italy; it subsists among the great as a mode that has been once established; the poor take it up as a matter of trade; and it

is only amongst the merchants and manufacturers that you meet with any instances of jealousy. I cannot forbear giving you a droll instance of the effects of this, which took place some years ago. A man of fashion having been rather too frequent in his visits to a rich tradesman's wife; the husband, who was displeased with the intercourse, took the following method of putting a stop to it: one morning, when he knew the lovers were together, he ordered all his servants to be in waiting with flambeaux on the stairs; he then stepped into the room, and told his excellency, that his servants were come to light him home; the other was exceedingly surprised, but affected not to understand him; upon which the merchant immediately took him by the arm, and led him very ceremoniously down stairs; here the servants, armed with their flambeaux, surrounded him on all sides, and led him into the middle of the street in broad day light; the tradesman in the mean time standing upon the steps of his house making bow upon bow, and under the pretence of recommending himself to the nobleman's custom, shouting out his name as loud as he could.

You seldom hear of any extraordinary instances of impropriety and indecency in this place. Considering the state of the country, it is not extraordinary, that a taste for pleasure should be so prevalent as it is, it having certainly more food here than any where else. The number of poor is much smaller than at Paris, and probably, than at London. Every thing, even the clothing of the lowest servant maid, bespeaks a great degree of affluence. The prodigality of the higher nobility, the many, and great appointments paid by the court, and the extensive commerce of the middling classes, greatly assists the circulation of money. The constant circulation of the town is estimated at twelve million of imperial guilders, or 12,000l. sterling. The expence of living is likewise less than it is any where else, and Vienna is probably the only town in which the price of the necessaries of life is not equal to the quantity of gold in circulation. This arises from the great want of money in the neighbouring Hungary. You have good wine here for three kreutzers the bottle, and a very good dinner for twelve. I know a traitour, who for thirteen sols a head, furnishes a table d'hôte, consisting of vegetables, broiled meat, a pudding, or roasted calf's-liver, and beef; the bread and a gill of wine are included: in a word the man with the forty crowns might live here very well, but if he has more, he will certainly be tempted to spend it. The more nature gives, the more necessities men make to themselves, and she is so profuse here, that they of course become so too. The infinite number of richly pensioned dependants of the court, the numerous nobility, and the many strangers who come here only for amusement, know no other pleasure, than to follow it wheresoever it leads. Riches, idleness, and the liberality of nature, must render a people dissipated, whose religion is the opposite to frugality, and whose governors cannot give their spirits any other occupation.

The commerce of this country is now extremely flourishing; but it was a long time before the Austrians knew how to enjoy the advantages which nature had provided them with. Notwithstanding they were masters of one of the largest rivers in the world, which carries ships upwards of seventy German miles before it comes to them, and afterwards opens them a way into the Levant and Black Sea; there was no spirit of trade among them till the last emperor's time. It is true, Charles the Sixth had done what he could to promote this spirit throughout the whole of his dominions, but though his attempts had been successful in other places, he met with a disappointment in the dutchy of Austria and the capital, for the nobility of these places still considered merchants as a kind of brute beasts; and the jesuits kept the protestants, who in the sequel, did most for industry, either entirely at a distance, or were sure to crush them, when they found means to creep in. The court, in short, contracted many debts, and its credit grew too

weak to afford any substantial support to those who needed its assistance. The emperor Francis, having restored the finances, was himself a merchant, and by degrees the nobility began to look upon the industrious merchant with a somewhat less degree of contempt. Still, however, a great deal was reserved for the present emperor, whose popularity, and aversion to old prejudices, are in no instance more conspicuous than in this. He introduces ingenious artists and merchants into the first societies. It is true, indeed, that those who think all merit consists in birth and external appearance, neglect nothing to make the plebian feel he is out of his element; but a word from the monarch sets all to rights, and the more the noblesse disturb themselves, the more Joseph is sure to take opportunities of humbling their pride. Some years ago, when he was at Prague, he came into a large company, leading a citizen's wife by the hand; all the ladies immediately began to stare, but he took no farther notice of it, than by going down with her the only dance he danced.

After all, commerce would not be very flourishing, had not the clogs it was under, when the monarch's confessor was the director of all the departments in the state, been taken off, and were it not mostly in the hand of strangers.

The facility with which so many foreign families make large fortunes, is a public and striking instance of how much they surpass the natives in activity and understanding. The baron de Fries, the court banker, a Muhlhouse by birth, who had no capital, has become, in an incredible short time, one of the first bankers in Europe. He is worth at least four millions of guilders. Most of the principal manufacturers and merchants come from Suabia, Franconia, Saxony, and other parts of Germany. The citizens of Nuremburg, Augsburg, Ulm, Lindaw, and other cities, meet here with a refuge from the tyranny, which every day more and more obtains in their own countries. Most of them have made their fortunes by good sense, industry, and especially by that frugality which so essentially distinguishes them from the natives. There is no doubt, but that the strangers, and especially the protestants, will likewise make a flourishing place of Trieste.

With all this, however, trade is still far below what it might be; but it makes great strides every day. It is said, there are already above a hundred silk weavers' looms in the place. There are also plush and cotton manufactures, and foreign trade is carried on with Austrian and Hungarian wines, Bohemian and Moravian linens (which go by Trieste into Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Turkey) wrought and unwrought iron, steel and copper, leather, china, and other articles; these produce several millions. All this the government protects so heartily, that it has always a fund ready for the encouragement of the enterprising and discreet projector. This fund it lends out without interest for five, six, or even ten years, after which it receives interest gradually from one to two or three per cent.

From these beginnings great advantages are, no doubt, to be expected in the next generation, when, instead of being proud of their debts, the nobility shall deign to be in company with a rich trader, and instead of reasoning on a bill of fare, will converse with him on the profits of the year; but education must first be thoroughly reformed, for whilst it is trusted to French abbes and chambermaids, all that is done for trade is but patch-work.

There is bad news about the town; a few days ago the empress returned indisposed from a country expedition, and this indisposition is now become a serious disorder. The physicians fear an inflammation in the lungs, which, from the frequent changes of the weather, is the common illness of this place. I hope to begin my next letter in better spirits than I finish this. Fare thee well.

LETTER XXIX.

Vienna.

IT is past, and the great Theresa, who, with all her weaknesses, was one of the greatest monarchs that ever sat on the throne, is no more. I will say nothing to you of the grief of her subjects, nor of the pompousness of her funeral, nor of the mighty attendance that followed her to her grave; all these you will see in the public prints. It was well known that, either from the weakness natural to old people, or the apprehension that her successor might make innovations she disapproved, she had long looked upon death with some kind of fear and terror. This made her wish to avoid it, as it drew near; but when she found this impossible, religion shewed itself in its full lustre, and, though conquered, the empress was still the heroine. She conversed for several hours together with her son, and employed her cares about her family. To the last instant she was the best of mothers. The successor, on his part, though at the time of life when all the passions are at the highest, and though he felt himself on the eve not only of possessing a large empire, but of being free from the controul he had hitherto met with in his most favourite projects, was in this moment only a son. He forgot every thing else, and could only weep for a mother, with the value of whose heart he was acquainted.

The family affection that obtains in the imperial house is very remarkable. I must lay before you some passages that set this amiable princess's character in a very strong point of view. No stranger to the pleasures of virtuous love, she wished her children to enjoy them, but would have them enjoy them in the bounds imposed by virtue and religion. With these views she had given a free consent to her daughter's marriage with a portioned prince of the house of Saxony, though contrary to the emperor's inclination, who was afraid of the imperial house being burthened with too many dependants. Upon the same principle, when her son Maximilian was made coadjutor of the Teutonic order, and in consequence obliged to take a vow of chastity, she obtained a dispensation for him from the pope, in case he should ever choose to leave the order and marry. Nor was it her fault that her other two daughters were not married, as nothing would have made her so happy as to see herself surrounded with a numerous train of grand-children. Another trait of the same kind was her retaining the truly maternal love of her children, however elevated or however distant they were from her. As a proof of this, she would frequently write both to the queens of France and Naples, letters not only filled with the best of advice, but when there was occasion for them, with the tenderest motherly reproofs. She would often reprove the emperor in company for trifles, after he had come to the imperial crown. This authority, however, which she preserved over all her children to the last instant of her life, was so tempered with true affection, that it displeased none of those over whom it was exercised. Her happiest hours used to be those in which she received letters from the courts of Versailles, Parma, Naples, and Milan. Then she would shut herself up in her closet, with her most intimate friends, and pour into their bosoms the pleasure of being the mother of so fine an offspring.

The archduke governor of Milan, and the duke of Saxe Teschen, whom the emperor is wont to call his very dear relations, will feel her loss very severely, as they cannot but suffer from the æconomy which the emperor is so rigid a master of even towards himself.

Since the empress's death is known, you may observe a wonderful change in the faces and actions of the priests and court attendants. The prelates, who a few days since rode over the bellies of the people in the streets, now sneak about chop-fallen, and the

courtiers seem to be buried in thought how to pay their debts. But before I indulge myself in conjectures on what is to come, I will lay before you the present state of the country as the empress left it.

The house of Hapsburg Loraine, now ranks as one of the greatest powers in Europe; the only rivals of its greatness are Russia, France, and Great Britain; but at the beginning of this century, and till the time it belonged to the late empress, it was one of the middling powers of Europe, and it required all the strength of England, and all the money of Holland, to support it, whenever it attempted to take any great part in business. Even at the time when the sun did not set in its dominions, it was not as formidable as it is now; at length the loss of so many kingdoms and provinces taught it, that the strength of a state does not so much consist in the quantity of its internal power, as in the uses it is able to make of it. A great man, who served it at a time when it was still in possession of Alsatia, Naples, Sicily, and several other countries, compared it to a pyramid, which stands upon its point, and totters by the weakness of its principal part. The pyramid is now something lighter, but it stands, as nature intended it should, on its own proper foundation, firm and unshaken.

If all the Austrian dominions lay together, they would contain a larger extent of country than France. Hungary, with Transylvania, Croatia, Sclavonia, Temeswar, and part of Dalmatia, contains 4760 square miles; Bohemia 900, Moravia, with part of Silesia, 430; the circle of Austria, Styria, and the dukedom, with Carinthia, the Ukraine, the country belonging to Austria in Suabia, the earldom of Falkenstein, the newly acquired part of Bavaria, and part of Frioul, 2200; the Netherlands, 500; the possessions of Lombardy, 200; the kingdoms of Galicia and Lodomeria, together with Buckovina, which has been taken from the Turks, 1400; in all 10,360 square miles; whereas, France hardly contains 10,000. You will say, the difference is not very great; it is not; but when the expected junctions of Tuscany, and the Modonese are made, it will be worth attending to. As to natural blessings, they have been bestowed still more plentifully here than in France; for there are no luxuries to be met with in the latter which some countries belonging to the emperor do, or may not produce, wine, oil, and silk not excepted; and as to matters of prime necessity, such as corn and cattle, they would be able to furnish half France with them, after providing their own people. The several ores too, which are found in the hills round Hungary, in the Tyrol, Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria, are of as much profit to the country, as those of Portuguese and Spanish America to their possessors; so that if there were only such a sea coast as ours, and the country was improved to what it might be, no doubt it would be a fourth richer than France; but our fortunate situation, the waters we command on all sides, and the navigable rivers, which carry out our exports from the most remote parts of the country, give an advantage which is not to be disputed.

Hungary is, without doubt, the richest part of the Austrian dominions; it not only possesses every thing that is produced in the other countries, but feeds them with its overflow, and excels them as much in the quality, as in the quantity of what it produces; but here we have great occasion to observe the truth of that axiom, that the more nature does for man, the less he commonly does for himself. The inhabitant of the Swiss mountains extracts his sustenance from his nakedness, and has changed wildernesses into cultivated and inhabited lands; the Hollander has turned the muddy sands of the Rhine and Maese, what the sea is constantly disputing with him, into a garden, while the excellent grounds in Hungary still lie waste. I believe, that at Vienna, they think that the plenty Hungary is able to export, is owing to its own population; but it is not so; for were it three times as much peopled as it is, it would export in much greater plenty still,

if the cultivation was what it is in the greatest part of Suabia. As things now are, not only a great part of this fruitful land is uncultivated, but even that which is cultivated is not turned to near the advantage it might. In this country they know nothing of artificial cultivation, such as dunging in a cheap way, the mixture of different earths, and the use of chalky clay to manure, though parts of the country produce this last commodity in great abundance. They suffer, at least more than half the ground there is need for, to lay fallow. Their common way of threshing, is by driving oxen over the corn, by which half of it is left for straw. When you are travelling through this country, you think yourself going over a wild, though you are in fact upon a bottom, which with very little trouble would produce fifty, sixty, or even one hundred fold. The roads are of an immense breadth, and the fields adjoining them of so little value, that the postillions drive through them, without the least ceremony, whenever a little mud or rain in the highway reminds them of its being more convenient.

The inhabitants excuse their bad farming by the little value which grain bears, and say, that if their harvests were ten times greater, they should gain nothing by them. There may be some truth in this, but the fault is certainly owing originally to a bad government. The value of grain would undoubtedly increase with an increased population; and if the farmer had sufficient encouragement, the land might be put to other uses besides the growing of grain. They already grow a great deal of tobacco, saffron, and other valuable articles; but there are numberless others which might be produced, if, what you will scarce believe, government did not rather seek to discourage, than promote agriculture.

The exportation of the Hungarian wines, one of the richest products of the country, and which, if it were free, would soon ruin the sale of the French wines in the North, is clogged with innumerable obstructions. These the legislature imposes under the idea, that if once they did not exist, the trade of the Austrian wines would be ruined. The discouragement in consequence has been carried to such a height, that not long since there existed a law, that no quantity of Hungarian wine should be exported without exporting so much Austrian wine with it. This, no doubt, suits the Austrian nobility who have estates with vines upon them; but it is feeding the little finger at the expence of the whole body; for, as none but those who can afford to pay exorbitantly for their drink will buy the Austrian wines, the consequence is, that, except a few of the rich nobility, France supplies all the North, which otherwise would take its wine from Hungary. Nor does the evil end here; the Hungarian peasant, who is oppressed by his lord, seeks to drown his sorrow in the cup, which he either makes himself, or can buy in most places for two, three, or four kreutzers the bottle. The consequence of this is, that men who in their youth are plump, ruddy, and seemingly built for ever, grow pale, emaciated, and dwarfish, and begin to droop after thirty, so that the population is already much diminished, and would grow less and less, if it were not for the accession of foreigners. It is partly owing to this, and partly to the want of education, that many tracts of the country have the exact appearance of American lands, and, were it not that you see no scalps or enemies skulls to drink out of, you would often think yourself in company with so many Cherokees. The tax on Hungarian tobacco, when exported, is no less hurtful to the agriculture of this country. Certainly the farmers of this part of the revenue in the Austrian dominions ought to have it in command to import such a proportion of Hungarian tobacco, with all they import from other places.

There is no country in the world which has a greater variety of inhabitants than Hungary. The ancient possessors of the country were partly Tartars and partly Sclavonians.

Amongst the former we may reckon the Hungarians, now properly so called, the Cumanians, the Seclers and the Yatsigers. Their manners and appearance plainly shew that they are of kin to the Calmucks, and descendants of the old Scythians. Their deep eyes, angular cheek bones, and yellow skins, distinguish them from the Sclavonians, who besides are whiter, more fleshy, and stouter built. There are several parts of the country in which both the races are continued pure and unmixed. The Sclavonians consist of Croats, Bohemians (who originally are a branch of the Croats) Servians, Russians, and Wenden Polackers. There are besides German colonists, but if they choose to possess lands, they must buy their nobility for 2000 ducats, which make about 22,000 livres. Besides all these, there are Walachians, Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Gypsies, which last are the richest of all these foreigners.

All these people, a few of the German colonists only, and the higher nobility, which is modelled after the fashion of the court of Vienna, excepted, are still in a barbarous state.

Indeed it must be owned that the court instead of succeeding in improving them, as it has done the rest of its subjects, has rather done them harm than good, by the attempts it has made for the purpose. Whilst they were left to themselves, they were warlike, and like all the children of nature, whom a false policy has not spoiled, open-hearted, hospitable, frank, and steady to their promises. An old officer, who spent his youth among the Croats, has assured me, that they are not to be known since they have been disciplined; for, instead of being a trusty, spirited, and generous soldiery, they are become a band of treacherous, tricking, cowardly robbers. "I had much rather," said he, "have had to do with them when they were entirely undisciplined, and under the influence only of their own laws and customs. It is true they plundered both friend and foe when we went into the field, and committed every kind of depredation in the towns where they were quartered; but these were the workings of a strong sensual appetite, which did not prevent their being of the greatest service. They used to take the most dangerous out-posts, in the very teeth of the enemy, never deserted, would follow their officers with the utmost fidelity through any dangers, could fast many days without making any complaints, and provided you left them what they had stolen, which they did not affect to conceal, were indefatigable on a day of battle. The alteration which discipline has affected in them is, that they, indeed, steal no longer openly, but they steal secretly, and steal from each other whenever they can; they have learned the methods of concealing their thefts, and are always making cabals against their officers; and though become too cowardly to desert when there is any danger attending desertion, they are sure to do it whenever they can with safety. They grumble whenever they are kept two days embodied in the field, and never put on their uniform without cursing it. They look upon their overseers as their enemies, and hate them. Formerly it was an unheard of thing, for a Croat to go over to the Turks, but now they join them to the number of twenty and thirty, and plunder their native country. The same thing is true with regard to the Sclavonians; and even the rest have been rather hurt than bettered by regulations not adapted to their circumstances."

What this gentleman said from experience is conformable to true philosophy; for it is only by religion that you can ever be successful in civilizing a barbarian. Any other attempt, any restriction which tends to cure him of his vices, without shewing him the advantage of virtue to himself, only makes a motley composition of the faults of the two states.

LETTER XXX.

Vienna.

NO doubt but there is much illusion in Rousseau's idea of social contract. Fate, which plays so many other games with us, throws us into some peculiar society, by which we are fettered before we have time to think of a contract. Accident, and iron hearted necessity, have been the true legislators of all the monarchies, aristocracies, democracies, and their numerous subdivisions, that ever existed in the world. It is likewise certain, that upon the whole, we find ourselves better under the direction of capricious fortune, than if we had set down originally to bind and connect each other in eternal chains. The will of the strongest still remains the ultimate decider of all difficulties, and whatever covenants there might have been, it must have been so, as often as the strongest should have felt his weight, or his interest should have come in competition with that of others.

It is nevertheless true, that in these various galleys to which we are chained, the good of the whole cannot be better promoted, than when the will of the whole, or at least of the majority, are directed according to the plumb-line of legislation, and of social contract. No Sultan has any thing to fear from this participation of his power, though he should divide it with all his subjects, from his Grand Vizier, to the lowest slave under him. The sovereign, whether he has one head or a hundred, cannot promote his own interest more effectually, than by considering his supreme will as the result of the enlightened wills of all, or the greater part of his subjects. A real opposition between the interests of the governor and his subjects never exists, when it seems to do so, it is only the cozenage of accident. All history is full of this truth, the attention to which will effectually secure the people from tyranny, even when the private character of the sovereign is a cruel one. The prince can never be more secure from murder, treachery, and rebellion, than when he has convinced his subjects that their interests is the rule of his legislation, and it must be so, if he will not hurt himself. Interest is the most sacred band among men, and their happiness depends upon knowing what it truly is. The misfortunes of men have been always more owing to their governors not knowing in what their true interests consisted, than to their wickedness or depravity.

Superstition, and the dissipation of princes together, first invented that species of politics, the principles of which Machiavel first collected, but did not invent. Nero and Augustus had already used it, but it was only in modern Italy that it was considered as a true art of government. From thence, with other arts and sciences, did this hostile art to human nature spread itself over the rest of Europe. The ministers of several European courts, which had formed themselves after the Italian models, imagined they would govern the better, the finer and more subtle policy they adopted. Lewis XI, Richelieu, and Mazarin, were the great masters of this art, and from that time to this, the happy times of Henry IV, alone excepted, it would have been looked upon as folly in France, to have aimed at governing the people by love, generosity, and information with regard to their true interests.

The priests, particularly the jesuits, whose government of their own society is established upon principles of the same kind, contributed much to give them currency in courts. There they were treated as holy mysteries, which, like the philosopher's stone, could make demigods of the possessor. Blinded by this political art of gold making, princes dared to deviate from the plain and straight line of nature, that line which always conducts to happiness, which is the same in a state as in a private family, according to which every

governor must consider himself as the master of a private family, who has no other view than to promote the happiness of his children, and his servants.

The jesuits, and some Italian parvenus, introduced the spirit of Machiavelism into this country. I do not know whether it is to be attributed to the humour of the nation, or any other cause, that it was not attended with the same bad consequences here, as in Italy, France, Spain, and even England, where the grossest abuses of religion, friendship, and love, were sanctified under the name of state necessity; and treachery towards friends, with the murder of fathers and brothers, were only considered as political jeu d'esprits. Although this court has not stained itself so deeply with royal blood, or even with that of dangerous subjects, as those above mentioned, it must be confessed that its administration, particularly what relates to Hungary, has had some little appearance of cunning and oppression about it. No doubt but that religious prejudices, from which the empress, amiable as she was, was not quite free, have contributed in great measure to this.

On the very aspect of things, one sees that the government of this country is insidious. The interests of the higher nobility are different from those of the rest of the country; their under tenants, which make the greatest part of the people, are not feudal subjects, neither have they any real property; they are farmers who may be turned out of their farms upon the least dissatisfaction. The nobility contributes nothing but free gifts to the necessities of the state, though it is in possession of half the produce of the country. It is almost the only order in the state, for the higher orders of the priesthood are chosen from the nobility, so that the interests of the two orders is in fact one. The cities are too small in number, and too insignificant in themselves, to form any corps capable of making head against the other two. In short, the boasted freedom of Hungary is only a privilege of the nobility and clergy, to live at the expence of the whole country.

Hitherto, the court have tried every artifice to deprive the nobility of this pernicious preponderance. The contest between the sovereign and the nobles soon broke out into several rebellions, the most famous of which were those of Tekely and Ragotzki. The execution of counts Serini, Nadasti, Frangipani, and Settenback, which followed close, have been quoted by some, to shew that the court of Vienna, though generally unwilling to recur to them, is not incapable of using Turkish measures to free itself of troublesome and dangerous dependants. I own I think that its conduct on other occasions sufficiently justifies it from these reproaches; and indeed, if the testimony of history is to be believed, it appears that these nobles were traitors. The plan which the court has followed for a long time to reduce this overgrown nobility, promises much more success than any extraordinary acts of severity, which only serve to irritate the minds of men, and set them more upon their guard. The court of Vienna, conscious of the influence luxury and pleasure have over the minds of men, allured the proud Hungarians from their freeholds to the court, or to the city. By distinguished places, titles, and marriages, they gave them opportunities to spend their money in a brilliant way, to contract debts, and finally, by the seizure of their lands for the payment, to surrender at discretion. The deceived Hungarian looked upon it as an honour, to connect himself with the Austrian, who made a greater figure than himself at court, and took a greater share in the government of the country. For this purpose he chose his wife at Vienna, and fettered himself by this means. The lady too, by introducing the court manners into his house, finished corrupting him, and made him entirely dependant. There is hardly an Hungarian noble, at this time of day, that is either free from debt, or that does not, like the Austrian one, look upon his debts as an honour. The court has consequently

no further commotions to fear in this country, as the discontented people will not easily find a leader with power and consequence enough to make their risings dangerous. The dissipation of the Hungarians has also bound them to the court by another tie, as their necessities no longer allow them to serve for nothing, but make the pay of the court an object to them. Another way that has been taken, has been that of allowing the Austrian nobility to purchase Hungarian estates, in proportion as the owners were obliged to sell them, or as they fell into the crown by forfeitures, &c. At this time of day, several amongst the first Hungarian nobility are Germans, who strengthen the influence of the court. The two nations are mixed, their manners are nearly the same. The more persons partake of it, the more indifferent the Hungarian is to its liberty, and the less estate he possesses, the less he cares for his country. The promotion of the higher ecclesiastics to great preferments, is another mode of binding the nobility, which the court has practised with success.

Besides what has been already stated, the court uses several other means, that depend upon time and circumstances. One of the most efficacious is, the loading the produce of Hungary with very heavy taxes. These oppressions, indeed, immediately affect the nobility only, to whom the exports properly belong, as the people have no property; but, indirectly, they hurt the whole country, and particularly the manufacturer, and merchants in great towns, by the diminution of the coin in circulation. The duties on the exports of Hungarian wines are so considerable, that the Croats who inhabit the mountains are obliged to buy the wine, which, but for these duties, they might have as cheap from their fellow subjects in Venetian Dalmatia. The fact is, the court had rather let the country lose money than suffer Hungary to be rich.

Almost all the employments of the country, which the constitution does not require to be given to natives, are possessed by Germans, who often prove the most terrible despots. Thus, in the cities of Illyria, which depend entirely on the council of war, and are entirely under military government, almost all the employments are held by foreigners. The Germans have made themselves so odious here by their tyranny, that the Croat knows no more odious name, than to give a man that of a Suabian. 'He is a Suabian,' means with them every thing that is detestable and contemptible. Under the name of Suabian, the Croat, as well as the inhabitants of Vienna, includes every German, who is not an Austrian. The natives of Austria, who are sent into Hungary, behave there like Turkish pachas, or nabobs: their pride leads them to make the Hungarians feel that they are the ruling nation; their dissipation compels them to use every extortion to procure money; and they are made still worse than they otherwise would be, by the difference of their manners and religion. It is from the oppression of foreigners, that the native-Illyrian has taken the dishonest and stubborn part of his character, which is so unnatural to him.

Notwithstanding that the principal places are occupied by great men, it is impossible to be more worthless than the greater number of public servants are. Generally speaking, there is not a grain of patriotism, a grain of knowledge, a grain of good will, or a grain of activity amongst them. Pride, vanity, self-interest, and hard-heartedness, distinguish them all. The only things they look up to, are the pays and the titles, and they treat business as a matter of indifference. Do not imagine that I exaggerate, for I assure you that what I say is, with very few exceptions, literally true. The native Hungarians, who have share in the government of their own country, have infinitely better understanding of the duties of their places, and more delight in discharging them than the Austrians; and yet these possess almost all the places, and the others are exposed to their tyranny!

* Our great Henry used to say, "happy is the gentleman who has his 5000 a year, and does not know me." If the imperial court is desirous that the Hungarian should enjoy any kind of happiness, it is certainly not that recommended by the great Henry. They look upon it as indispensibly necessary to bind them in court chains and take away every feeling of liberty and true honour from them. They do all they can to stifle their national spirit; they have no idea of the honour of ruling over a free and sentimental people, but conceive they must make slaves of the whole nation in order to govern it.

The most cruel violations of the national contract, and the liberty of mankind, have been those which have arisen on a religious account. I can safely affirm that it would take two hundred years more to undo the mischief which this court has done itself, during the two last hundred years, by the religious persecutions in Hungary. It is, indeed, one of those contradictions which most feelingly bespeaks the debility of the human mind, that whilst the present administration on the one hand does all it can to promote population and industry in Hungary; on the other, it persecutes in every way possible, the most industrious part of its subjects, and that part whose religious opinions are the most favourable to population.

One fourth of the inhabitants of the Hungarian dominions, in which I include Transylvania and Illyria, are Catholics; one fourth are Greeks, Jews, and Anabaptists; the other half are Lutherans, or reformed. From the circumstance of the religion of the country being Catholic, it was natural to expect that the Roman Catholic religion would be the established one of the state. With this no sensible man would have been offended; but to take away three hundred churches from the Protestants, while the Jews had the power of building as many synagogues as they pleased; to force Protestants to go twelve miles to church, whilst many Catholic churches were tenanted by rats and mice only; to take away the Protestant schools, and yet to allow the parents to send their children abroad for education; to be eager after improvement in agriculture and industry, and yet rather see the land inhabited by Calmucks and Gypsies, than by laborious and moral Protestants; to treat these worse, in short, in every respect than the Turks or Jews, this certainly was pulling down with one hand, what the court was endeavouring to rear with another; it was destroying the national character, without improving the external circumstances of the people. It is now well known, and the example of the English fully proves it, that the only way out of barbarism is through real religion. Judge then what it must be to tread this road backwards, and to substitute the superstitious spirit of monkery, for the mild and industrious spirit of protestantism. And yet the Austrian government has done this, and it has done it, at the very time when it was endeavouring to curb the power of the priests in the other parts of its dominions, and forming such establishments of education, as must sooner or later lead to Protestant principles.

The Protestants in Hungary are, it must be confessed, far behind their brethren in other countries, in industry and knowledge, and yet, notwithstanding this, and that they are only one fourth of the inhabitants of Hungary, they pay half the taxes, and are still much richer than their Catholic or Greek brethren. A striking sign, sure, if ever a striking sign there was, how much their religion corresponds with the good of the whole, and how little the court knows of its own interest. What the court has most hurt itself by, is its treatment of the Greeks, who form so large a part of the inhabitants of this country. Instead of rendering the priests of these semi-barbarians useful pastors, and thus enabling them to civilize their countrymen, and make them good members of society, all they have been solicitous about has been now and then to convert an ambitious or avaricious prelate to the established church. The swarms which generally followed

these deserters, commonly changed nothing but their name. From being Greek barbarians they became Catholic barbarians, or, as a respectable Austrian officer said, it was only adding another mark to the forehead of the swine. In the mean time the court troubled itself very little with the education of the Catholic, and united priesthood, and still less with that of the non-united, things which it is so much the interest of the legislature to attend to, as the surest means of improving the agriculture of the country, and promoting its exports.

The Greek priests in Hungary, and Illyria, are exactly in the same state as the Roman Catholic priests were, in the time of Charlemagne, that great man who laid the first grounds of national improvement in religion, and began his work with the priesthood. I doubt much whether most of them can write and read, but I am sure they cannot reckon beyond three or four, without the help of the fingers, and know not the use of the pocket handkerchief. One of these shepherds of souls, a Macedonian by birth, who valued himself much on his knowledge of the Greek, and the reputation of his countryman, Alexander, took it into his head to instruct me, as a young man, in the history of the Trojan war. He told me that a Trojan prince, having run away with a French princess, the Greek and Roman emperors, the king of France, and the seven electors, went to Troy and took the city after an astonishing long siege, by means of a wooden horse filled with armed men. The man had heard the history by tradition, in Saloniki, or some other town of his ignorant country, but had not read a single old Greek author, or a single history. Notwithstanding this, he was looked upon as a wonder of learning by his colleagues. Spite indeed of their gross ignorance, these priests are held in greater veneration by the people, than either oracles of Delos or Delphi were. These are true privileged thieves, who never shew a spark of understanding but in the tricks they play to rob the people of the fruit of their toil; but are yet so convinced of their pretensions to the wool of their sheep, that they make no scruple of taking the head with it, if the patient animals will not suffer themselves to be sheared quietly. The Catholic priests, who live at any distance from the large towns, are little behind the Greeks in ignorance and ill manners, nor are they far behind them in shearing the sheep. Their whole library consists of their breviary, and the only thing they study is the Latin language. I happened to converse with one of them who is extremely respected in his own district, and really is distinguished for a better understanding and better manners than the rest of them. The conversation turned on the German colonists who go into Hungary. I asked them how they treated them when they could not bear the climate. His answer was, "*Damus illis licentiam repatriandi.*" And now I mention these Germans, I cannot help observing to you how extraordinary it is, that whilst a third of North America is peopled by these wandering Germans, whilst one half the inhabitants of the Cape, Batavia, and Surinam (the two last some of the most unhealthy places any where to be found) are Germans, who thus cross extensive seas to break up waste lands, or to get hard bread in the capacity of day labourers; Hungary, which has work and bread for so many millions, should receive so few. Surely this must be owing to the prevalence of greater barbarisms than any poor priest's barbarous Latin; for as to the pretended cause, unhealthiness of climate, Hungary is no more unhealthy than several other climates, and the natives know how to take precautions against the damps arising from the morasses. But the want of freedom in religion explains all; it is greatly owing to this cause that all the useful men emigrate, and leave Hungary only the worthless ones. The great fault of this government is that they banish the Protestants, who are the most useful part of their subjects. These indeed have little desire to settle in a country in which they must often go journeys of several days, to see a priest of their own

persuasion, where they are not allowed to build a church, and where the hatred towards them and their religion effectually and perpetually excludes them from civil employments. All these hindrances are removed under the gentle government of the Dutch and English, who of course run away with all the useful emigrants, and leave Austria only the worthless ones. The persons who settle in Hungary, are for the most part abandoned scoundrels from Bavaria, Suabia, Franconia, and the countries about the Rhine. On their arrival they commonly squander the small sums of money they have raised at home, by the sale of their estates, and as government takes little care about them, they generally die of grief, or disorders arising more from their dissipation than the climate. That part of them which happens to beg its way back again, represents the climate worse than it is, as an excuse for having left it. This also deters many people from coming. Those who have money enough prefer America to Hungary, which by this means becomes the refuge of such only who have a few ducats to pay their passage on the Danube.

These, however, such as they are, would still be a considerable gain to so poor a country as Hungary is, if government was sufficiently interested in their fate to provide for the distresses they must be exposed to from the danger of the climate and their own inexperience, and to give them some assistance in their first settlement. There should be an office established at Vienna, or Presburg, where these wanderers should be taught the first rudiments of the art they have occasion for. They should be told in what places they are likely to meet with most of their own countrymen, as nothing promotes colonization so much as when the new comers find persons of the same manners and language with themselves, or with whom they are connected by the ties of friendship or relationship. The Germans, as it is well known, are so divided amongst themselves, that those of one circle look upon those of another as absolute strangers to them. All the Bavarians should therefore be settled in one district, and the inhabitants of Franconia, Suabia, &c. in so many others. Above all things, they should be taught to guard against the dangers of the climate. Hungary is in itself not more unwholesome than Italy, Spain, the South of France, or any other warm country; only as there are morasses all over it, the difference betwixt the heat of the day and the cold of the night must of course be very sensible to a German; but he has nothing to do but to imitate the natives, who follow what instinct teaches them, and wear a warmer clothing. The rich Hungary wines, likewise, destroy many a stranger, and they suffer still more from the very palatable, but dangerous melons, which are in such plenty that you may have them almost for nothing. Where the body is constantly weakened by the influences of a very warm sun, these fruits must be very prejudicial, and the rather, as it is the custom here to eat them without bread. Against all these dangers and difficulties the emigrant should be secured.

The small sum of money which is given for the journey is not sufficient to obviate these inconveniences; on the contrary, the emigrants should have as little ready money as possible, as they cannot know how to make a proper use of it in a new country, they must consequently either be robbed of it or waste it. What they ought to be supplied with is wood for building, cattle, and corn; and it should be the peculiar duty of the civil and religious ministers of the state, to assist them in their civil and religious necessities. It must be confessed, however, that the priests and governors of Hungary are not the people fit for this business; for if the court was to be at this expence, they would take care to be themselves the greatest gainers by it; but the court has hitherto manifested too small a desire for the cultivation of Hungary, to bestow much expence upon it; its principle has been to reap all it could without sowing any thing. If it had not

been for this, what has been spent upon the conquest of a very small part of Bavaria, would have brought in ten times more in a much shorter time, by laying it properly out on the cultivation of Hungary.

The greatest source of confidence for a Hungarian patriot is, that his present king feels the connection betwixt his own interest and that of the state. That he knows how to value liberty and mankind; is blinded by no prejudice, will not suffer his hands to be bound by any adherence to old customs, and has strength and resolution enough to attempt the Herculean labour of civilizing the important part of his hereditary dominions.

LETTER XXXI.

Vienna.

I TOLD you in my last, that the great Hungarian nobility live entirely according to our ton. Our fashions reach to the borders of Moldavia, and Wallachia, and from Presburg to Cronstadt, all that is called the fine world speaks our patois. Formerly they used their own language, at least to express common things, but every body now gives dînes, soupes, and dejumes. There are balls paré and balls masque; every town with four or five houses in it has its assembles, and redoutes. The men play whist, and the women wear poudre à la Marechale, and have vapours. The booksellers sell Voltaire in secret, and the apothecaries sell mercury openly. The men have an ami de la maison for their wives, and the wives a fille de chambre for their husbands. They have men cooks, and maitre d'hotels; they have ballets, comedies, and operas, and they have debts upon debts.

In the year 1740, when the Hungarian nobility took the field for their king Maria Theresa, the first sight of such troops struck the French army with a panic. They had, indeed, often seen detachments of these diables d'Hongrie, as they used to call them, but a whole army of them drawn up in battle array; unpowdered, from the general to the common soldier, half their faces covered with long whiskers, a sort of round beaver upon their heads instead of hats, without ruffles or frills to their shirts, and without feathers, all clad in rough skins, monstrous crooked sabres, ready drawn and uplifted, their eyes darting flashes of rage sharper than the beams of the naked sabres, was a sight our men had not been accustomed to see. Our oldest officers still remember the impression these terrible troops made, and how difficult it was to make the men stand against them, till they had been accustomed to their formidable appearance.

All this is now at an end, the Hungarian nobleman begins to leave off his long beard, and dresses much after the French fashion.

It is remarkable enough, that whilst in imitation of the Hungarian soldier, the hussar has become an essential part of the Prussian army, and has also been received into the French regular troops, the true original is lost in his own country. Not one of the fourteen or fifteen regiments of hussars in the emperor's service is made up entirely of Hungarians. Experienced officers have, it seems, thought such regiments could no longer be of any service; it may be so, but it is certain that the Hungarian has entirely lost his spirit by discipline, for, like other wild men, he detests the artificial arms against which his strength and courage are of no avail, and if ever he shews himself in his native fierceness, it is only when the firing is over and he comes to close engagement. Here indeed the hero sometimes starts out again. But this was not enough to make the Hungarians a match for the Prussian hussars in the Silesian war; on the contrary they always proved inferior to them. After all, however, if this last change had not been

made, it is certain that the present nobility of Hungary could not bring into the field, and maintain such armies as were raised in 1740.

The Esterhazy, whose estate amounts to above 600,000 guilders a year. The Paley, Schaki, Erdoby, Sichy, Forgatsch, Kohari, Karoly, &c. and many others, who have from 100,000 to 200,000 guilders a year, are unable, notwithstanding these large estates, to live within their incomes. The expences they have been put to by the political alteration of manners of the last forty years, have reduced them to necessitous dependence. The court, however, does not look upon even this weakness as a sufficient security. The Hungarian regiments of infantry, amongst which there are likewise many Germans, and several regiments of Hussars, are constantly quartered in Bohemia, Moravia, and the German cities; on the contrary, several of the German regiments, particularly the heavy horse and the dragoons, are quartered in Hungary. There is no province in the hereditary dominions of Austria which has so many troops in it as Hungary has, in proportion to its population and exports. This may in some degree be owing to the cheapness of provision for man and horse. If it be so, in case of a war breaking out on the confines of Germany, the court loses in a few weeks what it has been saving by this policy for many years; for the forced marches which the cavalry are obliged to make to their places of destination, generally kill half the horses before they have got there. For my own part I have little doubt but that the true motives of this allotment of troops are to make the Hungarians acquainted with the other members of the empire; to extinguish their natural spirit by the sight of numerous armies in every part of their country; to accustom them to subordination; and in some degree, perhaps, to increase the consumption of the country, and so promote the circulation of coin.

The English proceed upon a quite different plan; their principle is to keep up as much as possible the national spirit of the troops, from an idea that the interests of the government are the same as those of the people, and that they have nothing to fear from a mutiny. Upon this ground it is, that their patriots have taken up a notion, which no doubt will soon be realized, of making every regiment provincial, by quartering it constantly in the country whose name it bears, and by suffering no man to be enlisted in it but those of that country; whence they think a still greater degree of attachment to the native place will be produced. The imperial council of war would not be pleased with a project of this kind. It considers it as a stated maxim of policy, to send the soldier as far as may be from the place of his birth, and to compose the regiments of men taken from various countries. Thus different causes have different effects, and John Bull and Squire South still act upon different grounds.

None of the Austrian hereditary dominions have a national militia, excepting only the Banat troops, or Illyrians; but these are only half soldiers, and their officers are at least for the most part Germans or Hungarians. In time of war, every Hungarian nobleman, in proportion to his estate, either raises a number of men, or sends the money for them to the war department. These recruits seldom form separate bodies, but are incorporated with the rest of the army. Above all, care is taken that the soldiers should be free from all other ties, and only animated by the soul of the army, the wonder working stick.

You must not however conceive this Palladium of the Austrian army, this wonder working stick, as the absolute sine quo non. A few years since, indeed, it ruled the great machine altogether; but now that has been brought into regular movements, it is only looked up to with reverential awe and submission. According to a proclamation of the humane emperor, the officers are to make as little physical use of it as possible. But as to moral purposes, it is in all its glory, and its idea takes place in the common soldier.

of all love of his country, all good humour, all sense of honour, all hope of advancement, and every other feeling. All his occupations bring him back to this idea, and from his A, B, C, to his logic, all he knows is comprised in the two little words, thou must.

There cannot be a doubt, but in obedience and strong subordination, the principal strength of an army consists; but is it impossible to unite them with any idea of feeling for self in the subaltern and underling? Are sentiments of personal honour, of bravery, and of patriotism entirely prejudicial to an army? Certainly not: and were it only to meliorate the condition of the poor soldier, were it only to make his hard fate less severe, it should be the policy of princes to promote those feelings which can sweeten so many bitter hours, and alone enable them to meet death.

With the power which Austria now possesses, it might at one stroke cut off all the privileges of the Hungarian nobles, which are contrary to the good of the whole, and which it has been so many years endeavouring to undermine. A few hundred families would murmur for a few years, but the thing would not go beyond murmurs; the inhabitants of towns and the peasants would stand up for the interests of the court, which are their own. The religious animosities, which formerly served as a pretence for an insurrection, no longer blinds the people to their real good; and open, liberal treatment would soon win over the nobility, whom the artifices now in use only alienate and corrupt. If once that part of their privileges, which militate against the good of the whole, were well defined and suppressed by one single act of authority, they would then become susceptible of patriotic virtues; whereas, at present they look upon the government as hostile to them, and do nothing but what they are compelled to by power or bribes. In that case, the multitude of the nation would not be the most abject slaves, nor the great the most cruel despots that are known. If, besides this, the court was to spend the sums necessary on establishments for education, and the priests of the several religions would endeavour to establish them without persecution or partiality, in the next century Hungary would be one of the most flourishing countries in Europe. The Hungarian would no longer be poor, in the middle of a country abounding with every necessary of life. The poverty of the people, and the excessive riches of the nobility, would no longer offend the eyes of the humane by the shocking disproportion between them. Then the court also would no longer object to the raising provincial regiments, as it would be consistent with its interests. The lively Croat, or Hungarian, animated by the love of his country and a sense of duty, would no longer refuse to submit to proper discipline; all the army would be inspired with a spirit, which discipline alone cannot give, but which united to discipline is the strongest security for terror abroad and happiness at home.

The Hungarians in general are extremely proper for a military life; they want nothing to be perfect soldiers, but the kind of education which a good government might give them. The Croats particularly have all the requisites for service. Their mean height is six feet; they are bony, fleshy, quick, and lively, and can bear the extremes of cold and hunger. In a word there are no better made men in Europe, notwithstanding which they are the most miserable part of the Imperial army; a sure sign that government either neglects them, or does not know how to discipline them properly. Sometimes it has been proposed to incorporate them with other corps, but this would only be to take away their natural advantages, and furnish them with artificial ones in their stead. Such a change would put an end to their usual way of life, to which they are indebted for their hardiness. They commonly dwell six or seven families under the same roof. As their frugality enables them to bring up many children, they marry

early, in the vigour of their youth, and their children are the produce of their unimpaired manhood. Their juices are still uncorrupt, and the destructive distempers which poison the sources of life are not yet introduced amongst them. The patriarchal government still subsists amongst them, and the grandfather who has grown old amidst his children and grand-children, still retains an authority over them. As by this means their manners are preserved uncorrupt, nothing more is requisite than to humanize their priests; this would render them useful subjects to the state, without commerce, manufactures, or arts, which the court has lately endeavoured to introduce amongst them, in my opinion not to their advantage. An education more suitable to the nature of their country, and their peculiar constitution would by degrees deprive them of their natural ferocity, and they would become more tractable, in proportion as they acquired better notions of religion, agriculture, and the other things connected with their well being. Their ferocity, the natural consequence of their barbarity, is the true reason why they are so averse to discipline, and the only way of getting the better of this, and making them like the other subjects of the house of Austria fit for military service, is domestic education: this alone can bring them out of their barbarity, without depriving them of their other advantages.

Suppose the new court was to adopt the other plan, and incorporate them with the other troops, suppose it was to make slaves of them in the best years of their lives, and when the voice of nature crieth most loud, what would be the consequence? Accustomed to all the vices which obtain in a standing army, they would consume the vigour of their lives in pernicious indulgences; they would return to their native country corrupted with a variety of wants they did not know before. Having acquired a taste for the pleasures of forbidden love, they would either not marry at all or marry later than their ancestor; all their domestic ordinances would be abolished, nor would their wives be any longer distinguished for their chastity. Their children would imitate them in their vices, and the consequence of all would be, that in the second generation you would hardly be able to distinguish them; and in the third, or at most the fourth, not know them at all from the other subjects of the empire, so totally would they have lost the size, strength, frugality, and fine form, which now so eminently distinguish them. To attempt the change proposed would be taking a dangerous leap from barbarous to civil life, and all that could be expected from it would be a broken limb, if not a broken neck.

LETTER XXXIII.

Vienna.

I HAVE given myself all the trouble possible to come at an exact estimate of the goods annually exported from, and imported into Hungary, and by that means to acquire a tolerable idea of the national riches; but the receipts of the customs, the only ones by which you can form a good judgment, are either so imperfectly or so secretly kept, that there is no depending upon them. All I can therefore say upon the subject must consist of report and conjecture. I was assured then by a creditable man, that the exports amounted to twenty-four, and the imports to eighteen millions a year, making a balance of six millions in favour of the country. With respect to the exports, I can say nothing upon them with certainty, for the reason I have just given; they are, indeed, greater than I could have imagined, even from the positive calculations I have been able to make; but if we compare the exports and imports, we shall find it is impossible but that the former should be stated too high; for with such a balance of trade as Hungary must by this means have, it ought to be one of the richest countries in Europe, whereas

none, notwithstanding the example of their neighbours the Venetians, and the facility of procuring mulberry trees from Italy. The only art which is carried to any degree of improvement is that of mining. Here all that mathematics could do has been adopted. You would be astonished at the sight of the machines in use to clear the water from the pits, and to carry on the other necessary operations. The gold and silver mines of Kremnitz and Schemnitz produce but little to the crown, owing to its keeping part of them in its own hands, and not farming the whole. There are other gold and silver mines in the country, but those of Transylvania excel them all at present, and promise to do still more so in future. I believe, however, that the court gets much more by the copper than it does by the gold and silver mines, especially since the custom of sheathing the men of war with copper has prevailed. Hungary is able to furnish all Europe with copper; upon the whole, half of the four millions of florins which the country gets by its mines comes from Hungary.

The country has an extraordinary appearance; it is inclosed on all sides with high hills, in the midst of which are plains, which you may travel through for some days without perceiving the least elevation. You meet with immense deserts in the midst of which, as in those of Tartary, are wild horses. The woods are filled with wolves, an animal scarce ever seen in Suabia, Bavaria, or Austria. Near the banks of rivers, in the plains, there are morasses, which here and there form lakes; the drying up of these will be a great advantage to the country, by making its rivers navigable, adding great quantities of land to it, and purifying the air. The beasts are all very different from those of Germany; the horses are small, light, and not handsome, but uncommonly lively and strong; a Hungarian uses only three or four in going from Vienna to Turkey, in a constant trot or gallop; their breed has been greatly improved in the studs of the nobility, in several parts of the country. The oxen are the largest and most beautiful I have ever seen; they are all ash-colour, or white, and I do not recollect to have seen a red or brown one in the whole country; their flesh is remarkable well tasted; even the poultry are distinguished from those of other countries by their size and shape; in short, all that has breath here, attests either by its growth or its agility, the wonderful vigour of nature.

The artificial appearance of the country is as remarkable as the natural. In one place, perhaps, you see palaces upon which art has exhausted all its magnificence, and within a few paces you come to countries where men dwell in caverns under ground like the wild beasts. At Presburg, Port, and Ofen, which are the largest cities in the country, and each of which contains 30,000 men, you believe yourself in the most enchanting country in the world; and within a few miles of their gates, you seem to be in Mingrelia.

The strongest proof possible that the country is miserable, is the contrast of extreme poverty with extreme riches, and the more striking that contrast is, the greater is the misery. A people may be very poor, and yet very happy; but when amidst straw huts, which hardly protect their inhabitants from wind and weather, you see marble palaces towering to the clouds, when in the midst of immense wildernesses tenanted by miserable skeletons, who hardly find roots in the fields to keep body and soul together, you meet with gardens with fountains in them, grottos, parterres, terrasses, statues, and costly pictures; it is a sure sign that one part of the inhabitants live by pillaging the rest.

Not long after my arrival here, I made a party of pleasure to the castle of count Esterhazy, which lies at about a day's journey from Presburg. Without a doubt, you are already acquainted with it from Moore's travels. There is no place in France, Versailles alone excepted, so magnificent as this; the castle is immensely large, and full of

every sumptuous article of expence that can be conceived. The garden contains every thing that human wit has invented for the improvement, or, as you may call it, the perversion of nature. The pavilions of all kinds appear like the habitations of so many fairies, and every thing is so much above what you meet with in general, that you think you are dreaming when you behold it. I shall not attempt to give you an exact description of what I saw here, but must however observe, that to the eyes of one who does not profess himself a connoisseur, there appeared to be somewhat too much. I recollect, that the walls of a Sala-Terrina were painted with figures twelve feet high, which to a son of the earth, as I am, appeared much too lofty for the size of the room. I know how much you are for the great style, and remember all you used to din into my profane ears about the fine forms of the Roman school, but yet, I think if you had been here, you would have thought this rather too great a style.

What renders the magnificence of this place still more striking, is the very extraordinary contrast of it with the country round. The lake of Neusiedler, which is not far from the castle, forms a large morass, which extends for the space of several miles, and threatens in time to lay the great edifice under water, as it has already done great part of the country, which was formerly very productive. The inhabitants of the country round have the appearance of so many ghosts, and are regularly plagued with agues every year. About half the money which the prince has laid out in beautifying his castle, would not only have been sufficient to drain the fens, but would have taken as much land again from the lake. As this is ever upon the increase, there is great reason to fear it will entirely overflow the low country: the only way to prevent this, will be by making a canal to communicate with the Danube, an enterprise which would do the prince more honour than all the trifles he has been about. Within less than a day's journey from the castle, on the other side, you will meet the Kalmucks, Cherokees, Hottentots, and inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, in all their several occupations and situations.

Unwholesome as the country is, particularly in spring and winter, and though the prince himself has the ague very often, yet is he thoroughly satisfied that there is not a finer or more wholesome spot under the sun. His castle stands quite alone, and he sees nobody but dependants, or strangers who come for the purpose of admiration. The prince has a puppet-shew theatre, which is really extraordinary in its kind, for the puppets perform whole operas. You really do not know whether you should wonder or laugh most, when you see the *Didone*, the *Alceste* at *Bivio*, played throughout by puppets. The prince's orchestra is one of the best I have yet heard. The great Haydn is his compositor; and he has got a poet, who is often very fortunate. The scene-painters too are distinguished men; in a word, the thing itself is little, but all the appendages are very great. The prince often hires a company of strolling players, and keeps them for a month to play to him, and his servants compose all the audience. These gentlemen appear upon the stage with their hair about their ears, and the dresses it pleases sporting fortune to furnish them with at the time; but it all does very well, for the prince is not fond of grand tragic movements, but on the contrary, delights in any extempore pieces of wit, which these gentlemen may strike out, or which may be struck out for them. This prince has also a body-guard, composed of very fine men. I was very sorry that I could not see the famous Haydn, who was gone to Vienna to conduct a large concert. It is said the prince has given him permission to make a journey to England, France, and Spain, where he will be received as his merits deserve, and get enough to come home with his purse well filled. He has a brother, who is Maestro di Capella at Strasburg; a man of as much genius as Haydn himself, but who has not industry enough to arrive at the same degree of reputation.

LETTER XXXIV.

Vienna.

I SHOULD not have said so much of Hungary, had I not recollected, that you consider it as an unknown country. What I have to say of the other parts of the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria will be so much the shorter.

Austria, properly so called, has throughout the appearance of a happy country; here are no signs of the striking contrast betwixt poverty and riches, which offends so much in Hungary. All the inhabitants, those of the capital only excepted, enjoy that happy mediocrity, which is the consequence of a gentle and wise administration. The farmer has property; and the rights of the nobility, who enjoy a kind of lower judicial power, are well defined. The south and south-west parts of the country are bounded by a ridge of hills, the inhabitants of which enjoy a share of prosperity, unknown to those of the interior parts of France. I saw several villages on the banks of the Danube, whose inhabitants dwelt in stone houses. A sure sign of their well-being, is their eating meat almost every day, and roast meat once or twice a week. There are many villages and market towns, the inhabitants of which have bought themselves off from vassalage, are now their own governors, and belong some of them to the estates of the country; amongst these is the beautiful town of Stockeraw, about which is one of the prettiest countries I have yet seen. The cloisters, the prelates of which belong to the estates of the country, are the richest in Germany, after the immediate prelaties and abbacies of the empire.

The cloisters are some of the richest in Germany. One of the great convents of Benedictines is worth upwards of four thousand millions of French livres, half of which goes to the exchequer of the country. A monk of this cloister, with whom I was conversing on the state of religion, endeavoured to convince me of its decrease since the reign of Charles VI, by telling me, that in those times they paid only five or six thousand florins to the state, whereas now they pay near ten times as much. There are no great hopes that this thermometer will stand still under the present emperor; on the contrary, it is rather to be feared that it will fall to nothing; Klosterneuberg, Polten, Gottevaich, and some other prelaties, are as warm as that I have just mentioned.

Lower Austria yearly exports more than two millions worth of guilders of wine to Moravia, Bohemia, Upper Austria, Bavaria, Salzburg, and part of Styria and Carinthia. This wine is sour, but has a great deal of strength, and may be carried all over the world without danger; when it is ten or twenty years old it is very good. Notwithstanding this, however, all this trade would be knocked up at a blow, if the exportation of the Hungarian wines was not restrained by severe prohibitions.

These limitations, of which I have said something to you in a former letter, make part of a plan, which was probably originally devised by the priests, and which the nobles have helped them to make perfect. It is an ancient law, and the peasant shall introduce no alterations on his estate. He is not allowed to root up his vines and turn his land to tillage or pasture. There is no doubt, but this extraordinary law took its rise from the tythes paid to the clergy; as these were always to be paid in kind, they of course opposed every degree of alteration. Were the law now to be altered, many estates would certainly lose a great deal by it, but others would be increased in proportion; for instance, a great number of the saffron fields, the cultivation of which is always troublesome and expensive, would be turned to other and better purposes. Even in Krems,

where the best saffron grows, the inhabitants complain exceedingly of being obliged to cultivate this commodity. There are likewise several other articles, such as flax, hemp, tobacco, and the like, which the farmer might grow were it not for this prohibition, which also prevents him from taking the advantage of the markets, and varying the produce of his land in proportion as the value of the things changes. With regard to agriculture itself, every species of prohibition is detrimental; all that the legislature has to do is to remove natural obstacles; when this is done, nature will do the rest of herself. This country is very well peopled. Mr. Schlosser, in his political journal, which contains an account of the population of Austria, estimates that of this country at 2,100,000 men. For my part, I consider this estimate as much too large; but the fact is, that partly from the ignorance, and partly from the pride of people here, who love to swell and magnify every thing that belongs to the country, it is extremely difficult to get at the truth. A stranger, however, who has been here some time, and has studied whatever belongs to the country very accurately, assured me that the population of Upper and Under Austria together did not amount to more than 1,800,000 men. If you include the inhabitants of the capital in the number, still this will be a very considerable population.

The revenue of this country is about 14,000,000 of florins, of which the city of Vienna contributes above five, as one man in the capital earns as much as three in the country.

The southern parts of Austria are covered with hills, which rise gradually from the banks of the Danube to the borders of Stiria, and are covered with woods. They lose themselves in the mass of mountains which run to the south of Germany, and stretch through all Stiria, Carniola, Carinthia, and Tyrol, to the Swiss Alps, and are probably, after Savoy and Switzerland, the highest part of the earth.

The inhabitants of this extensive ridge of mountains are all very much alike, they are a strong, large, and the goitres excepted, a very handsome people. The people of Tyrol, whom I visited in an excursion from Munich, distinguish themselves by their diligence. Some drive a trade with figures made of stucco as far as Holland; others make works in stone and wood for the churches; another part of them travel through Germany with Italian wares and fruits, and bring home a large quantity of money. A fourth set deals in quack drugs, salves, wonder-working pills, essences, tinctures, &c.

Notwithstanding its woods and the hills covered with snow, Tyrol is well inhabited and well peopled. It contains about six hundred thousand souls, and pays the state about 3,000,000 of florins. The silver and copper works at Schwass are one of the most profitable things in the emperor's hereditary dominions, and the salt works at Halle yield annually about 300,000 florins.

Innsbruck is a fine city, containing fourteen thousand inhabitants. Bozen is the most considerable after this. They had formerly very fine fairs, but these have been entirely ruined by the customs; all Tyrol complains of and curses the customs.

The Carinthians excel the other inhabitants of these mountains in strength and size. They are like their horses, which are reckoned the strongest in Europe, and never tire. Their bread is made of maize; and their land produces the best steel known, which the English use for their finest works. The population consists of four hundred thousand souls. The inhabitants of Carinthia, Gortz, and the Austrian Istria, may be set at five hundred thousand. Stiria contains about seventy thousand inhabitants. Gratz, the capital, is a fine city; there are persons in it who have from 30 to 40,000 florins income, and the luxury that prevails is not to be described. They have four regular meals, viz. at morning, noon, evening, and night. Ducks and chickens are the ordi-

mary food of the common citizens. They made me almost sick only with the sight of their pasties, tarts, ragouts, &c. They talk of nothing but the kitchen and the cellar; and, their attention to the preparation of their dinners only excepted, do not seem many degrees above orang-outangs. The other luxuries are in proportion. This is the great mart for all indecent and irreligious books. Hence they are exported into the rest of the country. You find villages in Tyrol entirely inhabited by statuaries; they will, however, always be more famous, for their capons than their learning. You may have a capon here for 20 kreutzers, a pair of fine chickens for 10 or 12, a bottle of very good wine for 12, and a pound of rye bread for one. Gratz and the suburbs contain about thirty thousand inhabitants.

The country is cultivated to the top of the highest hills. Though pasturage is the principal business of the people, the land produces corn enough to nourish its numerous inhabitants, or if there is ever the least want, they are supplied from Hungary almost for nothing. The flax and hemp, which have been introduced here, as well as in Carinthia, are extremely good, and produce very large sums. The mines employ a great number of people, and as they are worked very cheap answer extremely well. Indeed the whole of the country is favourable to this kind of business. The hills are covered with wood, which in general costs no more than the expence of cutting down and transporting to the place where it is to be used in the furnaces. Sometimes too it is floated by the rivers without any expence of transporting at all. The numerous brooks in the vallies afford opportunities of erecting the furnaces near the pits, so that every thing contributes to save expence. The best mineral of the country is iron, of which they make an excellent steel.

The number of those who have the goitre, and the size of it, is more remarkable in Stiria than in Carinthia, Ukrania, or the Tyrol. Some thinff this disorder owing in part to the snow and ice water, and in part to the particles of earth and stone with which the wells of the country are impregnated. Others will have it, that it arises from the custom of seasoning the meat a great deal, and drinking cold water afterwards. I beg leave to add a fourth cause, and leave all to operate together for the production of this phenomenon. The cause I mean is the cold, to which all the inhabitants are exposed. You know that the solar rays, being reflected on all sides by the hills which encompass the vallies, occasion an extraordinary heat. I recollect, as I have been wandering through narrow vallies, to have breathed an air so glowing, that it seemed to come from a furnace. Whenever, therefore, there is the least motion in the air, the pressure will make it more sensibly felt than on higher vales or hills, where it can expand more; the cold is consequently greater. Now as these people commonly go with their necks and throats bare, whenever there is a cool current, the weak part of the throat is the first attacked by the moisture, and the perspiration there is stopped.

It is an observation which has been made in Valois, Savoy, and other countries, that the inhabitants of the lower vallies are more exposed to this evil, than those which live higher up. This, no doubt, must be owing to the more frequent changes of air in the low grounds, whereas higher up it always continues cool. There are also a kind of idiots in this country, who can hardly speak, and are only fit for the labours of the field. Their number is great, and the neglect with which they are treated, whilst they are young, may probably have tended to increase their stupidity.

All the inhabitants of these hills are freemen, who have long since shaken off the feudal yoke, under which the greatest part of Europe still groans. The marks of their freedom are very visible, for, ill as this country has been treated by nature, in comparison with its neighbour Hungary, it is every where much better cultivated, and more

populous than the latter. When you see the farmer here force his nourishment from the almost bare rocks, and think of the beautiful plains in Hungary that lay waste and uncultivated, the value of property and liberty strikes you in its full force. These countries and Austria are not half as large as Hungary, and yet they not only yield a much greater revenue than that does, but there is an appearance of easy circumstances throughout, of which the Hungarians have no notion. O that governors would but see how much the interest of the governed is united with their own!

The characteristic of the inhabitants of all this country is striking bigotry, united with striking sensuality. You need only see what is going forwards here to be convinced, that the religion taught by the monks, is as ruinous for the morals as it is repugnant to Christianity. The Cicisbeos accompany the married women from their beds to church, and lead them to the very confessional. The Pilgrimage to Mariazell is a ceremony half religious and half profane, with which the ladies of Gratz are highly delighted. Their lovers generally accompany them there; in short, it is to the people of this country what Bath, and the other water-drinking places, are to the rest of Europe. A friend of mine had the honour to accompany a lady who went there with her lover. As it was expected that the next day, being the feast of the Virgin, there would be great crowds at confession, the lady was asked, whether it would not be better to expedite matters over night: "No," answered she, "for if I do, I shall have to confess again to-morrow morning, before I can go to the sacrament with a pure conscience." She was pressed to anticipate a confession, but this it seems would not do. The women of fashion make no more scruple of speaking of their lovers in public companies than those of Vienna do. A cicisbeo is, it seems, as much the fashion as Hungary water. The women of this place are not like the French ones, who let their lovers languish a great while; on the contrary, they are easily gained. Their lovers are chiefly officers, or high churchmen, between which orders, on this account, there is a constant rivalry and jealousy.

The bigotry of the public in these parts, which, from the mixture of gallantry with it, is still to be found even amongst people of rank, degenerates amongst the common people into the grossest and most abominable buffoonery. The Windes, who are mixed with the Germans in these countries, distinguish themselves by a superstitious custom, that does little honour to the human understanding, and would be incredible, if we had not the most unequivocal proofs of the fact before our eyes. Many years ago, they set out, in company with some Hungarian enthusiasts, to Cologne on the Rhine, which is about one hundred and twenty German miles distant, to cut off the beard of the crucifix there. Every seven years this operation is repeated, as in this space of time the beard grows again to its former length. The rich persons of the association send the poorer ones as their deputies, and the magistrates of Cologne receive them as ambassadors from a foreign prince. They are entertained at the expence of the state, and a counsellor shews them the most remarkable things in the town. I know not whether we ought to laugh most at the remote town of Cologne, or at those poor peasants. There is, indeed, some excuse for the former, as the farce brings in large sums of money at stated times, and may therefore deserve political encouragement, but still, however, it is the most miserable and meanest way of gain that can be imagined. These Windes have alone the right to shave our Saviour, and the beard grows only for them. They firmly believe, that if they did not do this service to the crucifix, the earth would be shut to them for the next seven years, and there would be no harvests. For this reason they are obliged to carry the hair home with them, as the proof of having fulfilled their commission, the returns of which are distributed amongst the different communities, and

preserved as holy reliques. The imperial court has for a long time endeavoured in vain to prevent this emigration, which deprives agriculture of so many useful hands. When the Windes could not go openly, they would go clandestinely. At length the court thought of the expedient of forbidding the regency of Cologne to let them enter the town. This happened six years ago, and the numerous embassy was obliged to beg its way back again without the wonderful beard which, without doubt, the capuchins, to whom the crucifix belonged used to put together from their own. In future they will not most probably, run the danger of travelling so far for nothing. I do not hear but that, since this accident, the corn has come up as well as it did before; but whether the beard is still growing or not I cannot say. I could give you still more striking traits of the superstition of the inhabitants of the inner parts of Austria, but as this surpasses them all, it may serve as a sufficient measure of the human understanding in these parts. The trade which these monks carry on with holy salves, oils, &c. is still very considerable; a prohibition of the court, lately published, has rather lessened it, but it cannot be entirely suppressed till next generation. It is now carried on secretly, but perhaps to nearly as great an amount as formerly.

LETTER XXXV.

Vienna.

AS there were some of the provinces of the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria which I did not visit, you must content yourself with such accounts of their population and commerce as I have been able to collect, partly from public papers, and partly from conversations with sensible men. In order to give you an idea of their comparative merits, we will first cast our eyes upon the whole. Mr. Schlosser, whose useful letters I have already mentioned, and shall have occasion to speak more of hereafter, gives a list of the respective populations of the Austrian monarchy, according to which the whole amounts to twenty-seven millions. I fancy he is now convinced himself that his correspondent saw the subjects of Austria through a magnifying glass. As several parts of this list have been amended from better accounts: thus, for instance, in Austrian Poland and Bukowina, they now reckon only two million eight hundred thousand souls; whereas, in the first lists, they were reckoned at three millions nine hundred thousand.

The first number of these "Political Letters" contains another list, which seems to me to approach much nearer to the truth; for though the population of particular parts may be laid too high, this is made up for by the omission of the particular provinces of Illyria and Bukowina, which are entirely left out. The following lists I have in a great measure from the best hands:

	Souls.
Hungary, with the now annexed Temeswar	5,400,000
Illyria	1,400,000
Transylvania	1,000,000
Austrian Poland, together with Bukowina	2,800,000
Bohemia	2,100,000
Moravia	1,000,000
Silesia	200,000

Carried forward 13,900,000

	Souls.
Brought forward	13,900,000
Upper and Lower Austria, and Styria	- 700,000
Carniola, Ukania, Gorts, and Istria	- 1,000,000
Farther Austria and Falkenstein	- 300,000
Tyrol	- 600,000
Netherlands	- 1,800,000
Lombardy	- 1,200,000
	19,500,000

I will not insist upon it that this list is so accurate as to make it a great violation of truth, to give round numbers, and state the whole at twenty millions; but I would not believe in more than twenty millions, if all the privy counsellors in the empire said it together.

It only requires eyes to see, that the territories of Austria are not so well peopled throughout as France is. The difference in the size of the two countries is inconsiderable. How then is it possible that Austria should be as well peopled as France (which hardly contains twenty-four millions) when the greatest part of it has no considerable manufactures, and in great part of Hungary and Poland there are not even hands to do the necessary work? Agriculture, in however flourishing state it be in a country, does not render it as populous as manufactures do. The sphere of the former is contracted, that of the latter not. You would fill a large tract of country with the men who inhabit one of our large manufacturing towns. But besides this, the agriculture of Hungary and Austrian Poland, which make above one half of the imperial dominions is not nearly so good as that of most of our provinces. In France the towns are at least as full again of inhabitants as those of the Austrian dominions, and yet the country, take it altogether, is well peopled. It is only those parts of the hereditary dominions of Austria, that are German, which can vie with France in agriculture and population.

Some of the data on which the lists which make the population of Austria amount to twenty-seven millions are founded, are truly ridiculous. For instance, Mr. Schlosser's correspondent will have it that the Austrian Netherlands contain four millions; though the United Netherlands which are so much larger and most uncommonly peopled, do not contain more than two millions five hundred thousand inhabitants. The circumference of all the Austrian Netherlands contains, at most, five hundred German square miles. According to this account, therefore, each square mile would contain eight thousand men; and as Luxemburg and the northern parts of Brabant are confessedly but thinly peopled, the remaining provinces must have at least ten thousand souls in every square mile; a population, I will venture to say, not to be met with in any part of Europe, the environs of London, Naples, and Paris, not excepted. In a journey I made to Holland. I was assured from good information at Brussels, that the population of the Austrian Netherlands amounted only to one million eight hundred thousand souls, and this is a great deal; as even, according to this statement, there will be three thousand six hundred men for every geographical German square mile.

The statement of the income of the house of Austria, which Mr. Schlosser gives us, is accurate as far as it goes, but is not quite perfect. He does not reckon Illyria, Lombardy, and the Netherlands; and the exports from Hungary and Transylvania are put rather under the mark. I fancy the following will turn out a pretty accurate account:

	Millions.
Bannat	1,500,000
Transylvania	3,000,000
Illyria	6,000,000
Poland, together with Bukowina	1,200,000
Bohemia	21,400,000
Moravia	500,000
Silesia	700,000
All the circles of Austria	32,700,000
Netherlands	7,000,000
Lombardy	8,000,000
	82,000,000

These 82,000,000 of imperial guilders make about 98,400,000 Rhenish guilders, or about 215,000,000 of French livres; which is about 145,000,000 livres less than the income of our court (the colonies not included) and about as much as the revenue of Great Britain. When we consider that France contains about 4,000,000 more inhabitants than Austria does, that its commerce is much more flourishing, and that Hungary and Illyria yield so little in proportion to their size, the proportion of the produce of the two countries will be thought pretty near the truth.

The account of the expenditures which Mr. Schlosser's correspondent has subjoined to his account of the revenue is notoriously false. The expences of the army are laid at 17,000,000 of guilders; but though, in proportion to the strength of the two countries, the army of this court costs a third less than ours does, the emperor's military expences, including the large magazines and recruiting money, come to 28,000,000 a year. Some persons of credit make the sum still larger. Mr. Schlosser's correspondent states the pensions only at a million; but it is easy to see that as much again may be given in pensions, and yet none of those who must necessarily subsist by the bounty of the court be much richer. Besides all this, the account of the expenditure must be false; for Mr. Schlosser's correspondent has made it agree with the revenue, which he has stated at 27,000,000 guilders less than it really is.

I recollect to have read in a speech spoken in parliament by an English minister, who wanted to shew the rank his country held in the system, a comparative state of the revenues of the several great powers in Europe. He estimated the revenue of France at twelve, that of Great Britain at nine, that of Russia at seven, and that of Austria at six millions sterling. This is silly enough; but it is not as absurd as what is said by Linguet, who, in his annals of Europe, ventures to entertain a doubt, whether Austria has power enough to secure the west of Europe from the danger of a Turkish invasion; and therefore graciously advises the other European powers to help this house to a slice of Germany or Turkey, in order to enable it to measure spears with the Turk. Austria is still without doubt the second power of Europe. The revenue of Russia consists of 32,000,000 of rubles, which, according to the present value of the ruble, does not amount to more than 64,000,000 of imperial guilders. No doubt but Russia may do astonishing things with its income at home, where the first necessities of life are also cheap; but it has not nearly the number of resources to carry on operations out of its own borders as this court has. The times of Leopold and Charles VI. have long been gone by. Within this last twenty years a change has taken place in the administration of the imperial

finances, which will astonish the world, as soon as this court has an opportunity of shewing its power. I do not believe it wants as much time as Russia wanted when it begun the last war to be a full match for the Turks. As the revenue of Great Britain was nearly equal to that of this country, previous to the breaking out of this war, but has been a little lessened by the loss of America, Austria has no rival to fear, even at present, but France; but the former is a rising power, and in fifty years time the two crowns will be nearly equally strong. Though it be true, that Russia does contain some millions of men more than the Austrian monarchy, there are amongst the former several Kamtschatdales, Samoides, and Laplanders, who are of little more political estimation than their cattle. Both powers are making hasty strides to greatness, and in the next century will probably play the parts which France and England played from the end of the last to the middle of this, that is, the quiet and balance of Europe will depend upon them. This court will not suffer the Russian to take one step, without taking the same, or perhaps two, as was the case in the partition of Poland, which I now know for certain, originated in this country. Russia bore all the expences of the Turkish, or to say better, of the Polish war; and when matters came to a division, Austria gained more than Russia and Prussia together. The Austrian part of Poland, together with Bukowina, which was taken from the Turks, is not larger than the share which Russia had; but it contains more men, and produces at least half as much again as the Russian and Prussian parts put together. According to the best accounts, the Russian part contains only two millions one hundred thousand, and the Prussian six hundred and fifty thousand; whereas in the Austrian, as I have stated them, there are two millions eight hundred thousand souls. Besides this larger population, Austria has likewise the advantage of the very productive salt-works of Wielitska, and the greatest part of Poland is dependent upon it for this necessary of life. The strength of Austria is compact; but that of Russia is broken. They talk here of a partition of Turkey, as a thing resolved on by the two imperial courts, and even the public papers begin to mention it; but I do not believe it, as it is well known that there was a plan of the same kind formed by the two courts in the year 1730. Should there, however, be any thing in it, and should not our court have a power to conjure the storm, this would probably be the last treaty of friendship between Austria and Russia: for as soon as the Porte shall be destroyed, and the two Christian empires have their limits on the borders of the Black Sea, they must of necessity grow jealous of each other, as with respect to trade, and other circumstances, they will be exactly in the same situation as France and Great Britain were in, with regard to each other.

LETTER XXXVI.

Vienna.

BY degrees the emperor begins to shew a little of the plan which he has so long kept concealed in his own breast. You must not expect me to give you a circumstantial account of the new regulations which have appeared, or will appear in future. I think of leaving this town next week; but you will have quicker and more complete intelligence from the newspapers, than I can give you on my travels. Certainly our chaste French gazette is not the channel to convey matters of this kind to you; it will indeed inform you very circumstantially, that the emperor went one day to church, another day a hunting, and a third to the concert; that he let his hand be kissed, and what coat, or great coat he wore in one and the other place. You will not hear by this channel, of the

laws relating to toleration, of the abolition of cloisters, of the diminution of the papal authority; you will not hear that liberty is promised to every sectary to worship God in his own way; that Austria has become independent of all foreign influence; that monkery is no more; that the clergy are become the servants of the state: the abolition, too, of feudal tenures; the diminution of the pernicious privileges of the nobles; the reform in the courts of justice; greater simplicity in all the operations of government; universal and rigid œconomy; advancement of philosophy; extension of civil liberty and patriotic feelings; encouragement of merit; all these things are attended to by Joseph, with a zeal and steadiness which will render Austria in a short time, the astonishment of the world, and one of the most flourishing and mighty empires in it.

Perhaps you will ask what is to become of the arts? Will there also be academies of inscriptions and belles lettres; Arcadian assemblies, academies of painting and statuary? Most certainly there will. One of the latter is an old institution; and as for the others, there are as many able subjects here as at Paris. Here are persons enough who have time and talents sufficient to make each other senseless compliments in periodical publications; to make parties to raise some insipid performance, the author of which has flattered their vanity into repute, and to oppress a writer of merit, who has ventured to dispute their judgment. Nor are there wanting persons who are capable of giving the most old fashioned thought an air of novelty, or publishing mutilated translations as their own works. It is indeed but eight or ten years since most of the new pieces which appeared on the French and English stages, were published here as original compositions. These things, therefore, will exist; but the emperor will scarcely lay out a penny in this way; he knows better what to do with his money; and it had been well for us, had we applied the money which these institutions have cost us to any other purpose, had it been only that of making canals to carry off the dirt which makes such a stink in the choaked up common sewers, and has already suffocated many.

Here, methinks, I see you look on me with contempt; for I know you live and move only for the belles lettres, and pity us barbarians who do not sacrifice so ardently to the divine arts. Well do I remember all the kind things you used to say of my stupidity and coldness, or whatever else you pleased to call it, whenever I happened not to have the feeling you had, on meeting with a good epigram, a lively description, or a fine print or drawing. But, my dear brother, every man sees things in his own way, and, as in compliance with your leading passion, I have taken the trouble to give you a great deal of intelligence about the German theatre and poetry, &c. &c. and promise you a great deal more from the northern parts of Germany, you will not take it amiss if I say something to you in justification of my own taste, and peculiar way of thinking.

Tell me then, my dearest brother, if it be not a truth which all history attests, that in every nation the æra of the arts and sciences has immediately preceded their fall? I will not be at the pains to prove this, by a long deduction of events from the history of Greece to this time. You may recollect the excellent note of a Tyrolese monk upon a passage in Columella, published by the author of *Voyages en differents Pays de l'Europe*. It contains the strongest evidence which history can give, that a country in which those arts which contribute chiefly to amusement, are held in high estimation, and are the most successful way of gaining honour and fortune, is a country verging fast to ruin. You will say that the fault is not in the arts and sciences themselves. Right; but when they get a certain superiority in a nation over the other employments of the mind, they must draw destructive consequences after them. Frivolity, weakness, profusion, neglect of more laborious pursuits and occupations, ostentation, wrong judgment in choosing the servants of the state, a warm and immoderate desire of ornaments, &c. are necessary

consequences of all these elegancies, when they are carried to that abuse which borders so near on the good use of them. And what do they contribute to the real happiness of men? Are they any thing more than a splendid dream? How short, too, has this era been with all nations? After the generation of wits, generally there has succeeded a totally illiterate horde, who have awakened those the arts had put to sleep with blows, and laid them in chains before they had well rubbed their eyes. How long is it since the days of Corneille and Racine? And we are already exhausted! Poor nation!

Not that I altogether refuse my approbation to works of genius, or would leave them quite unrewarded. I only wish that an excessive liberality shall not confound merit and demerits, and encourage that contagious spread of virtu and bel esprit, which, if not guarded against, soon infects a whole nation, and destroys the balance that should ever subsist between the useful and agreeable. I am convinced the emperor will not refuse to do justice to the poet, the painter, and every artist of real merit, nor leave them unrewarded. But the application of philosophy to the improvement of government; but those branches of mathematics and physics which are connected with civil industry; but those arts and sciences, in short, which contribute to the lasting happiness of the country, have still more to expect from him. And can you take this ill of him? His court will hardly resemble that of an Augustus, who could give a pension of 4000 louis to a poet, whilst he owed his old soldiers their pay. Certainly not. But Austria is advancing apace to the happy times of Henry IV, the times in which a nation begins to feel itself; when the foundation of national riches are laid; when civil liberty and peace are secured from the attacks of the monks and nobles; when the proper balance is established between all ranks of the state; when the fine arts and sciences, agreeable to their proper distinction, are only used for recreation, and more is not expended on them than a prudent economical father, who measures all his expences by the state of his fortune, would lay out on his pleasures; and when from this very reason, to wit, because they hold the rank they ought to hold, they thrive better than when excessive encouragement connects a train of votaries to them, who only love them for the sake of what they procure. When the arts become the means of gaining a livelihood, there is an end of all great works; and when artists form a corporation, as with us, it is a corporation of apes and monkeys. How rare are original geniuses! Would millions raise a Voltaire?

Pardon this digression, which was not so much a lash to your hobby horse, as an effusion of my esteem for the emperor, whom I would wish to justify in your sight. I know that you cannot easily forgive his doing so little for the fine arts; but consider, brother, he lays out from 10 to 20,000 louis d'ors in supporting those who carry on useful employments, every one of whom that wishes to establish a useful manufactory, may have any sum advanced at a small, or even without any interest at all. He assists all who will settle in the country in every way. He makes roads, builds villages, towns, and harbours, and has an army of at least three hundred thousand men to support. Ought he to be circumscribed in these expences, in order to establish an Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres? Forbid it patriotism, forbid it humanity!

Perhaps in time he will do something for your goddesses, when all the court debts are paid, his finances in complete order, and the cloisters thinned. His debts are certainly not so great as ours, and yet they amount to about 160,000,000 of florins, and he is obliged to pay 18,000,000 a year, in interest and capital. The lands belonging to the cloisters and religious foundations, in the imperial hereditary lands, are estimated at 300,000,000 of florins, of which nearly one half comes from the Netherlands and Lombardy. Possibly the muses may in time inherit some of this immense wealth.

LETTER XXXVII.

Vienna.

TO-MORROW I leave this place, I shall stay some time at Prague, where I expect to hear from you.

It is now evident what the emperor was about during his mother's life-time. All the strangers who are here, are astonished at the short time in which one of the greatest and most total revolutions has been effected; a sure sign that it was thought of long before, and all the materials prepared. The nobility and clergy are every day more convinced that it will go harder and harder with them: but they make no resistance; for both orders are entirely disarmed. Notwithstanding their great riches, the nobility are enfeebled by their effeminacy and dissipation, and the clergy have a snake in their own bosoms which will sting them to death. This snake is philosophy, which, under the semblance of theology, has glided even to the episcopal chair. Most of the younger ecclesiastics are infected by the poison of this snake in the universities. They all know that there is a Febronius in the world, and some of them are only acquainted with him as a heretic; yet as the arguments of the cowl have a much greater effect upon them than the arguments of their professors, and as the court is evidently friendly to him, they are not unwilling to be reconciled to their old enemies. The Bellarminists, who possess all the great benefices, still make, it is true, the greater number; but if once they are in danger of losing their cures, or the twenty-five thousand advocates in the imperial dominions, who have long been ready with arguments, are ordered to charge, they will no doubt make very little resistance.

I do not believe there is a single man of understanding in the army who does not most thoroughly approve the emperor's new regulations. This part of the administration of the country has been in his hands a considerable time; and it carries marks in every part of it, of having been so. Amongst all the Imperial-officers I was acquainted with, I did not meet with one, of a certain age, who did not possess a certain fund of philosophy. During my stay here, I found them by far the best company in the place; and, with the permission of the Professors, Doctors, and other Literati, must think them by far the most enlightened people in the Austrian dominions. I will answer for finding many corporals in the Imperial army who have more sense than nine out of ten of the literati. There has long been a freedom of thinking and reasoning in the army, which is a strong contrast to what obtains elsewhere, and does the emperor the utmost honour. Every regiment has a library to itself, and the officers find means to procure every good book, however prohibited it may be. The king of Prussia has no longer pope be-salved and be-consecrated generals, as he used to call Daun, to contend with. Even amongst the common soldiers you may observe a kind of natural logic, which is the consequence of the way in which they are managed, and which you may trace in their tents, in their manœuvres, in their tables, and in every thing that belongs to them. There is not a vestige left of the bigotry which heretofore made the imperial army so conspicuous. What indeed will the black troop undertake against a corps conducted as this is? The emperor will not find the same facility in reforming the administration of civil and criminal justice, as he will meet with in reforming the church. There is still a formidable darkness over all this part of legislation. The defects, partly owing to the laws themselves, and the forms of administering justice, and partly increased through the stupidity, pedantry, dissoluteness, selfishness, and want of patriotism of the servants of the court, have long been felt. The late empress endea-

voured to remedy them, but in vain; for were the Codex Theresianus ten times less barbarous than it is, still little would have been done. There is a want of men to give vigour to laws, however good.

During the time he was only a kind of viceroy, the emperor took all the pains he was able, to throw more light upon the administration of justice, and to render it more impartial; nor do I believe there is a single instance of a striking and notorious act of injustice having been committed by any of his immediate servants; but he could not create new subjects: and as long as pride, laziness, and the love of shew, continue to be leading features in the characters of the principal members of the courts of justice, it is impossible but that fraud, chicanery, and indeed roguery of every kind, must find their way in processes so complicated as these are.

Criminal justice is, indeed, in a most piteous condition. When you read the Codex Theresianus, you would conceive that it had been composed for a horde of Baschis. Here are punishments for crimes which have not been heard of in the country for a century; and penalties very grievous indeed, but at the same time most ridiculous, when you compare the state of the country and the state of the law, for offences which happen every day, but raise no clamour, such as fornication, adultery, and sodomy. This, however, is not so great an evil; for let laws be as severe as they will, still they expose civil and natural liberty to no danger, and the most inhuman laws that can be devised, are better than no law at all: or what amounts to the same thing, the non-observance of any. The latter unfortunately is the case here. It was soon seen that the Codex Theresianus agreed neither with the manners nor the character of the people, and the court became ashamed, at the time that all Europe was making an outcry about humanity, the abolition of capital punishments, &c. &c. of a statute-book which had nothing in it but halters, gibbets, swords, &c. What was to be done? They would not repeal the law; but contented themselves with an universal requisition to the judges to be mild, and not to inflict capital punishments without necessity. This misunderstood lenity is the greatest tyranny in the world. The most cruel law that can be devised cannot commit murder. On the contrary, the more cruel the law is, the more depravity and obstinacy it bespeaks to sin against it; but the general direction, to "have recourse to no capital punishments without necessity," tends to submit the guilty to the discretion of the judge, and thus undermines one of the principal props of civil liberty. As long as laws, let them be as severe as they will, are rigidly observed, the transgressor is without excuse. He knew the law, and not to guard against the penalty of it, bespoke wickedness and weakness; but in the last case he may be the victim of circumstances, with which his crime has not the least connection. I will relate a fact to you, which happened some years ago at Lintz, which, though it relates to military justice, will give you a very good idea of the state of criminal justice in this country.

Two grenadiers, who were among the handsomest men of the regiment, agreed to desert from Stein, and engaged others to desert with them. They were detected and condemned to die, as ringleaders, by the council of war. The whole regiment knew, that every general in the army had it in command to suffer no sentence of death to be put in execution without the utmost necessity. As this necessity did not exist, general Brown was determined to grant a pardon, and he would have done so, but on a sudden the whole scene changed. The comrades of the prisoners went to them in prison, got drunk with them, and offered to go to the gallows in their stead; so persuaded were they that the pardon would come. The whole of this was related to the general. The day came; the young men went cheerfully to the field; all Lintz had no doubt but the pardon would meet them there, when lo, and behold! General Brown found out that this was the reserved case of extreme necessity,

and the men were executed. What was the consequence? The general had a reprimand from Vienna; but did he deserve it? Was it not a sufficiently good excuse for his conduct, to say, that desertions were grown every day more common, from the idea that sentences of death would never be carried into execution? In my opinion, these grenadiers were victims to the weakness of the legislation. Stability, not mercy, is the first merit of a law.

A general defect, which runs through the whole of this legislation is, that it is loaded with orders, which are not made effective. There is no end of projects and writings. There are orders upon orders, injunctions upon injunctions, and rescripts upon rescripts; the last of which always overturns, or at least very much limits the preceding one. This is so constant a thing, that several persons in office in the country make it a rule, before they carry an order into execution, to wait five or six weeks to see whether it will not be contradicted. It would be a curious, and to the Austrian state a very profitable business, if any person would take the trouble of collecting the contradictory laws which have been promulgated within these last eighteen or twenty years. This, no doubt, arose in part because the emperor and his mother had different plans of legislation; but now he governs alone, he will find it very difficult to bring matters right, as he cannot depend upon any assistance whatever from his subalterns.

The language of the courts of justice here is very singular. You must know, that they have a style of their own, which is totally different from the common style, and is called the chancellery, or law style. I have just been reading a rescript of the imperial court to the chapter of Salzburg, who are engaged in a law-suit with their archbishop. It contains periods which fill a whole folio side of paper, and in which, with all the attention in the world, it is impossible to find a connection. Indeed, the more unconnected it is, and the more abounding in the scarcest Latin and French words, the better this style is reckoned. There are likewise many German words, which are used in a sense directly opposite to what they have in common language. I look upon it as quite impossible that the grandchildren of the present generation should understand a single syllable of all their jargon. Fare ye well.

LETTER XXXVIII.

Prague.

THE journey from Vienna to this place was one of the most pleasing I have ever taken, notwithstanding we did not meet with a single good town, during a journey of forty-four German post miles. My company consisted of an imperial officer, a priest, and a traveller from Lower Saxony. The officer had served in the last war in Silesia. He was a sensible man, and acted as our Cicérone on two of the most noted fields of battle recorded in modern history.

As long as we continued in Austria, the country appeared singularly well cultivated, and there was all the appearance of a high state of happiness and ease among the farmers; but in the parts of Moravia we came through, the inhabitants did not seem near so happy as their neighbours. Notwithstanding this, however, the country is well cultivated throughout; nor do you see any of the wild deserts, which are so striking in Hungary. Snaym and Iglau are two very pretty villages. The inhabitants of these speak German very well; but you observe that it is not their native language.

The whole country is made up partly of a plain, and partly of gently rising hills; but on the confines of Bohemia, the hills rise into more stately, as well as more fruitful mountains. The parts of these through which our road lay, were covered with fine

woods, villages, and several very stately castles, and there are mile-stones all the way. The roads are excellent. We met with few villages on the plains of Bohemia; it seems the Germans have a proverb, which says of a thing that is scarce, "that it is scarce as a village in Bohemia." As, however, it is evident from the list of those who draw for soldiers, that the country is extremely well peopled, and as we saw some very good agriculture, and no barren ground, we did not at first know what to make of these appearances; but our officer, who had travelled over the country far and near, explained them to us. He told us, that most of the villages lay off the great road, in the neighbourhood of rivers and brooks, or behind woods, and that if we would go a mile and a half, either to the right or left, we should see enough of them. This custom of hiding the habitations in the rocks of the country, or behind woods, probably took its rise in the time of wars, when the inhabitants endeavoured to procure shelter from the robbers and knight-errants who infested the land. No doubt the convenience of having water contributed something to it. Between Kolin and Planian, which are distant two German miles from each other, we came to the noted battle, which has taken its name from these two places, though it ought to have it from the small village near which the action really happened. Here we got out, and our Cicerone, who was proud of having had his share in the honour of that day, which did away the ignominy of Austria, went over the ground with us.

Many reasons have been given why this battle proved so fatal to the king of Prussia, and, as in all other cases of the kind, the historian will be puzzled to choose between the different relations of various sensible men, who were all eye-witnesses, and all took part in the labour and difficulty of the day. Here, however, the event evidently depended upon the ground, which Daun knew how to make his advantage of.

Along the road, and to the right of it, there is a plain which extends as far as the eye can reach; on the left of this there is a gentle rise, which makes a kind of peak near the village where the great action took place. On the right of this rising, which you can hardly call a hill, you discover straight before you a long, deep ditch, encompassed with steep walls, which have the appearance, at a distance, of a plain betwixt woods. To the left this hill sinks in a remarkable hollow, and loses itself backwards in a great plain. Daun's right wing was placed on the top of the rising, and the remainder of his army was covered by the ditch on the left. The king of Prussia approached by the plain through which we were to pass. He was compelled to fight, or give up the siege of Prague, and evacuate Bohemia. The only part of the imperial army he could attack was the right wing. The gallant Prussians were not at all disheartened by the inequality of the ground. Ever accustomed to conquer, their right wing advanced in silence up the hill. The imperials, who had the advantage of the ground, beat them back again. Six times the Prussians returned to the attack; but as the ground was very narrow, they were at length much impeded by their own dead, who lay on the slopes of the hill they had to ascend. Notwithstanding all this, they would still have gained the day, if Daun had not had time to flank his beaten right wing with cavalry. This immediately charged to the left of the hill in the flank of the Prussians, who, after the sharpest contest, were at length obliged to give way. Whilst they were retreating in good order, prince Maurice of Dessau, whose bravery often approached to rashness, took a single battalion, and with it encountered the whole force of the Austrian army. This made the rout much greater than it would otherwise have been. The prince would have fought his troops to the last man, if he had not been called off from his rash headed attempt by the king's special command. As among other losses the king's guard had been entirely cut off, when the prince came up to him, he began crying out, "My

guard, prince! my guard!" To which the other made answer, "my regiment, your majesty! my regiment!" He thought, that as his regiment had been cut off, there was nothing worth saving.

Now it may probably have been a fault in the king not to have had any cavalry in his left wing; but if it was so, it arose from the unevenness of the ground. If the Austrians had not had the great advantage of having their right wing on an eminence, and the rest of their army secure, in all probability the Prussians, who notwithstanding these disadvantages, made the victory dubious for a great while, would have got the day before Daun could have supported the attacked part with his cavalry, and in that case no person would have thought of a failure of cavalry on the Prussian part. The king, too, could not observe the motions of the German horse, whose sudden appearance from the hollow was the more formidable, from its being entirely unexpected, and what a priori must have seemed very improbable to the king.

Others say, that the king purposed to do nothing with his left wing, but intended to alter his mode of battle, and charge with his right, whilst the prince of Dessau was amusing the enemy. In that case his flank would have been secured from the attack of the enemy's cavalry, and he would have had nothing to fear from the Austrian left wing on this side the deep ditch. But, say those who maintain this opinion, the prince of Dessau, instead of amusing the enemy, made so lively and serious an attack, that the king was obliged to support him, out of apprehension, that if the prince was repulsed, the whole army might have been brought into disorder by the flight of his regiment. I take this likewise to be one of those after-thoughts which shew what a man should have done, but not what he did, or had a mind to do. Others think, that the king trusting solely to his good fortune, which had done such great things for him a little before at the battle of Prague, had neglected some necessary arrangements, particularly the bringing up his cavalry. But this seems one of the observations which a sensible writer makes after the time, to give himself the air of appearing to know more than other people. A man like the king of Prussia, who gives continual proofs that he does not suffer himself to be depressed by any reverse of fortune, is not likely to have been too much raised by his success.

Being now beaten, for the first time, after so many successful battles, Frederick retreated in the best order possible to Saxony, through Leutmeriss and Aussig. Depressed he was not, but a little out of humour, as his oldest brother, since dead, who carried part of the army back into Saxony, by Gabel, experienced. But, no doubt, you are well acquainted with this wonderful retreat, and the anecdotes concerning it, to be found in the book entitled, *Recueil de Lettres de Sa Majeste le Roi de Prusse, regardant le derriere guerre*. If the king had gained this battle he would have been master of all Bohemia. All Austria would have stood open to him, and Ollmutz only would have prevented his going to Vienna. In this case he would have dictated to his enemies the conditions of peace, whereas the miscarriage was followed by six years of bloody war.

The king commanded this action from the window of an upper story of a public house, which stands alone, and is very near the road. It was with inexpressible pleasure that we dined in the room, which commands a view of the field of battle on both sides. Every thing here appeared sacred to me; as I stood in the place occupied by the king, in the window which directly fronts the eminence which occasioned his defeat, I felt all the mortification he must have experienced, when he found his troops giving way. There were some marks of cannon-balls in the walls of this house, and the king was not altogether safe.

Kolin is a pretty little town; it is, without a doubt, the best place you meet with betwixt Prague and Vienna; the garrison, however excepted, it does not contain above three thousand five hundred souls. The houses are not more than seven hundred, and do not seem to be very well inhabited. We rested a little here, and were extremely well treated; you live very cheap and well all over Bohemia. Small hares, ducks, geese, &c. are the common food met with, in the smallest inns.

In order to give you an idea of the price of provisions, I will give you an account of what the Saxon and I paid for a night's entertainment. You must know, that almost all the inns here have a bad appearance, and the innkeepers, notwithstanding the plenty they afford travellers, seem to be but in indifferent circumstances. Their houses generally stand alone in the street, and have neither orchard, kitchen-garden, or any piece of land near belonging to them. They are obliged to pay so heavy a rent to the landlord, or nobleman to whom the house belongs, that they can gain but very little. At last we saw an inn in a village we came to, which had a better appearance; it had a roomy court, good stables, a neat garden, and was the property of the landlady. Now, said we, as we got into our bed-chambers, we shall have another kind of bill, and no doubt pay for the fine prospect which this room commands, the fine furniture, the exquisite glasses and china, and in short, all the fine things which we enjoy or do not enjoy. We had for supper a rice soup, with an exceeding good chicken, a sallad, and two young hares broiled. We had excellent beer, which is remarkably good in Bohemia, and a pot of wine, which we found very bad, and would not have another, as we knew that wine was very dear all over Bohemia. We had two very clean beds, and some very good coffee for breakfast; and would you think it? when the bill was called for, it amounted only to forty-two kreutzers, that is, about one livre and forty-two sols French.

We stopped about three miles from Prague, and went some furlongs out of the way to see the famous field of battle of the year 1757. Here the Prussians overcame nature itself. It was impossible for the Austrians to have more favourable ground. A deep, broad, perpendicular ditch protected them from the enemy. They had a very formidable artillery, which defended the ditch by batteries placed to great advantage. When the Prussians made their first attack by the ditch they fell like flocks of snow: the Austrian fire was terrible. There has not been a harder or bloodier action in the present century, nor is there perhaps in history, a single instance of a battle won under such circumstances as the Prussians had to contend with. It is almost literally true, that they had at the same time a fort to take and an army to beat, which was stronger than their own. Conceive to yourself, a deep ditch flanked with cannon, on the other side of which is encamped a bold looking army of at least seventy thousand men. The Prussians marched through the ditch, and through the fortifications opposed to them, put the enemy to the most complete flight, and besieged Prague, in which part of the flying imperial army took refuge. But they paid dear for the victory; their loss of men was infinitely greater than that of the enemy; accounts differ with regard to the numbers slain; some make them seven, others from nine to ten thousand men. The truth, however, without the least exaggeration is, that the immense ditch was filled throughout its whole breadth with dead men, who in many places likewise, lay in great heaps upon each other.

The stroke which the king felt most of all, was the loss of the brave general Schwerin. We looked with the most solemn melancholy on the tree near which he fell. The present emperor has erected a monument to him, which does no less honour to the person who set it up, than to him whose name it bears and eternizes. Many anecdotes are current with regard to the death of this brave man. It has been said, that a rough

answer given by the king to a message he sent him by an adjutant in the middle of the battle, to let him know it was impossible to win it, occasioned him to seek death; but I do not believe this; for even supposing Schwerin to have remonstrated on what he thought an impossibility, the king knew well enough that the word obey was sufficient to remind him of his duty, and to make him do all that could be expected from a man of his character for courage and abilities; no, we must do Schwerin the justice to say that he died, because according to the proverb, every man owes a death. He died like a patriot; he saw the violence of the contest, saw the good-will of his soldiers, and their courage, which the havoc death made all around them could not tame. Nothing, he found, but an act of desperation on his part could save them, he therefore snatched the colours out of the hands of a dying cornet, crying, follow me, my brave boys, and rode up to the mouth of the cannon. A ball took him off at the head of his brave troops, but they fired by his courage and example, got up the hill, broke in on the enemy, and by that deed turned the day in favour of the king. After the battle the king besieged Prague. Daun in the mean time collected the broken imperial troops, got an army together and hastened to the relief of the town, the garrison of which was making a brave resistance; this army the king was compelled to attack, or raise the siege; this brought on the above described battle of Kolin, in which he lost all that he had won before.

LETTER XXXIX.

Prague.

BOHEMIA is a country favoured of heaven, the climate is excellent. In this excursion I have become acquainted with several foreigners who make their constant residence here, and are induced to it by the wholesomeness of the air, the goodness and cheapness of all the necessaries of life, and the cheerful good humour of the inhabitants, and yet Æneas Silvius describes the country as a part of Siberia, though it was, in all probability, more flourishing in his time than it is now; to be sure the difference of the climate must have been striking to a Roman, but I believe his eminence was here only in the winter; the spring is not so beautiful even at Rome as it is here; spring and summer are as remarkable as the winter is at Vienna, where you seldom see a regular spring, but the winter and summer almost join. The climate of this country is not exposed to any of those sudden and inclement changes which are so fatal to health in other places. The winter colds are neither too sharp, nor the summer heats too strong. The air is dry, clear, and temperate. The country lies high, and forms a large extended plain, surrounded on all sides by very high hills covered with rich woods. The vale in the middle, which is watered by the Elbe, the Moldaw, and the Eyer, of which you may easily form an idea, by casting your eyes on the map, is protected from the force of the wind. The several hollows in the middle contribute to let out the waters, so that there are neither lakes nor morasses to fill the air with unwholesome vapours. As the soil is stony only in very few places, the waters flow easily through the country, and make it fruitful, without filling the air, as is the case in several parts of Upper Switzerland, with catarrhs and coughs.

The country produces every thing that can contribute to the comfort of life in astonishing abundance, wine and salt only excepted. The greatest part of the former is brought at a very moderate price from Bintz, where is a warehouse for salt, which is brought from Gerund in Austria, and Halle in the Tyrol. The remainder is brought from Austrian Poland at a moderate price. There have been many successful experiments

made to produce wine, and I have tasted some meznikers very little inferior to the second sort of Bourdeaux wines. The first stocks were brought from Burgundy. The country, however, will hardly be able to produce a sufficiency of this article for consumption, but it has other advantages to make up for the loss. As it possesses most of the prime necessities of life, and by that means commands a superiority of trade which none of the neighbouring countries can dispute with it, it provides a great part of Silesia, Saxony, and Austria with corn, and also sells them some cattle. The circle of Saasser is alone able to furnish all Bohemia, populous as the country is, with corn even in moderate years. The excellent Bohemian hops are carried as far as the Rhine in great quantities. The breed of horses is likewise wonderfully improved within these few years, and bring annually large sums of money into the country. The Bohemian tin is the best of any, next to the English; and they carry on a very considerable trade in alum, and several kinds of precious stones, particularly garnets. The large woods, in which the country abounds, furnish materials for the wonderful manufactories of glass, which bring a great deal of money into the country, and find their way into every part of Europe from Portugal to Sweden. Within these few years they have also made large quantities of very good and uncommonly cheap hats, with which they supply great part of the inhabitants of Austria, Bavaria, and Franconia. The handkerchief and linen manufactories are also in good repute.

The Bohemian travels much. Some as dealers in glass, who go as far as England and Italy, and some as basket and sieve-makers. I have met with large caravans of these on the Upper Rhine and in the Netherlands. These people commonly come home with pretty large sums of money; they keep together like brothers whilst they are in foreign countries. They have indeed an uncommon share of patriotism, and a kind of confidence in each other, which often makes them pass in the eyes of strangers for a savage and barbarous people, though they really are not so.

Since the days of Huss they have a secret hatred to the Germans, which does not arise so much from bad temper as from a kind of national pride. Most of the farmers who live near the roads speak German; but as they do not like to talk to a stranger without necessity, they pretend not to understand a word of what the traveller says, and make their sport of him amongst themselves. It has been attempted to make them send their children to German schools, but hitherto they have all proved abortive. They have an unspeakable aversion to whatever is German. I have heard young men here talk of the battles which their ancestors, under Ziska, fought against the Germans, with a degree of warmth and pride, which made them very amiable in my eyes. They still remember too, that the residence of the court at Prague formerly rendered the country flourishing, and lament that the preference which has been given to Austria, in consequence of a slight misunderstanding, carries off large sums annually from the country, which are sent to Vienna partly by the court and partly by the nobility. The late empress was extremely offended with them on account of this misunderstanding, and Bohemia was the only one of her old hereditary dominions which she never visited.

The Hussites are still very numerous in the country. Some think that a fourth part of the inhabitants are of this sect, which has also spread widely in Moravia. Scarce four years are past since above ten thousand farmers made a little stand to recover their freedom of opinion; but they were soon quieted, and the thing had no further consequences.

Voltaire and some other historians have much misrepresented the famous Huss and his doctrines. They look upon this reformer as a man of a very limited understanding, and think that his object went no further than to procure the clergy leave to marry,

and let the people have the use of the cup at the sacrament. They love to make sport with him, and say that he endeavoured to make the incomprehensible mystery still more incomprehensible, without having the least attention to how much the human mind was lowered by such mysteries. They deny him the Philosophical spirit, both by his predecessor Wickliff, or of his followers, Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin. I had formerly the same opinion of him myself; but since I have studied his history and the histories of his followers, I have conceived a much higher idea of him. I searched in the library of Vienna for all the documents that relate to this interesting history. In Menker I found a vindication of the opinions of the Hussites, addressed to the diet of Nuremberg. It is written in a German which I could not understand, till I had read it over six or seven times, and procured assistance from several of my friends. This wonderful representation contains the whole confession of faith of the Hussites. They attack the whole system of the Roman Catholic church, purgatory, fasts, monkery, and it is certain that they were only one step behind Calvin. The style of this vindication has all the marks of intimate persuasion, and of the soundest understanding, only like Luther, the author sometimes falls into the style of the times and runs into low language.

In fact, the sole advantage which the other reformers had over Huss, arose from the invention of printing since his time, as in consequence of this, knowledge was much more widely spread, as the doctrines could be much more widely diffused. The doctrines of Huss were lost amidst the wars which followed his death. They were stifled in the barbarity which overspread Bohemia, when the people no longer attended to any teacher, but the sword became the sole decider of all controversy.

I found sufficient proofs that Huss, notwithstanding his obstinacy and presumption, possessed an enlightened and philosophical mind, which, however, partook somewhat of the unpolished character of the age in which he lived. I am sometimes tempted to write his history, which perhaps is not yet sufficiently understood. Whether I shall persevere I know not, but in the mean time will recollect what materials I can, and when I have time, try whether I have any talent for writing history, at least I feel a great temptation to do this.

The present race of Hussites flatter themselves that the emperor, whose sentiments of toleration are well known, and who is very fond of the Bohemians, will restore to them their freedom of opinion; but people here generally think that they are deceived in their expectations; for as their sentiments nearly approach those of the Lutherans, it would not be very prudent to allow the establishment of a new sect, which always spreads some roots that may grow and be dangerous.

The Bohemians are a wonderfully strong-built race of men. Dubravius, one of their historians, who was bishop of Olmutz in the sixteenth century, compares them to lions. "As the land (says he, according to the manner of writing of those times) lies under the influence of Leo, so do its inhabitants possess all the qualities of that noble animal. Their high chests, sparkling eyes, strong thick hair, stout bones, strength, courage, and irresistible spirit, when opposed, all shew evidently that the lion is their star, which they bear likewise in their coat of arms."

They are a handsome, strong built, and active race of people; and you see evidently that they are descended from the Croats, who are some of the handsomest people upon earth. Their heads are a little too large; but their broad shoulders, and their thick-set bodies render the disproportion not so visible as it would otherwise be. They are without doubt the best soldiers of all the emperor's troops. They bear the inconveniences of the military life longer than any. Even hunger, that deadly fiend to every thing that calls itself an Imperial soldier, they can support for a considerable time.

My journey through the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, confirmed an opinion I had long since taken up in other countries, which is, that the inhabitants of the mountains are by no means as good soldiers as those who inhabit the plains. The Tyrolese, Carinthians, Ukrainians, and Styrians, have as strong bodies as the Bohemians, but they are by no means as good soldiers as these, and without a doubt are the most wretched of all the emperor's troops. Even in Switzerland, as I have heard from some of the most intelligent officers of the country, the Zurchers, and that part of the inhabitants of Berne, who live in the lower parts of the Canton, are infinitely better soldiers than the Granbündtner, and other nations who inhabit the top of the Alps. The true reason of this is no doubt to be sought for in the peculiar way of living of a mountainous people, which is too particular for them ever to be able to change their way of life without suffering by it.

All people likewise who live by pasturage, are known to be much weaker than those who live by agriculture, who are hardened by the weather and continual labour. The inhabitants of mountains, who according to the testimony of history, are mostly herdsmen, defend their country with more perseverance than the inhabitants of plains, because the property they have in it makes them fonder of it, and because the defence of their almost inaccessible possessions is naturally much easier to them; but they are by no means as formidable out of their own country, and they soon get the *maladie du Pays*, which you know is so common amongst the Swiss.

The constitution and manners of the country contribute much to make the Bohemians such soldiers as they are. The farmers live in a poverty which preserves them from effeminacy and luxury much more effectually than any positive sumptuary law could do. Besides this, the feudal slavery system, which obtains here in the extreme, accustoms them from their youth upwards to unconditional obedience, the great military virtue of our days. Their constant labour and scanty food renders them hardy, and, like the Spartans, they find the soldier's life far easier than ploughing the fields of their masters.

It is inconceivable how a people in such a wretched situation should possess so many virtues as these do. They have given irrefragable proofs of their love of liberty, and in no city of the Austrian hereditary dominions have I met with so many true patriots as there are here. The Bohemian peasant is generally looked upon as stupid and insensible, but take them altogether, they have a great deal of feeling and natural understanding. I have conversed with several of them, who lamented the horrors of their situation in terms sufficiently expressive, and spoke of the cruelty of their tyrants as it deserved to be spoken of. They love the emperor with a degree of enthusiasm, and are confident that he will break their chains. In the Hussite war they gave proofs of courage which would obscure all the famed deeds of the Helvetic one, if they were but half as well described or sung as these have been: without any advantage of situation, and on even ground, they have with a handful of men defeated bands far better armed, and far better disciplined than themselves. Their onset was irresistible, and they would have inevitably secured that freedom to themselves, for which they fought so well, if towards the end of the war, dissensions, mostly fostered by the spirit of party and priestcraft that had arisen amongst themselves, had not ruined them, and if they had not been betrayed by treaties with their enemies.

I could not without the greatest commiseration look upon the handsome young farmers, who bare-footed, with torn linen, and stockings uncommonly tattered, and yet clean clothes, without neck-cloths, often without hats, were carrying corn or wood for their masters to market. Their good appearance and cheerfulness seemed to me but ill-suited to their hard fortune. One of them who carried my great coat (which I had brought

out with me for fear of rain, but could not wear on account of the heat) in his waggon during a three days journey I took on foot, to the pretty village of Brandeis, was the drollest and best young man in the world. He had nothing on but breeches and stockings, but shewed us with a kind of vanity, a sort of linen frock which was in the waggon, and which had almost as many holes as threads in it. His shirt was almost in pieces, and yet he assured me in his broken German, that he cared neither for wind nor weather: this led me into several philosophical reflections upon the luxury of my useless great coat. My young man was all life and spirits, and his good-looking legs and sun-burned face had almost reconciled me to the slavery I had been so angry with. Thought I to myself, luxury is generally complained of, and temperance and hardiness recommended to the farmer; but is it possible to preserve them from effeminacy and luxury, if you once open the door of riches to them? On the other hand, the master is obliged to furnish his slave with necessities if he does not choose to ruin himself; and though the latter has no property, he is sure of never being exposed to beg his bread. No fire, no weather, no war can put him in a different situation at the end of the year from what he was when he began it. In this manner I was going on; but the thoughts that their hardiness and frugality is no consequence of their own good will, and that they are no more in their master's estimation than the cattle which plough the fields, broke off at once the contract I was making with slavery. In the mean time my fellow-traveller accompanied my reflections with dancing and singing, and in the intervals talked to his two fine horses, whose wonderfully sleek skins were a strong contrast to his own miserable clothing. He seemed to have a great love for the horses, stroked and patted them; and yet they were not his, but belonged to a prelate whose slave he was. For my part, brother, I have no good idea of a prelate who covers his horses backs with fine trappings, and suffers his slaves to go naked. But is a man to expect consistency in a prelate? My good young peasant gave me a proof of strength which astonished me. Not far from the village where I intended to pass the night, his spirited horses attempted to run away, but the waggon fell into a ditch, lost a wheel, and the horses were forced to stand still. The young man lightened the hinder axle-tree, where the wheel had failed, and thought the horses would do the rest, but the ditch was too deep; I would have assisted him, but he protested highly against it, and setting himself with all his force to the waggon, in a moment it was right again, without the horses having done any thing. He refused the small present I would have made him, and as we went along, laughed at me whenever I talked of his miserable circumstances, and seemed to think it strange I should imagine that he wanted any thing: possibly his master makes up to him in good eating and drinking, what he suffers him to want in clothes.

I saw every where amongst the peasants excellent horses. The emperor and all the German nobility have furnished their studs with Moldavian, Tartarian, and Transylvanian stone horses, which have much improved the breed. For a guilder any man may get his mare covered in the imperial or noble studs.

Bohemia furnishes a great part of the horses for the dragons, and the race becomes every day better and more numerous.

LETTER XL.

Prague.

THIS is a very large town, it is above three miles long, and above two broad, but the population by no means answers to the size of the place. In several parts you seem as if you were in a village. Near the bridge, which stands at the upper part of the

city, the number of people is very great, but the further you go on from hence the more desolate you find every place. The number of inhabitants is about seventy thousand, and there is about five thousand houses. The bridge over the Moldau is seven hundred feet long; it is built of large free-stone, and ornamented on both sides with stone statues as large as life, but not more than three of these are worth seeing. There are very few good buildings in this place, and almost every thing looks very dirty. The royal castle is a very large irregular building, but it is built on a hill which commands a very fine prospect over the whole city and country round. Not far from hence stands the archbishop's house (a pretty modern building) and the old cathedral, in which there are some pieces of architecture which deserve to be seen; they are the work of a celebrated German or Bohemian artist, whose name I have forgotten.

Though the city is in general ill built, the situation of it is extremely fine. There is a better prospect from the bridge than I have seen in larger cities. The mass of houses rise like an amphitheatre to a considerable height. To the right the hill rises above them as far as the imperial palace, majestically situated on the top. To the left it is covered as far as the middle with beautiful gardens and pleasure houses, which have a fine effect, and form a most extensive and most magnificent amphitheatre.

From these gardens you command a very fine prospect over the opposite part of the city. In the midst of the broad, but dry Moldau, there are two small islands, called Great and Little Venice, in which the inhabitants make parties of pleasure.

The people of this place enjoy sensual pleasures more than those of Vienna, because they know better how to connect mental enjoyments with them. The society I have lived in here, has proved so good as to detain me a full fortnight longer than I intended. Free-masonry flourishes extremely here, and some persons, amongst whom count R—— is one, doat on it to enthusiasm. The free-masons in general do so much good, particularly by their establishments for education, that it is impossible the emperor should be displeased with them. It is time to have done with illiberal prejudices against an institution which has done no harm to mankind, and has done it a great deal of good.

The Bohemians, who addict themselves to the pursuit of the arts and sciences, generally speaking, are very successful in them. They do not want genius, and have uncommon industry. Their fondness for music is astonishing. I have heard several orchestras here which equalled those of Paris in brilliancy of execution, and surpassed them in accuracy and exactness of harmony. Bohemian players on the horn and harp are to be met with throughout all Germany. As they always bring home great sums of money, you seldom see a musician of this kind who has not travelled. This passion for music is generally attributed to the number of monasteries and cathedrals; but the cathedrals of Austria and Bavaria, which are no less numerous, have no such effect upon the public taste of those countries. I should therefore suppose, that the true reason is to be sought for in the customs and natural genius of the people. Most of the students of the place are musicians, and begin very early in life to give serenades and concerts in the squares and public places of the city.

The numerous garrison which is constantly kept here, contributes not a little to the liveliness of this place; there are about nine thousand men constantly quartered here. The six regiments of grenadiers are the finest body of infantry I have ever seen. The officers are excellent companions, and quite free from those prejudices from which other bodies of men are not yet totally exempt.

The Jews make a considerable part of the inhabitants of this place; there are at least nine or ten thousand of them; they have artists and mechanics of their own religion, who live in the part of the town appropriated to them, which is called the Jews city.

It is pleasant enough to walk through this part of the town, and see their taylors and shoemakers at work in the middle of the street. Their workmen are distinguished from the Christian ones by their clownishness and dirt. I am astonished as often as I think, how little of what was peculiar to themselves in their customs, these people have lost by their mixture with other nations: wherever I have seen them, excepting only in Holland, they are infinitely behind the Christians in every elegant refinement of life; and that they are otherwise in Holland, may be owing to most of those who are settled there having come chiefly from Portugal, where the persecutions they are exposed to compel them to assimilate as much to Christians as possible. At Prague they are distinguished from the Christians by a yellow handkerchief, which they are obliged to wear round their arms. Their industry is wonderful; in almost every inn there is a Jew, who does the business of a house servant; he fills my snuff-box, garters my stockings, does all the little matters I have occasion for; brushes my shoes, dusts my clothes, and is in every respect a valet de place, excepting that he will take no money. He looks upon himself as extremely well paid for his trouble, by the gift of some old clothes, which he disposes of again. These fellows serve many strangers on the same terms, and content themselves with what they can make by trucking and bartering among their own people, without asking any thing farther. If you give them something to drink besides they are very thankful, but I have never seen them troublesome with their demands.

What political inconsistency! The government of this place allows the Jews, the professed enemies of Christianity, freedom of thought, and liberty to serve God in their own way, and refuses it to the Protestants, who think as we do in all the fundamental points of religion; whilst a hostile, deceitful, treacherous people, are maintained in the full possession of their rights and privileges; contracts have been repeatedly (I do not speak only of what happened in former times, but under the last government) violated with the Hussites. It is a remarkable phenomenon, dear brother, in the history of the human understanding, that while philosophers all contend, that the more alike men are, the more they love each other, in religion it should be quite different. Here the more likeness the more hatred. A member of one of the great houses of this place, would ten times rather treat with a Jew than with a Lutheran, though the Lutheran's religion and his own are so nearly alike. In Holland the reformed are much more favourable to the Catholics than to the Lutherans, and the States General had much rather allow the former freedom of religion than the latter. The Anabaptists and Calvinists hate each other much more than either of them do the Catholics, and so, in short, you will find it universally, the nearer the religious sects approach, the more they hate one another.

This city has neither an extensive commerce nor any manufactory of consequence. There has long been a project of rendering the Moldau navigable, but hitherto this court has not been disposed to be at any expence for the public, and the thing cannot be done without a great expence. With us it would have been done long ago, as you know we have improvements, in comparison of which, this is only child's play. Were it once done, Prague would certainly gain a good deal by it; but still a great deal more would be required, before commerce could flourish here; there are, indeed, many impediments to get over; amongst the principal one may be reckoned the pride of the nobility, who with the greatest part of the national means in their hands are ashamed of trade; the bad education of the children, which, within these ten or fifteen years, has been entirely monkish, and by that means fitted them more for strenuous idleness than industry; the intolerance of the regency. Such obstacles as these all Joseph's efforts

will hardly be sufficient entirely to remove. There is a foundation of English, or rather, for so they are called, of Irish nuns here. Throughout all Germany you meet with English, Scotch, and German nuns. It is generally imagined, that most of these seminaries have been founded since the reformation took place in England. But this is a mistake, and most of them have probably subsisted ever since the time of Charlemagne, when Britain abounded in monks, and furnished Germany with them. An English and Scotch nunnery sounds as well in Germany as an English and Scotch free-mason's lodge.

This place abounds, like Vienna, in literati, who are content to ornament their rooms with the busts, medals, prints, and profiles of learned men, but neither think nor write themselves; and only have their titles from their belonging to no other association of men whatever: for it is here as at Vienna, whoever has neither military nor civil employment, nor is professor, nor priest, nor merchant, nor handicraftsman, nor manufacturer, nor servant, nor day-labourer, nor (what in the catalogue passes for a man) executioner, is a man of letters, whether he studies or not. In the general acceptation, a man of letters is only a negative quality. I am indeed acquainted with a few positive literati here, but their number, in comparison of the negatives is very inconsiderable. The women of this place are handsome, and you may make love with more ease than at Vienna.

By way of postscript to this letter, which must still wait ten days before it is finished, I will give you a short account of an expedition we took: We went post as far as Königgratz; there we took horse, and made a six days tour round by Jaromers, Neustadt, Nachod, Braunau, &c. to the borders of Silesia, with the double purpose of seeing the encampments and fields of battle of the war that took place two years ago, and of visiting some rich abbots houses, in which my companions had friends. We had an officer with us who commanded in both expeditions, and succeeded very well. The marches and encampments did not interest me much, because little was done in the war; but I was extremely pleased with our excursions into the cloisters.

My principal object was to see the manners and way of life of Bohemian ecclesiastics upon the spot, and I was richly rewarded. They are the most determined epicureans, particularly the regular bodies of them, which I have yet met with any where. They want nothing in the convents, for the accomplishment of all earthly gratifications, but a cloister of nuns, made up of the maidens who do business at Prague by night; sub Jove pluvio, in triviis et quadrivitiis. Whatever bad effect it might have in some respect, the farmers and manufacturers who live in the neighbourhood of the cloisters, and consider their wives as their property, would undoubtedly be pleased with the arrangement. As things now are, the monks and half monks, to whom the villages round belong, appear like so many hunters of women; nor do I believe them very different from those old lords of manors, who used to claim the first night's possession of every woman married to one of their vassals; it is at least certain, that in every village we went through, we found one or two of them, who took no pains to conceal their belonging to the fraternity of jolly boys; to know them thoroughly one ought to be acquainted with their superiors, who would, no doubt, furnish good anecdotes for the scandalous chronicle: in some convents we met with singing women.

The lives of the regular bodies, and even of the Benedictines, whose abbot, or prelate, has not yet given up the pleasures of the world, is a perpetual carousal, which is only interrupted by country walks, and certain stated belchings in church. They look upon chaunting the service as a kind of expectoration good for the lungs. One of them, for whom I expressed some concern, on seeing him eat immense quantities of eggs, butter, &c.

on a fasting day, said in a jesting way, "pshaw, pshaw, it will all come up again at afternoon service."

My companions being desirous to shew me a very wonderful natural curiosity, we took our way by Trautenau for this purpose. About three miles from this city the finest prospect offered itself to our eyes that can be conceived.

Near a village, whose name I have forgotten, we beheld on a sudden a great number of high towers, several of which in many places were in regular rows, but most of them lay dispersed in an extraordinary manner. We walked near a mile as if in a kind of labyrinth, encompassed with these towers on each side, and there was no end of my astonishment. Most of these are from sixty to seventy feet high, and some from one hundred to one hundred and fifty. When you view them obliquely their summits form a kind of waving line, like the back of a hill, which rises and sinks again. They are all formed of a hard quarry stone, and would give Mr. Buffon much food for thought. Nature has for the most part shaped them into more or less regular squares; they are commonly taken for the skeletons of a hill, through which the water has made its way. This opinion seems to merit attention; but if it be a true one, and other hills have also their skeletons, it will shake hard upon Buffon's system; for he probably considers the masses, of which these towers consist, as large masses of stone body, chalk and earth, which are jumbled together and have different degrees of hardness.

From hence we took our way back to Freiheit, and began to ascend the Reisinger-berge; this hill, though very famous in Bohemia, is really no more than a mole hill, in comparison of the Savoyard and Swiss Alps, or even of the Tyrol, Salzburg, and Stirian hills. We passed over the famous Snowhead, which is the highest part of these mountains. Some persons say, that it is twenty thousand feet high; but I think I may venture to assert, that it is not above eight thousand, for Mount St. Gothard in Switzerland, is by no means one of the highest of the Alps, and its elevation above the Mediterranean is not above thirteen thousand feet, and yet there is eternal ice and snow on its summit; whereas here we saw no vestige of ice or snow, though the summer is not yet much advanced. We were not above three hours in getting to the top on foot. The prospect of the great mountains at our feet, and into Bohemia and Silesia, was striking and magnificent. On the top of the hill there is a plain with a chapel on it, which is visited by pious people once a year.

The persons who live at any distance from these hills, look upon it as a kind of wonder when any person goes to the top of them, and yet I ascended several in other parts of Germany, whose distance from the bottom is much greater, and whose elevation above the Mediterranean is as great again.

Though I was disappointed in my expectations of a great mountain, by finding only a hill of a moderate size, I was extremely pleased with my journey upon the whole. We saw the most romantic landscapes it is possible to imagine, particularly several vallies below the Schmeekopp, which were wonderfully picturesque. Most of the hills are covered with wood, and now and then a ragged peak starts up above them. The well watered plains are extremely well cultivated; and, upon the whole, the inhabitants seem to be in better circumstances than those of the level plains of Bohemia.

LETTER XLI.

DEAR BROTHER,

Dresden.

I HAVE at once got into an entirely new world. As soon as you have passed the confines of Bohemia, which are distinguished by a painted brick post ten feet high, with

the arms of the country on it; you meet with an entirely different agriculture, a different people, and a different language. I now, for the first time, heard the common people speak intelligible German, for throughout Bavaria, Suabia, and Austria, they speak a jargon, which a man, who has learned the language of a language-master, has the utmost difficulty to understand. I am now, for the first time, really in Germany; only a very small part of the country I have hitherto travelled through, to wit, the small strip of land which is betwixt the Danube and the Rhine in Suabia, made part of that old Germany, the inhabitants of which were so formidable to the Romans; the remainder is all conquered country, which at that time was called Vindelica, Rhætia, and Pannonia. In the times of Pepin and Charlemagne the limits of Germany were confined even on this side; for as the Sclavonians had before driven the Burgundians, Suabians, and other German nations over the Elbe, these now possessed themselves of their habitations, and drove the inhabitants of Germany, who lived in the districts of Mentz and Rheims, into Gaul. The nations were like a row of balls, the most eastern of which was struck and drove the others forward in succession. In modern times, that is, ever since Luther, Saxony has been looked on as one of the first provinces of Germany, in every sense of the word. In regard to literature particularly, the Saxons were to the rest of the Germans, what the Florentines were some centuries ago to the other people of ———. But I am going too fast, you shall know all this in due time; I must first tell you how I got here, and what was the face of the country through which I came.

The part of Bohemia, through which our way from Prague hither lay, seems infinitely richer and more beautiful than that betwixt Prague and Austria. The agriculture, like the country itself, is more varied, the people live closer together and seem to be happier. Hills, woods, plains, and vales, form an agreeable contrast with each other, and the vine, which is not to be seen elsewhere on this side Prague, here covers the sides of the hills.

We saw the well wooded peak of the Ertzgiberge, the highest summit of which parts Saxony and Bohemia. These hills are but of a very moderate height, and if they make a respectable appearance here, it is only because, from hence to the mouth of the Elbe and the eastern sea, there is no other remarkable hill to be seen. The people who come up here from the low lands, and for the first time of their lives see a hill which deserves the name, make a great shout, and think that they have seen the pedestal of heaven; just so in Bohemia, the Riesengeberge is indebted for its reputation to the small notion which those who have brought it into repute have of hills; and thus it may formerly have been with Atlas, Olympus, Othos, Parnassus, and the other hills so noted in history.

Moore, who travelled this road before me, asserts that there is a great difference in point of natural fertility, betwixt the borders of Saxony and the borders of Bohemia, to the advantage of the former; I have found the direct contrary. It is certain, that the soil of Bohemia is by nature much richer than any part of Saxony, which it supplies with great part of its provisions. The circle of Leutmerisser in particular, through which the common road passes, is uncommonly productive, nor is there any part of Saxony that can bear a comparison with it; but then, on the other hand the improved state of agriculture is visible, as soon as you set your feet on Saxon ground. One need only look round to be convinced that the constitution of Saxony is infinitely more favourable to industry and agriculture than that of Bohemia. The Saxon farmer shews more understanding and reflection in the management of his land than the Bohemian one does, and every thing about him attests that he is no slave.

Dresden has a proud appearance, and offers on all sides a magnificent object; it is beyond all comparison the finest city which I have yet seen in Germany. The houses are built in a much better taste than those of Vienna, and the eye is quite dazzled with the long and magnificent appearance of the bridge over the Elbe. This river, which at some distance from the city is confined within very narrow bounds, widens by degrees as you approach, and is here a powerful stream, which bespeaks all the magnificence of the town and state. The hills opposite to the Lawsmiss have a most magnificent appearance, and the mountains on both sides the river, partly naked and partly planted with vineyards, form an uncommonly beautiful perspective.

The manners and way of living of these people is as opposite to what I have hitherto seen in Germany, as the beauty of these streets, and the taste displayed in the buildings, is different from Suabia, Bavaria, Austria, and Bohemia. Finer shapes, more animated countenances, easier and less constrained motions, general courtesy, universal cleanliness, are the features which immediately offer themselves to observation, and must strike every one who comes into this country by the same route which I pursued.

It was in an unfortunate moment that the fortifications about this town were first built, but it is more unfortunate still, that instead of pulling them entirely down, those who are concerned are at this instant employed in repairing them. Commanded as this city is, from every side, and with no reasonable expectations, in its present situation, of ever being able to preserve a neutrality on the breaking out of any war betwixt the king of Prussia and the Austrians, it is more than any other in danger of being plundered and laid waste. Indeed one would have imagined that the devastations of the years 1758 and 1760, were still fresh enough in every man's memory to have been a warning to the regency.

The town does not seem to be peopled in proportion to the quantity of ground it stands on. The number of inhabitants is generally estimated at fifty thousand, which many think too high. The fact is, that it has lost a third of its inhabitants since the breaking out of the last Silesian war, and the death of king Augustus.

The strangers who knew this city before this era, cannot say enough of the difference there now is, a difference not so much arising from the misfortunes of war, as from the oeconomy of the court, which has followed close on the dissipation of other times. In the late elector's time, this court was perhaps the most brilliant in Europe. The court band of music, the opera, and the dancers alone, were supposed to cost the elector annually 300,000 Saxon guilders, or upwards of 780,000 French livres. His table, his stables, and his hunters, were all in the same style of expence. Strangers used to flow hither from all countries, to be partakers in this magnificence, and Dresden was the rendezvous of the north for taste and refined living. The numerous followers of the court, and the great number of strangers, occasioned a very extensive circulation of money, and made all the arts alive. In the midst of this profusion debts were contracted, but they gave the elector little concern, as is evident from the following anecdote. One night at the opera, having a fire-work, which was part of the decoration of a temple, and used to cost several hundred thalers, he called for his chamberlain, and desired to know the reason of the omission; the chamberlain told him, that the heathen gods and goddesses must for this night be contented with a fire of twenty or thirty guilders, as there was no money left in the treasury to pay for any thing more splendid. The elector was compelled to acquiesce for the moment, as it was too late for him to do otherwise, but he gave strict orders, that in the next representation, and in every succeeding one, the whole sum of thalers should be burnt out. A court which is mounted on this ton is seldom possessed of a firm and sound government.

The ministers were dazzled, like the elector, with outside shew and splendour; they wanted to give themselves airs of consequence, and embarked in enterprises to which the impoverished state of the country was not equal; the result was, that they got into a confusion which prevented them from knowing either their own strength, or that of the other powers they had to contend with. Universal dissipation produced falsehood, treachery, and every other vice; the most important posts were sold or given to flattery and intrigue; one was made a privy-counsellor, because he danced well, and another a general, because he could blow the flute. I need not add, that women are ultimately the grand movers of the politics of such a court.

It is generally agreed on, that the elector himself loved shew and expence more than he did women; but the scandalous chronicle of his court goes beyond all that has ever been heard of the kind, and his love of shew encouraged, at least, if it did not produce, the dissoluteness of his subjects. Amidst the intoxication of prosperity, the minister adopted a plan of operations it was impossible he should see the end of, and which left him at the discretion of the more powerful monarch, with whom he entered into a league against a dangerous neighbour. This was probably one of the most impolitic treaties which history has to recount. The Saxons entered into an alliance with Russia, which was so formidable to Poland; they attached themselves to Austria, which without them was stronger than the king of Prussia; and they endeavoured to weaken the power of this last named monarch, who was able to maintain the balance of power in Germany. In all these three things they broke through the first maxim of a nation, which is in the midst of others, never to take the part of the strongest, but always that of the weakest. A minister whose preparations were so weak, could not be expected to do much when he came to action. The king of Prussia fell upon the country as Charles XII, had fallen upon Poland, under Augustus the Second. The army, which was seventeen thousand men strong, and which was expected to do such mighty things, surrendered without striking a stroke, and no wonder, for some of the colonels were eunuchs.

This total rout by degrees waked the genius of Saxony from his slumbers; all the gentry of the country, excepting only the creatures of the minister, were in a flame; and now there was a chorus of creditors and complainants of all orders, who made a horrid dissonance with the Bacchanalian revels of former days.

All the world gave the country over for lost, nor could it have been saved but for the free course given to the extraordinary spirit of frugality and industry, which marks the people; and for a minister, who was as active and patriotic as the other had been dissolute and cowardly. In one of my future letters I will give you an exact account of the present state of the country.

One of the wonders which makes the most noise here, is the celebrated green vault, or private treasury in the electoral palace. You would naturally imagine they would be shy of shewing it to strangers, till what was carried to Holland and sold there during the last Silesian war was replaced; no such thing, they made no difficulties whatever, but the man who shewed it me, and two Russian noblemen in my company, assured me, that things were exactly in statu quo. The collection, after all, is still admirable; I am however of opinion, that the treasures of Vienna and Munich are but little inferior; and I am much deceived, if those of some cathedrals I have seen are not fully equal. The picture gallery, the collection of antiques, the prints, and the collection of natural history, are much greater objects of curiosity, in my eyes, than the green vault. The picture gallery is the most remarkable in Europe; besides the pictures in water colours, it contains twelve hundred pieces of the best masters. Amongst them is the famous

birth of Christ, commonly called the Nativity, by Corregio, which passes for the best work of that master; it cost above half a million of livres. Some persons, however, prefer the St. George, likewise by Corregio; this ought properly to be called the Virgin, for she is the principal figure in the piece, and the St. George, with other saints, is standing about her. The gallery contains several pieces by Carrachi, amongst which is his best work; it is a St. Roch giving alms; this picture is known in Italy by the name of Opera dell' Elemosina.

LETTER XLII.

Dresden.

THE longer I stay here, my dearest brother, the more I think myself at home; the manners, way of living, amusements, conversation, and in short, all that belongs to the inhabitants of this place, make me think myself at Paris. I only wish that our ladies, both married and unmarried, were as fresh and as handsome as the ladies of this place are. I recollect that an Austrian lady made the following answer to a gentleman who was extolling the Saxon women in her company. "Give us only," said she, "as handsome and strong-built men, as the Saxons are, and we will take care of the rest."

Eating and drinking do not go forwards here quite so briskly as in the southern parts of Germany; in this respect, indeed, the difference betwixt the Saxons and Germans I have hitherto lived with is total. The broth here is so thin, the cookery sometimes so cold, and always so slender, that I do not believe an inhabitant of Vienna could make shift to live a month with a family in the middling ranks of life here. Indeed I have had occasion to observe, even in the very best houses, an attention to the cellar and kitchen, which in Austria and Bavaria would pass for poverty.

This rigid oeconomy extends to every article of housekeeping. The only appearance of expence is in the article of dress; this, indeed, is carried farther here than it is in the south of Germany. Every person in the middling rank of life, I might add in the lower ones too, men as well as women, dress according to the fashion; whereas at Vienna, Munich, and other places I have visited, there is a kind of national dress, which persons even of a better kind conform to.

I lodge at a watchmaker's, whose two daughters have their regular toilettes, and have their hair dressed every day; on the other hand, they content themselves with a slice of bread and butter, or bread and cheese for supper, which I often partake of with them. There are hardly three noblemen's houses here which have stables with twenty horses in them; and porters, valets de chambre, &c. which make so great an object at Vienna, are very scarce. It is true, they call a footman here valet de chambre, as they do at Paris, but the wages of a Vienna valet de chambre are twice as high as those of a Dresden one, though living at Vienna is as cheap again. Here the women are not ashamed to go into their kitchens, tell out their candles and bits of candles, and calculate how long they will burn. In a word, excepting only the article of dress, every thing is in a style of the strictest oeconomy.

There are very few rich people here; hardly any of the nobility have more than 30,000 florins a year, and most of the best houses have only from 15 to 20,000. As to the common people, they are always crying out on the want of money, the dearness of provisions, and the little that is to be got here by industry; and, if they compare things as they are now, with what they were under the late elector, they have certainly some reason for their complaints. but I know no city in Germany, where there is such a general appearance of ease and plenty as there is here; extreme poverty is as rare as

overgrown fortunes. The money in circulation is for the most part thrown into motion by the industry of the people, a thing which, more than any thing else, distinguishes this place from Vienna and Munich, which subsist only by the expences of the court, and the vices of the nobility.

This single town contains more manufacturers and useful artists than all Bavaria. They make a large quantity of serges, woollen, and silk cloths, &c. with which they carry on a great trade all through Germany. As the money is got by such hard labour it is not matter of wonder that they should be sparing of it.

The circumstances which the country was in during the reign of the late elector, are by no means the most favourable to political prosperity. They remind one of a body which takes too much food and too little exercise, for the fluids to be equally distributed through the several canals. Some of the inhabitants of the place with whom I have talked on the subject, have been forced to allow, that even during the time in which the court was in its greatest splendour, there was much more poverty amongst the lower classes than there is at present. The prodigality of the higher orders had tainted their inferiors, and the ease with which it was to be got lessened the value of money in the eyes of the possessors. The greatest part of it went to foreigners, without first circulating, as it should have done, amongst the natives. Flatterers, pimps, whores, projectors, dancers, singers, and the like, divided the booty of the court amongst them, and carried the greatest part of it out of the country; only those who were near the court partook in any considerable degree of the spoils; the remainder was lost in so many narrow channels, that the greatest part of the people never got a share of it. Indeed Munich is a visible instance in our own day how little even the most unlimited passion of a court for pleasure and expence can contribute to the well-being and true happiness of the inhabitants of a great city. I am ready, however, to allow that there is less mirth here than there was formerly; at least it is certain that the natural good humour and jovialty, which nature has given to these people, is often clouded over with a certain melancholy; this may be occasioned, as at Paris, by the recollection of their great debts, but I rather think it is owing to their uncommon and extraordinary œconomy, and the restraint this throws on the freedom of their minds. It is, however, certainly in consequence of this provident cast, that there is more true pleasure to be met with here than in any town of Germany I have hitherto visited. The people of Vienna and Munich know no other delight than to fill their paunches, divert themselves with the nonsense of a harlequin, and play at nine pins. All the gardens of the inns of Vienna are laid out in bowling-greens; I reckoned twenty of them in one garden. Here they know how to mix intellectual pleasures with sensual ones. They, like us, are in the habit of making small country parties, and have a taste for the various beauties of nature; even amongst the middling ranks there is a taste for the fine arts, and reading is almost universal; nor is the latter, as in the southern parts of Germany, confined within the narrow bounds of plays and romances, but it extends to good books of history, morality, and other important subjects. The society of nobles have a reader with a title and appointments. I think Mr. Pilati's observation of the difference there is betwixt the Protestant and Catholic parts of Germany in this respect a very just one: he says, that the young men of twenty in the former know more than many old literati by profession do in the latter. The difference struck me so much that I felt as if I had just come out of Spain into France. All that they are endeavouring with so much clatter to introduce into the schools of Vienna, seems to have been done here some generations ago. A few days since, I visited a school in a village at a little distance from the town, and found more order and real instruction in it than in the best schools at Vienna. The most ordinary people here display in every thing a nice

acquaintance with whatever regards good manners, and the conduct of social life. In the southern parts of the country, excepting only a small strip of Suabia, a common citizen is a stranger in his own circle, and thinks of nothing in the course of the week but how to guttle on the Sunday.

The contrast betwixt the women of the two countries is equally striking. Those of the southern parts of Germany have nothing but their beauty, but these have beauty and animation too. They appear, however, soon to fade, and I saw few women past thirty, in whom the marks of old age were not apparent. Possibly this may be owing in some degree to their extreme vivacity; but I should rather think it owing to the slender nourishment, joined to their great labour and the weight of their domestic cares. The Bavarian women perhaps excel those of Dresden in complexion, but the latter are much better made, and their countenances are much more interesting.

The theatres here are in the same state as all other public amusements which require expence. The inhabitants are too economical to pay for an entertainment, which the court formerly gave them for nothing, and the loss of which is easily made up for by the charms of their private societies. A few years ago, there was one of the best company of comedians in all Germany here; the manager, Mr. Seiler, had no settled abode, but used to visit the fair of Liepsick, and the other neighbouring cities, where he got together all the actors he could pick up from different parts of the world, so that his company was at one time seventy-seven persons strong. He gave uncommon salaries for the master of a strolling company to give. Madam Helmet, one of the best singers in Germany, and now first singer to the court of Mentz, had 2000 thalers, near 200*l.* a year from him; at that time, however, he could easily afford to do these things, as no people in Germany were more attached to theatrical amusements than the people of Liepsick and those of Dresden. But these times are gone by, and their being so convinces me that the people of this place have sounder heads than those of Vienna, Munich, and other places. Mr. Seiler has latterly met with so little encouragement here, that after having contracted debt upon debt, and tried his fortune on the Rhine, in the end he is become a bankrupt. At present the court has a national theatre on the same plan with that of Vienna; that is, it pays the expences and takes the receipts; these last, however, are not very considerable, owing to the frugality of the people, so that it is probable this theatre will cease as the court theatre did at the beginning of the Bavarian war. Private theatres, especially those where children are the actors, flourish much more here than the national one does.

One of the most honourable and beautiful characteristics which distinguishes the Saxons from the inhabitants of the south of Germany, is their warm attachment for their native country, and the interest they take in every thing that relates to it; even far down in the middling ranks, every body here seems acquainted with the circumstances of both court and country: it was here that I heard, for the first time, the words my country pronounced with energy, and a kind of intelligent and honourable pride. The ladies of the place use their gallantry as ours do, as a spur to make the men do their duty; they bear a share in conversation on war, treaties, and every business of state; they love their officers and soldiers, and speak with pleasure of the actions in which they have distinguished themselves. The younger officers recommend themselves to them by assuming a military air, which in my opinion is unbecoming. Whenever they happen to mention the ministers who betrayed their country, it is always with contempt and abhorrence. Though the king of Prussia has not done much to gain their affections, they speak with wonder of his great actions, and think with all mankind, that it would have been better for all parties if they had attached themselves to him, instead of uniting with the Austri-

ans, towards whom, the person of the emperor alone excepted, every body shews great animosity, notwithstanding all that the country has suffered from the king of Prussia. In a word, brother, it is as if I was at home, where a participation in the common interests of the country animates every society, and is the life and soul of all company.

The Saxon troops have a very martial appearance ; they are not, however, so well disciplined as the Austrian or Prussian ones, nor yet so stiff ; they are like the English, who are only soldiers when they are in action, and do not trouble themselves much about the business at other times. They are as brave as any thing you can call brave, but at this time of day bravery alone is not sufficient. They tell you a story of them which would appear ridiculous, perhaps, in the eyes of a Prussian or Austrian commander, but which must recommend them to a friend of human nature, and a citizen of the world. The officers of a Saxon regiment of dragoons, which made part of the army that fought against prince Henry of Prussia in Bohemia, took an oath, *sub dio*, that they would put to death any of their number who should run away in action.

Of late there is a project set on foot to put the army, which consists of twenty-five thousand men, upon the same footing as the Prussian one, but hitherto the reform has not gone very deep ; and, for my own part I believe it to be as mad a scheme as it would be to attempt making an English army adopt Prussian tactics.

LETTER XLIII.

Dresden.

IT is owing to the constitution of the country, that the Saxons are possessed of a quite different spirit from that of the Bavarians or Austrians. The power of the elector is more limited than that of any other sovereign in Germany. The Saxon states have had spirit enough to maintain themselves in the possession of their rights, which most of the states belonging to the other countries have lost more through their own negligence and cowardice than by the despotism of the princes.

The court cannot make the smallest law without the consent of the states ; these are made up of three orders, the abbots of Merseburg, Meisen, and Naunburg, as representatives of the clergy ; the count Schwartzburg, Stollburg, and Schomburg, as the representatives of the higher nobility, and the universities of Leipsick, and Wirtemberg, compose the first ; the second consists of the gentry belonging to the seven circles of the empire ; the number of these is uncertain. A member of this body, besides eight quarters of nobility on the side of both father and mother, must possess a freehold estate ; but if, which is often the case, he has even three or four of them, he has only a single vote ; so that the exercise of the office is more attached to the person than the property. The representatives of the towns, in number one hundred and two, form the third order. The general assemblies meet only every six years, but there is a deputation, which commonly assembles every two years, to consider of all the extraordinary cases that come before it. These states do not only direct the levy of taxes, and attend to the payment of debts, but they watch over *fidei commissa*, the maintenance of the established religion, the non-alienation of the electoral lands, and various other matters. The constitution of the Laws is the same in every respect.

The payment of the debts is what gives them the most employment ; the whole of these amount to 26,000,000 of thalers, of Saxon money, or something more than 2,600,000 pounds. They pay every year about 1,200,000 guilders, or 154,100 pounds.

If you add to this, three and a half per cent. of interest, it will be a long time before the debt is paid.

But notwithstanding this, the state treasury is in very good credit, as it is secure from all manœuvres of the court, and distinguished by the most exact rectitude: when the country was almost exhausted by the distresses of the last war, and its credit much impaired, the bills fell considerably; this gave rise to the speculations of some foreign and domestic merchants, who bought up the bills at a low price. Three years, however, were not elapsed before it became visible that the country had sufficient resources, and the paper rose to its original value. Most of the speculators gained from 50 to 60 per cent. The wonderful alteration struck the merchants of Hamburg, Lubeck, Bremen, and Holland, and the states proceeded to pay the remainder of the debts, which by this manœuvre have been already in a great degree discharged by their subjects.

The revenue of the country amounts to about 6,200,000 thalers, or about 620,000 pounds. The taxes are all appropriated by the states to specific purposes; nor can the elector make any alteration in the destination of them without their consent. He has his own privy purse, to the supply of which particular revenues are also appropriated. The states have agreed, that the army shall be increased in the same proportion as the debts lessen. Each prince of the blood has a revenue of 50,000 thalers, or about 5000*l*. which, as the present family is exceeding numerous, is a considerable article. The imperial court considered it as a great act of condescension, to suffer a Saxon prince of this court to marry the archduchess Christina; but the Saxons tell you, that, great as the honour was, it would have been still greater if the magnificence of the imperial court had enabled the duke of Saxe Teschen to do without this allowance.

There are few countries in Germany, which, in proportion to the size of it, produce as good a revenue as Saxony. It is true that the taxes are very high, but there are few other countries who have strength enough to bear such; and as the exchequer is in the hands of true patriots, and effectually secured against any attempts of the court, what is paid is sure to be employed to the best advantage of the country.

There is nothing more striking in the political world, than the difference betwixt Bavaria and Saxony. Both countries are of an equal size, and enjoy an equal number of natural advantages. Both have also a constitution, only the Bavarians have of late years sold, and even paid away their privileges; both are parts of a circle, and yet the first contains eighteen large, and two hundred and six small towns; whereas the latter has only forty in all, amongst which there is not one, Munich only excepted, that is to be compared, I do not say in riches, but in population, with the smallest of the eighteen Saxon towns; and there are at least fifty out of the two hundred and six small Saxon towns, which are richer than the richest of the Bavarian ones. Saxony has one million nine hundred thousand; Bavaria, one million one hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants. The first raises above eleven million of guilders; the latter not more than six millions. Saxony has a much greater debt, but the debt is in the way to be paid, and the country was able to raise twenty thousand men to join the Prussian army in rescuing Bavaria from the house of Austria; whilst Bavaria could only raise six thousand men, in order to have the appearance of entering a protestation against the Austrian pretensions, and its debts remain unpaid.

It is not uncommon in Germany to ascribe these political differences to the difference of religion; but why then does not the same religion produce the same effects in France, Tuscany, Genoa, Venice, the Imperial Netherlands, and Austria, all which are flourishing countries, notwithstanding that the inhabitants are not Protestants? Shall we say, that the catholicism of Bavaria is of a better kind for the purposes of theology, and of a worse for those of politics; or that the fault lies chiefly in the government, which has

the same influence on religion as the air has on the barometer? Religious enthusiasm is not of itself hurtful to industry and social virtues, as is evident by the example of the English independants and Quakers, who are active and alert enough, notwithstanding their religious creed. No religion necessarily requires a corruption of manners, wantonness, or laziness. When, therefore, a religion proves hurtful to the state, it arises from the mode of education, the manners, the government, and other local circumstances. Under a weak administration religion breaks out into abuse, from the interested views of its ministers, and the folly and stupidity of the people; but every other human institution does the same; so that I believe every religion, like every government, to be good, when it is well administered. A wise and efficient regency is omnipotent; and the example of Peter the great has shewn clearly enough, that a wise man may make every religion contribute to render a state flourishing. With respect to opinions, the religion of the multitude is nearly alike in all places. It almost universally consists in a blind submission to the authority of the priest. I have seen enough to convince me of this, in some Protestant countries, which pass for the most enlightened in religious matters. The great difference betwixt mankind, that by which some are made good and others bad citizens, depends upon the morals, which are a consequence of the education, and with which religious opinions have little to do. I shall make you understand my sentiments on this subject better in my next letter, in which I mean to say something of the reformation, but, in the mean time, I cannot help communicating some remarks I have made upon the subject in my journey through Germany, as they serve to illustrate my position.

In almost all the Catholic states I have travelled through, I have met with Italians who were most of them in affluence. All these came beggars into Germany, and have made their fortunes in a foreign country, without any domestic assistance whatsoever. It is not more than thirty or forty years ago, that almost all the rich merchants in the middling and lesser states of Germany were Italians. I think this sufficient to prove, that the industry and frugality by which these people have made their fortunes are no attributes of a particular mode of religion, but arise from circumstances in the local character, which mostly takes its colour from education. The frugal, deep-thinking and industrious Walshes have capital sufficient in their character, easily to gain an advantage in the management of worldly matters, over the lazy, dissipated, and stupid German Roman Catholics, though the religion of both be the same. I have spoken with some of these Italian parvenus, who complained bitterly, that it was much more difficult to make a fortune in Germany now than it had formerly been. No doubt but that this is owing to a much better mode of education having been introduced by the government amongst the people with whom they have to do. Is there any man who is not astonished at the different degrees of industry which prevail among the Italians themselves? and yet they have all the same religion. There is, perhaps, less superstition at Rome, than in any part of the Roman Catholic world; but are the Romans therefore more industrious than the Genoese, who are the grossest bigots known? Mind, I am not speaking of the discipline of the church, nor of the riches of the cloisters, nor yet of Annates, Palliums, dispensations, and other popish tributes, nor even of the usurpation of the spiritual power and the like, all of which may be very hurtful to a state, but do not belong to the essence of religion. The dispute is only on the influence which speculative opinions have on the industry of men. In my opinion they have none. It is an observation every day made, that a man may be the most superstitious of mortals in some things, and yet the sharpest and most clear-sighted of all mankind in others; nor are the Saxons, according to my way of thinking, indebted to their more philosophical religion, for the greater degree of happiness they enjoy as citizens.

The religion of the court of this place is not well calculated to lessen the prejudices of the Saxon public against Catholicism. It is formed upon the Jesuit plan, and I have already told you, that the German Jesuits are all of monks the greatest. I was told an anecdote, which is certainly true, and does the court ecclesiastics no great honour. At the beginning of the present reign, the Jesuits were afraid that the sovereign might change the national religion; for, besides that he was at that time very young, he loved his people, and had overtures made him on the subject. The electress too, a very penetrating, and in every respect, amiable woman, was much dissatisfied with the Jesuits. To prevent innovations, a sceptre appeared to the duke, and after having threatened him with all the torments of hell-fire, if he ventured to make the purposed change, forbade him to say any thing of what had happened, and promised to return again at a certain period. The duke was very expensive for some time, at length his wife, who loved him as he deserved, wrung the secret from him, and told it to the prince of — who waited for the spirit on the appointed night, and put him to death with his Spanish toledo. The following day he came into company and said, "I have saved myself the payment of 500 thalers, by accidentally killing my confessor."

Notwithstanding his little tinge of German Jesuitism, the elector is a most amiable prince; he knows none of the vices, which princes who are obliged to trust the greatest part of their business to their ministers, generally addict themselves to. He has also understanding and activity sufficient to form a right judgment of important affairs, which he often carries through entirely, either by his personal exertions, or the orders he gives for the purpose. All his ministers likewise are men who deserve his confidence. They are well informed and industrious patriots, who, both with regard to foreign affairs and internal administration, follow a uniform system, a thing amongst many others, by which they distinguish themselves from the Bavarian ministers. Their entering into the Bavarian war, as they did some years ago, was a certain proof of their not being wanting in spirit, though their hands were somewhat cramped by the internal circumstances of the country. When once the money, which now goes towards discharging the interest and principal of the debts, can be applied to the augmentation of the army, and the court is enabled to make use of its whole strength, no doubt the minister will take other ground than that he now stands upon. The country will then be in a state to keep up an army of forty or fifty thousand men, without any uncommon exertion, and of course will be always able to maintain a neutrality. As things are now circumstanced, it must necessarily take a side, and attach itself either to Prussia or Austria. As long as the peace lasts, it gives equal hopes to both sides; but in case of a breach, it will, in my opinion, incline rather to the Prussian than the Austrian party, not merely on account of the attempts which the Austrians are daily making to enslave the empire, and the weight which their enormous power gives to those attempts, but because the Saxons, on their part, have many private reasons for being dissatisfied with the conduct of the Imperial court towards them.

The difference there is betwixt the religion of the prince and that of the people, has no effect on the national business. It is not therefore probable that this court will ever sacrifice its religion to its temporal interests, as Augustus did when he ascended the throne of Poland, if they should come into competition.

In Germany religion is naturally various. The house of Wirtemberg has every sect of Christendom in it. The family of prince Frederic Eugene is Lutheran; the Great duchess has embraced the Greek religion, and the bride of the hereditary prince of Tuscany will, no doubt, turn Catholic. As there are likewise princesses of Brandenburg in this house, it has also a mixture of Calvinism in it. Certainly this is the surest way

to spread toleration throughout Europe, and the friends of mankind are much indebted to the princes of Germany for it. With respect to the Saxons, if the reigning monarch were a prince of less sense than he is, they are perfectly safe from the fear of all religious persecutions. The states have so limited his power in this respect, as to oblige him to have only two Catholic privy counsellors. This is the reason why, notwithstanding the animosity of the Saxons against the Catholics, which is much greater than most people imagine, they have a great affection for their prince.

LETTER XLIV.

Leipsick.

SAXONY is a princely country, brother. I have taken a considerable tour, and have come hither through the Ertzgeberg, over Freyberg, Marienberg, Annaberg, and then over Swickau, and Altenburg. One would imagine that the number of hills which border Bohemia must be entirely undermined. There are pits upon pits dug in them, and all the valleys resound with hammers. A more industrious people than the Saxons I have not yet seen. The whole chain of mountains is filled with men, who force their nourishment from the naked woods. They not only work stones and minerals in every possible way you can conceive, but every town has besides some manufacture of linen, lace, ribbands, cotton, handkerchiefs, flannel, or something else, which takes up an innumerable quantity of hands. When fashion, or the caprice of their neighbours, ruin one manufactory, they have always ten others to set up to make up for the loss.

Freyberg contains upwards of twenty-five thousand, and Swickau upwards of fifteen thousand inhabitants. The other cities I saw are like the market towns, uncommonly populous and animated. The same industry and easy circumstances are met with on the other side of the Elbe, throughout the Lausitz, whither I made an excursion from Dresden. Baussen, Gorlitz, and Zittaw, are stately cities, full of trade and business. What a contrast with the southern parts of Germany! an immense tract, throughout the whole of which I did not see a single place, excepting the residence of the court, and some imperial cities, which could bear a comparison with any of these Saxon towns. You would imagine that the Ertzgeberg and forest of Thuringia, had been set by Providence as the limits betwixt light and darkness, industry and laziness, freedom and slavery, riches and poverty. Possibly you cannot find in the whole world so strong a contrast betwixt two people, who are so near each other, as there is between the Saxons and Bohemians; and yet nature has done infinitely more for the last than she has for the first.

The mines are an inexhaustible source of riches to this country; they almost all belong to companies of private men. The works are divided into certain portions, part of which the company works free of costs for the court, which receives what is got from them. The revenue of the court, from all the mines of the country, is estimated at 400,000 guilders, which is hardly a fifth part of what they produce. A still much more considerable sum is gained by manufacturing the produce, as very little of it is exported raw. The Saxons prepare steel and copper, and have a great number of gold and silver manufactories. The Saxon arms are known all over the world.

The Saxons have distinguished themselves by their skill in mining all over Europe. It is spoken of even by Spanish and Neapolitan writers. Their strong bodies, their indefatigable industry, and their good understanding, particularly qualify them for this kind of employment, which is undoubtedly the most complicated and laborious of all human occupations, and which requires the greatest variety of knowledge to bring to

perfection. In my opinion, mining is one of the strongest characteristics which distinguishes the Germans, particularly the Saxons, from our countrymen. The Frenchman, though much quicker, is easily conquered by difficulties, is dispirited when the first heat does not get the better of the opposition, is fond of changing the object of his pursuit, is desirous of getting a great deal at once; in a word, is only adapted to enterprises, which require a quick comprehensive genius and readiness; he is consequently much less fit for this work, than the cold, pensive, inquisitive, penetrating, persevering, and indefatigable German, who can employ himself in the most unthankful offices without being weary. No doubt, there are many valuable mines in the French dominions. Every body knows the projects of Colbert and his successors. They have been taken up again in our own time by M. Turgot; but the genius of the nation has hitherto counteracted every effort of the kind that has been made.

The inhabitants of the smallest villages in the Saxon mountains, though often shut out from the world by hills on each side, are more polished, better bred, and more alive, than those of the largest towns in the south of Germany.

Reading is almost universal in this country; sociability and hospitality accompany and encourage the hardest labour; even the societies of the inferior ranks are distinguished by the liberality, knowledge of the world, wit, and jollity to be met with in them. The women are throughout remarkable for the beauty of their shapes, the animation of their looks, and their infinite spirit, ease, and vivacity, and yet they are quite good natured, and admirable housewives. The men have of late, indeed, begun to complain a little, that for some time past, their beautiful partners have been too much addicted to vanity; but their clamours would soon cease, if the women were to unite and make a law, that every eighth or tenth man should take an Austrian or Bavarian wife for the edification of the whole community. For my own part, the article of dress alone excepted, I have not been able to discover a single excrescence which wants pruning; whereas the Bavarian and Austrian women, besides being full as fond of dress, break out a little both at bed and board, and do not concern themselves at all with domestic matters.

The uncommonly large population of this country exposes the inhabitants to no small distress in times of scarcity. The land does not produce a tenth part of the grain necessary for the consumption of the people, who are obliged to supply their wants from Bohemia. The universal scarcity which prevailed in Europe nine or ten years ago, was no where more severely felt than here, many thousands died, a part through absolute want, and a part from being obliged to eat bad provisions. Great numbers were indebted for their lives to the free-mason's lodges at Dresden, Leipsick, Fridburg, and other places, the members of which did an incredible deal for the relief of the necessities of their brethren. If any country stands in need of granaries, it is this. As soon as the smallest scarcity is perceived, the exportation from the neighbouring countries is stopped up, and the Saxon plains are too much peopled easily to bear the loss of their harvest. Government has made some regulations; but in the present state of the finances of the country, it is impossible that it should do as much as would be requisite to secure the inhabitants of the mountains against every event.

Conspicuous as the industry and commerce of this people is, the situation of the farmer amongst them is in all respects pitiable. The fault, however, is in the constitution of the country, not in the inhabitants, who are a frank, diligent, and intelligent people. No doubt, but the distress is owing to the quantity of land in the hands of great farmers. Along the foot of the Erzgebirg mountain, and in the plain, you can hardly count the steeples, which you see on all sides of you. The number of villages in the electoral territory, taking in the Lausitz is near six thousand. I saw several farmers

who plough with one ox and one cow. Many of them have only one cow, which furnishes them with milk, and likewise serves them to plough with. It is true, indeed, that the fine and light soil of this part of the world requires, in general, no uncommon exertion; but it is impossible that a farmer should do well with so little cattle. You easily discover in their housekeeping, that they are obliged to cut very close. Great part of them live upon potatoes, cabbages, and turnips, and you very seldom see meat at their tables. Their attachment to coffee is extremely great; it is the only nourishment of some of them; and the profuse use they make of it, is a strong contrast with their penuriousness in other respects. It is made in large pots, but is so weak as to have hardly the colour of the berry. Most likely they consider it as the cheapest and most strengthening of liquors. Their cleanliness in the midst of their poverty is remarkable. The Suabian farmers are lords, in comparison with those of Saxony, and on the whole, the happiest I have yet seen.

Throughout the whole level country, even the common people speak good German, and so, excepting in the mountains, do all the farmers. There is no province in France of a like extent, in which the people throughout speak French as well as the Saxons do German. Some miles from Leipsick I visited a gentleman, for whom I had letters from Dresden, on his estate. I thought myself come to a school of pastoral felicity, and I shall ever look upon the few days I spent with him as some of the happiest of my life. The estates of these gentlemen are small, as the Saxon nobility in general are as poor as they are numerous; but it is to this very poverty that they owe their happiness. They understand how to unite the beautiful with the useful, taste with simplicity, economy with various amusements, and nature with art in such a manner, as to make that business which other men look upon as a punishment, a source of endless uninterrupted felicity. They relish pleasure as epicureans do rich wines, which they keep a long while on the palate, in order to relish the flavour. They understand how to mix the amusements and the occupations of the country so as to make them follow each other in agreeable succession so well, that it is worth while to come amongst them to read Virgil's Georgics, which I am persuaded cannot be read any where else with so much pleasure. Fishing is a very weighty and most important business with them, and the art has been no where brought to so great a perfection as it is here. They have separate ponds in which the fish are kept, according to their ages and with different intentions. These ponds are in fallow lands, which are at certain times broke up and ploughed again; so that the estate reaps a double advantage by this method. The management of woods and of sheep is also brought to a great degree of perfection here. They not only cut down their trees with great judgment, but study the art of planting, and what trees are fit for each soil with singular felicity. I am persuaded that we Frenchmen might learn much of the Saxons on this head, as well as on every other part of rural economy.

The Saxon wool is famous for being the best in Europe, after the Spanish and English: sometimes it is used raw, sometimes it is manufactured into clothes, stockings, and gloves, but most generally it is coloured and exported as a manufacture. The inimitable blue wools, which have their name from the country, are brought into France.

To these various practical and theoretical improvements of their land, the nobility add small walks, visits to their friends in town and country, collections of nature and art, attention to improve the schools of their districts, poetry, and music. The rich, amongst whom I reckon those who have from 8 to 10,000 guilders a year (most of them have only from 3 to 6, and several from 800 to 2000 guilders) come to town for

only one or two months in the year. Their daughters are the loveliest and cleverest creatures in the world. Their natural sensibility generally contracts a romantic turn in the stillness of the country, which appears in their conversation and actions, and leads them to take unguarded steps in the first years of life. Unequal marriages and elopements are extremely frequent here. In Suabia, Bavaria, and Austria, I met with Saxon girls of good family, who in the last Silesian war had enlisted with officers of the imperial and circular armies, and who all made excellent wives and mothers. At Prague I met with a Saxon girl of a good family, who partly from a considerable share of sensibility, as she confessed herself with tears in her eyes, and partly from want of knowledge of the world, was a common woman. Lessing's comedy, *Minna von Barnheim*, which doubtless you have read, exhibits some of the romantic part of this character, but in general it is more a picture of the town ladies. The country girls have not in general the coquetry and liveliness of *Minna*: they are more pensive and more tender, but all of them are as handsome as angels. The kind of reading in fashion in Germany, which is mostly novels and romances, is no proper nourishment for the ladies of Saxony, who are by nature of such inflammable constitutions.

Leipsick is a very small, but very handsome, and in some places, splendid city. The number of its inhabitants, reckoning the suburbs, amounts to near thirty thousand; it was greater formerly. The way of living is totally different from any I have hitherto seen in the other Saxon towns. Much more luxury and profusion reigns here than at Dresden. They play in all companies, and often extremely high. The ladies of this place are far behind hand with their countrywomen of the other towns in domestic economy, but agree with them in the articles of dress and coquetry. Amongst the literati who swarm here, there are too many boasters, *petit maitres*, *ignoramus*ses, and fools of all sorts; so that I sometimes thought myself got to Vienna again, where the *friseurs* and literati meet in the same companies, and are almost equally numerous. But the infinite number of men of merit, whose conduct and manners do honour to their native country, soon made me find out the difference. You meet here with men in all sciences, who, from the extent as well as the depth of their learning, but particularly from their knowledge of the world, are entirely different from the Vienna literati, for whom all is dead that is out of their own line.

I paid a visit to Mr. Weisse, whose excellent work called the *Children's Friend*, Mr. Berquin proposes partly to imitate, and partly to translate. The author is not only one of the best German poets, but an extraordinary learned man, in the most extensive signification of the word. He is elegance itself; and the income of a good place, which he possesses, enables him to give up his latter days to philosophical repose, benevolence, and the muses. He is one of the determined enemies of those literary Calmucks, I mentioned to you in my letter on the theatre of Munich, who like the troops of *Gen-giskan*, some years since made an inroad upon *Parnassus*, drove out the muses, destroyed the flower-beds of the old German poets, mangled the language, hacked the words with Tartar fury, and would probably in their rage have begotten children like the fathers, if their discipline had answered the violence of their attack, and such enlightened men as Mr. Weisse had not discomfited them after the ardour of their first onset. They have been compelled to retreat behind hedges, whence they sometimes fire upon passengers, but they will not be able to keep even this post long.

LETTER XLV.

Leipsick.

THE commerce and manufactures of this place are very considerable. It is the centre of the book trade of all Germany, and of the wool trade of all Saxony, and there are few cities in Germany which surpass it in commerce and exchange. Here they make velvets, woven silks, shags, linens, cloths, rattines, carpets, and a great variety of other things. This city supplies the greatest part of Saxony with drugs and apothecaries wares, and has a considerable share of the trade which is carried on betwixt the south of Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and the North. There are several wealthy houses here.

The fair, which ended a week before my arrival, according to the report of both natives and foreign merchants, is no more than a shadow of what it was thirty years ago. The most remarkable part of the present trade, is the exchange of books, carried on by the German booksellers. This they sometimes execute by commission, but for the most part they appear in their own high persons. Their number is about three hundred, and the value of the books they exchange amounts to 500,000 rix-dollars, or about 1,751,000 livres.

Leipsick maintains itself in the possession of this trade, not so much from its having once taken that channel, as from the great quantity of books published in the city itself, and its central situation in the midst of a country where all the arts flourish, and reading and writing are most universal. These are the causes, which in my opinion, have rendered all the attempts to deprive the city of this trade abortive.

The Austrian booksellers have hitherto been the only ones who have not appeared regularly and in great numbers at this mart of literature. The restraint they lay under from the licence office, and the restraints they are laid under by the heavy wit of their writers, have disabled them from bringing any paper to market, good enough to procure an exchange from the other dealers.

Leipsick is indebted for this trade, which in my opinion, is the only one of the kind in all Europe, entirely to the merit of the inhabitants of this place, and other parts of Saxony. Saxony was the cradle of literature and taste in Germany. The Swiss had indeed contributed something by theories towards raising the edifice of the arts, but theories form neither arts nor taste, nor has the German part of Switzerland produced a single literary production of merit, Gesner's works excepted. Those of Haller are written in a barbarous dialect, and few of them are uniformly good. His beauties are single ones; they are separate pictures, woven into philosophical declamations. Nature gives the first direction to art, which afterwards is not to be improved by any theories, but by the sight of, and sensibility for, the most striking and most beautiful objects of nature. These it is, which form the original artist. And it is the reading, feeling, and comparing the works of these original artists, that form the imitator. Nor is taste itself a consequence of any theoretical knowledge; for it is well known, that those who have formed the soundest theories, have been very unsuccessful, both in the works produced by themselves, and the judgment they have passed upon those of other people. Theories depend upon conclusions of the understanding, which will always be false when the premises are so; but the quickness occasioned by the perception and comparison of various beautiful objects, which constitutes what we call taste, will never go astray. It is true, indeed, that this perception and quickness, cannot exist without some natural dispositions towards them.

The first seeds of literature and taste were sown in Germany, by persons who were no literati by profession. Since the first æra of French taste, one or the other of the princes of Germany have always been in alliance with France. The negotiations this has given rise to, and the abode of the French armies in Germany in consequence, have rendered the knowledge of French absolutely necessary to the German nobility. Hence all persons of consequence, ministers, counsellors, officers, and secretaries, polished themselves by their intercourse with our countrymen; so that the taste of several German courts was formed before there was a man of letters of consequence in the country. Prince Eugene, who had been brought up at the court of France, laboured with all his might to introduce the arts into Germany, but he found the Jesuits in his way at the court of Vienna, for a long time the only one in which the French language could not gain admittance. In all the others there were persons of as much taste and good sense as prince Eugene, true children of the muses, who were more or less successful in their attempts to extend good taste. Much in the same manner the arts came to us from Italy, and much in the same manner they came to Italy from Greece.

After this intercourse with France, the only thing wanting to awaken the Germans to emulation, was a language, and in this respect Saxony had a great advantage over the other German provinces. Ever since the time of Luther this country has had a manner of writing, which distinguished it from the barbarous manner of the schools that obtained over the rest of Germany. The service of the church contributed much in these parts to the improvement of the language. The schools for young people were very good here long before the brilliant æra of German literature. The language of some of the Saxon writers who lived betwixt the years 1715, and 1725, a time in which the rest of Germany was still plunged in the barbarous style of the Cancellaria, is remarkable for its grammatical clearness and accuracy. The natural wit of the Saxons, together with their peculiar, and, as it were, innate love for all that is beautiful, soon made it their peculiar pride and pleasure, as it had been that of the Athenians, to distinguish themselves by speaking their language correctly. The lowest handy-craftsman here is more solicitous to speak purely and well, and is much more fortunate in his attempts for the purpose, than several learned men by profession, with whom I have had the honour to converse in the southern parts of the country. The very women are sensible of grammatical errors, and take notice of them. Besides the language, the Saxons had other advantages, which contributed to spread literature sooner and wider amongst them than amongst the other Germans. Philosophy and the higher parts of the belles lettres, had had the dust rubbed from them in this country long before the bright æra of German literature. Leibnitz, Puffendorf, Thomasius, Wolf, and others, had broken up the extensive field of literature, had ploughed it with taste and simplicity, and had brought about a happy revolution in the minds of the people in all the north of Germany, particularly in Saxony. The celebrated journal, known by the name of *Acta Eruditorum*, was begun in 1682, and was soon equal to the journals of the most enlightened nations, such as the *Journal des Scavans*, the *English Transactions*, and the *Giornale di Letterati*, whilst in the other states of Germany, Berlin not excepted, knowledge was confined to a few persons about the court. The beginning of the present century also produced several editions of the ancient classics, which contributed more to the nurture of genius and true taste, than the best rules and theories.

No doubt the magnificence and peculiar taste of the Saxon Augustus, for the fine arts, contributed much to the early polishing of taste, and the awakening of genius in this country. All the arts have a sisterly affection for each other; they do not like to be long out of the same company. Painting, sculpture, architecture, music, and all the

arts connected with them, flourished more at the court of Augustus the Third, than they did in any court of Europe. From this school came Mengs, the greatest painter of our days; Hasse, who was able to do justice to the poetry of a Metastasio; Gluck, Hiller, and many others. The art of speech would naturally join itself to so brilliant a society. The opera made the Saxons acquainted with the Italian poets, just as the language of the court had brought them acquainted with the French ones. At length they made some trials in their own language, and these trials were successful. Gellert, Rabbener, and many others evidently formed themselves upon English models. Ever since this period, Saxony has furnished a much larger proportion of ingenious men than the other parts of Germany. In polite literature their numbers surpass those of all the rest of Germany put together. Their translators, reviewers, magazine-writers, almanack and catalogue-makers are innumerable. There are many persons in this country as well acquainted with the ancient and modern literature of England, France, and Italy, as the natives of these countries themselves. There is always a warehouse of Spanish and Portuguese literature here, and (which is almost peculiar to Germany) they forage to the uttermost bounds of the north, and explore the Danish, Swedish, Russian, and Polish Parnassus. As far as regards the mechanical part of the business, i. e. the working up of materials and making them fit for sale, Saxony will for a long time continue superior to the other Germans; but their genius seems worn out. Nothing can be more frivolous than the present pursuits of the men of genius here; but other parts of Germany are in the prime of youth, and others again seem to be just awake.

LETTER XLV.

Leipsick.

I MADE an excursion from hence to Weimar and Gotha. This part of the country is the best cultivated, and, in a political view, the most beautiful I have hitherto seen in Germany. Every two or three miles you come to a town, which contains a flourishing manufacture. The villages are innumerable, and the agriculture much more varied than on the other side of Dresden. Nature appears to have been more favourable to these parts.

Weimar is a small but handsome town. The court is remarkably affable, and the reigning duke carries popularity as well as philosophy almost too far. He puts himself on a level with all kinds of persons, and takes parts in private plays acted by his servants and the literati of his court.

To a natural fondness for the sentimental and adventurous, he unites an excellent improved taste for every thing that belongs to the arts. This court is made up entirely of wits, and even his general superintendant (a title you are not acquainted with, but which answers to a little pope) is a bel esprit, who has published a rhapsodical extract from the first book of Moses, under the title of the Origin of Mankind.

The wonderful character of this duke, the romantic part of it only excepted, for which he has to thank Mr. Gothe, is the work of the celebrated Wieland. Wieland is, without a doubt, the first of all the German writers. No writer, Lessing alone excepted, unites so much study with so much genius as he does. He has not only formed and fixed his taste on a thorough acquaintance with the beauties of the ancient writers, but possesses also all the literature of France, Italy, and England. His works are not like the rhapsodies of the modern German poetasters, but have the true smack of the art. Even the most fugitive trifles that fall from his playful and humorous pen, bespeak a workman who is thorough master of his business, and has a manner of his own. It

has been said of the great painters, that you may know them by the dash of their pencils. Wieland is one of the few German writers who will go down to posterity as a classical writer, when the works of several of his cotemporaries shall serve for dung of the fields. I. is generally objected to him, that he repeats the same things too often, and copies himself; but, for my part, I have not observed much repetition. It is true, that like other great writers, he has favourite ideas, which he is ever turning and polishing, in order to set them before the reader in every point of view. I have no fault to find with him, but that he hides his study too little, exposes his immense reading too much, and often forgets that his reader may not be so enamoured with his erudition as he is himself. I likewise think, that before he was privy-counsellor and tutor to the prince, he wrote much more naturally than he does now. In order that no part of literature should be unexplored by him, but more with a view of filling his purse, whilst his reputation was at the height, he undertook a literary journal, which he carried on with uncommon spirit and activity. None of the German writers know so well how to please the public as Wieland does. He is most fruitful in the invention of trifles, in order to make his journal, which is as good as any other we have, sell. Sometimes, like a Dutch tobacco merchant, he will tye a picture to his wares; sometimes he promises in one number a solution of a riddle in a past one, and in the next, instead of a solution of the riddle, gives you a rattle or a trumpet for children to play with. At times he publishes one number in a year, at others he will write the whole volume in a month. Riddles, newspapers, anecdotes, literary quarrels, every thing in a word, is crammed in that may give his wares the appearance of novelty, or amuse the people. You will say these are little book-selling tricks; and so they are, but they are more venial in German than in other authors, as without them it would be difficult for the greatest industry and the greatest talents to live by the profession.

Wieland is, what few poets are, a good domestic man. He lives, in fact, more for his family than for the public. He would furnish a new proof, if there wanted any, of the justice of a favourite aphorism with me, to wit, that the generative powers of man are in the same proportion as his understanding, and that it is good for him when he uses the one with as much order and œconomy as the other. Wieland has seven or eight fine children. No poet, he observes himself, ever had so many; and he has written the lives of the poets solely to assure himself of the truth of it. A good pension from the court, added to what he gets by his journal, enables him to see the approach of old age with tranquillity, and gives him the prospect of enjoying the comforts of life to the end.

There are some extraordinary traits in Wieland's character, which seem a contrast to his writings: I will give you some of them. In all he has written, he discovers great knowledge of the world, and you would take him for a courtier out of place, yet no man knows less of mankind. In polite circles, and in the conduct of a common affair of life, he is entirely at a loss. Even since the publication of the *Agathon*, which you know contains every evolution and revolution of the female mind, and, like his other works, bespeaks one of the politest writers that ever existed; there have been several instances of his not knowing how to converse with a woman. His knowledge of the gay world consists entirely in theory, and he must be some time in company before he can make use of it. This is not altogether owing to continual study and want of intercourse with the polite world, but is in some degree constitutional in him. He is by nature very lively, but not very resolute, diffident of himself, and easy of belief towards others; in fine, he is one of those men to whom nature has refused every grain of that self-sufficiency, a small dose of which is of so much use in the affairs of this life. His knowledge of the

world is of the kind which Montaigne observed in a man who resembled him; it is in a place which he knows where to find it in, and not in himself. The consciousness of this has sometimes made him a coward. To this cause are to be attributed the frequent variations in his way of thinking; his flattery towards those who can serve him; his submission towards those who resist him; his toleration of those whose opinions are opposite to his own; his love of party, and all the manœuvres to which he has had recourse, whenever he has thought his reputation in danger, for which reputation he would have had nothing to fear if he had but known his own strength. Before Gothe was known, Wieland stood as he ought always to have done, at the top of the German Parnassus. It so happened, that, contrary to his intention, he inserted a very severe critique of Gothe's play of Goss of Berlichingen, in his review. Gothe revenged himself by a farce, written in his strongest manner. Wieland, ever ready to sound a retreat when danger is nigh, endeavoured to make his peace in a second number, in which he was more civil. This, however, would hardly have saved him, but fortunately for him, his pupil, the reigning duke, soon after went to Francfort, where he met with Gothe, whom he brought with him to Weimar, and of course introduced him to his old tutor. Would you believe it? the cajoled Wieland not only took something of Gothe's manner himself, but wrote apologies for some followers of his school, whom in his former writings he had satyriized. Upon the whole, he is one of the greatest sophists of our days, who has always a satire, or an apology ready, and produces that which brings him the most pence.

Gothe is the duke's favourite; they are always together; he possesses a full portion of that which nature has refused to Wieland. Formerly his self-sufficiency led him into absurdities, but since that time things have much changed. He is not only a genius, but possesses a great deal of learning. Many circumstances, for which he is not entirely answerable, were the occasion of his giving the signal to a horde of Calmucks, who some years since made an inroad on the German Parnassus, and laid it waste. In all things he is upon principle, for the natural, the extraordinary, the adventurous, the striking, and the bold, and has as great an aversion to the common forms of government, as to the common rules of writing. His philosophy borders nearly upon that of Rousseau. I shall not stop here to compare them, but only observe, that they have both come two hundred years too late, and that the man who gives a flat contradiction to the opinions of all his cotemporaries, abounds either in self-opinion or self-love. When Gothe first began to feel his genius, he used to go about with a short hat, his hair about his ears, an out of the way dress; and, in short, affected a singularity in every thing. His looks, his gait, his speech, the whole of him bespoke an extraordinary man. Even in his writings, he rather affected graceful negligence than any laboured delicacy. He shortened all his periods in the most extraordinary manner, used common and vulgar words, and, what was of no great service to the poor German language, already so bare of them, cut off half of the vowels, and introduced pauses and strokes of admiration at every three words. His writings contain a great deal of that happy seizure of circumstance which bespeaks a knowledge of mankind, united to a strong and fertile imagination, and a great vein of humour. You see in every thing he writes, that he is able to lay a plan and connect the parts; this distinguishes him from the whole herd of his imitators. Whenever it happens, as it sometimes does, that one part of his work does not hang well with the other, you easily discover that the defect has not arisen from ignorance, but because the author did not choose to give himself the trouble to weave them together. Gothe has read a great deal, is well acquainted with the best ancient and modern writers, paints, understands music, is a good companion and wit, and counsellor of legation to the duke.

Doubtless, he is by this time convinced of the injury he has done German literature. Several young persons, encouraged to it by his example, imagined that nothing more was requisite to become a genius, than to be bold, impudent, and careless about language and style, and to entertain contempt for every thing that is called order or regularity. They conceived that all study and attention to rule was needless, that every thing that was natural must of course be good, that a true genius required no education, but had all powers of creation in himself, and that when he became a genius, he was entitled to produce himself in his shirt, or in *puris naturalibus*, on the market-place, or in the courts of princes; that real judgment only made asses of men, and that unrestrained imagination raised them to the rank of divinities; that dreams and enthusiastic raptures in his own greatness, and the littleness of the world about him, was the proper state of man; that all the occupations by which his daily bread was to be earned, degraded him, and that in the best of all possible worlds he must go on all fours and eat acorns. You must not think that I am exaggerating when I say this, for I can give you proofs of every thing I have asserted. Gothe has this in common with Rousseau; that his philosophy (whether true or false) overturns foundations, and gratifies dissoluteness and idleness; for which reason it has been adopted by those who have no foundation, but seek only to be happy through an implicit belief in their master. As Gothe was his own master, his excrescences were the more easily forgiven, because of their consistency with his principles and with each other, of a certain moderation he observed in them, and of his affability towards all he conversed with; but his school is the most ridiculous that can be conceived. I question whether many of these gentlemen are themselves able to give explanations of the obscure parts of their writings. The flattered nonsense was cried up by the critics of the sect, as the quintessence of human wit and human imagination. As to the understanding, as I told you above, they declared open war against that. To have a true idea of the taste of the public, one should read the productions of these gentlemen, which still pass for wonders with many. This herd of Calmucks gained recruits from every order of men, even out of the physical tribe, who formed systems of the same kind in their profession. They taught, that to roll in snow, to bathe in cold water, to leap like bucks about the steepest precipices, to eat nothing warm, but to live entirely on the fruits of the earth, not to give the least interruption to the operations of nature, but even to drop the excrement standing, at any time and in any place, was all that could be done by man, either for the preservation or recovery of his health.

A well-known physician, who has laid many a patient in the dust, by the pursuit of this new mode of cure, grounded all the reasonings made use of in his publications, on the example of the first wit in Germany. If he ordered a man a cold bath, and the patient expressed a fear, lest it might possibly occasion a fever, or a flux, the doctor would assure him, that he need not be afraid of anything of the sort, for that the great Gothe went into the cold bath in frost and snow. The young painters, too, would for some time paint nothing but storms, lightning, tops of Appennines, or Alps; elephants, lions, and tygers; Didos on the funeral pile; Lucretias and Medeas murdering their children. All the softer landscapes, all the common animals, and all the ordinary situations of common life, they entirely excluded from their canvass. Truth and keeping are nothing with them; such littlenesses, they say, a genius leaves to your day-labourers for bread, and men of ordinary understandings. Art, according to their definition, consists in what is out of the common course. The more unnaturally a Dido flings her arms about, the more portentously she rolls her savage eyes, and the greater disorder there appears in her hair and drapery, the more beautiful she is. In this manner artists of all denomina-

tions misconceive Gothe's theory. His flatterers imitate him in the most ridiculous manner, in his dress, in his walk, and even in his speech.

Gothé is in some measure responsible for these excrescences. Having discovered sparks of genius in some of his friends, such as Lentz, Clinger, and others, by proper encouragements he soon blew the sparks into a real flame. Thus far was fit and right; but as soon as he had commenced protector, there came people to him by no means worthy of his protection. Instead of sending these back to their brethren of the forest, the bubble of reputation led him on, and he was not ashamed, at least for a time, to set himself at the head of a little academy; very different in this respect from Rousseau, who neither commended nor protected any one. At present Gothe does not seem to disturb himself much about literary pursuits. He is at work on the life of the celebrated Bernard of Weimar, and enjoys life as much as it is to be enjoyed amidst a number of little troubles. Formerly he used to be regularly besieged with recommendations, and his disciples came from all parts to visit him, in hopes to be brought forward by his patronage. He is now grown wiser, and has made it a rule to himself, to be very nice in his recommendations. In this he is extremely in the right, as he would be accountable for the follies of all these people. Neither indeed does it follow as a natural consequence, that because the minister, counsellor, and private secretary of a prince is a wit, his cooks, and butlers, valets de chambre, huntsmen, and stable-boys, should also be wits.

Gotha is a large town, richer and handsomer than Weimar; the number of its inhabitants are estimated at nine or ten thousand. There are some valuable manufactures in this place. The court is as popular as that of Weimar, and equally fond of strangers. Some years ago the duke had one of the best German theatres in Germany; but he sent away the whole company on finding that the expence was too large, that he had sufficiently amused himself, and that the players began to assume airs of importance.

The subjects of both these dukes are very happy. Their finances too are well regulated, and their administration of justice and police is perfect. Neither of them have the weakness of other German princes, who spend a great part of their incomes in the maintenance of a regiment or two of soldiers, and make the younger part of their subjects do the military exercise, instead of keeping them at the plough. The income of each of them is about 600,000 Rhenish guilders, or 54,000 French louis-d'ors. Their country is extremely productive, and extraordinarily well inhabited.

Erfurt is a very large, old, black, and ill-inhabited town; it is near a mile in circumference, and contains nearly eighteen thousand men. The most remarkable thing here is the act of gardening, which is carried to a greater perfection than in any other part of Germany I have yet had occasion to see. The people of the country carry on a considerable trade in fruits and plants. The inhabitants, like those of the rest of Saxony, are a handsome, sensible, and friendly people. The present vice-governor for the elector of Mentz, to whom the city, with seventy villages which lie round it, belongs, is a baron of D'Alberg, canon of Mentz, whom you may probably have seen at Paris. He was in the house of the marquis of ———, and, if I mistake not, well known to the duke of Choiseul. He is a man of uncommon knowledge of the world, a man of letters in the full extent of the word, and a patriot. He understands all the business of the higher world, and all that concerns government; possesses the *Belles Lettres* and the arts, and is on terms of friendship with the most sensible men of Germany. He expects in time to be the first ecclesiastical prince of the German empire, and, after the pope, the richest and most distinguished prelate in the catholic world. Erfurt and its territory yields annually about 180,000 Rhenish guilders. It contains about thirty-six thousand men.

LETTER XLVI.

Leipsick.

I CANNOT quit Saxony without saying something to you of the reformation which began here.

The origin of the reformation, as a question of learning, is difficult to determine. Between the times of John Huss and Luther, Paul of Tübingen, Brulfer, Basil of Gröningen, and several English, openly professed the doctrines of the reformed. The Waldenses had spread their opinions very considerably long before the time of Huss; and between their time and the æra of Huss, Wickliff, John of Paris, Arnaud de Villeneuve, William of St. Amour, Evrard, bishop of Saltzburg, and many others taught the tenets of Luther and Calvin. It is certain, that from the time of the Albigeois to the breaking out of the reformation, there was no period in which some remarkable man did not openly maintain the principles of the Protestant religion. Between the time of Peter de Waldo (who did most towards the spreading of the sect of the Albigeois, though they do not take their name from him, as some have thought) and Berenger, who came not a hundred years after him, we meet with Pierre de Bruis, Henry de Thoulouse, and Arnaud Hot, who, with many others, made the doctrines held by the Protestants of the present day, known all over France. The celebrated bishop Honore of Autun, who wrote upon free will, and in the spirit of the Protestants of this day, called the pope the great beast, and the Whore of Babylon, lived in 1115, and Berenger died in 1091; so that there is hardly a generation between them.

In the same century with Berenger, Arnolph, bishop of Orleans, distinguished himself at the council of Rheims, by a speech much more violent than any thing which Luther has written against the power of the pope. In a word, the opinions of protestants are to be met with in the earliest ages of the church; and an attentive reader of ecclesiastical history will soon see, that they are connected with the opinions of the first sectaries, and that it was not the bare novelty of his opinions which made Luther remarkable.

Whoever is a little acquainted with the history of the century before Luther, and can form to himself a precise idea of the state of Saxony, previous to the breaking out of the reformation, will easily see, that other things besides theology, contributed to this event, and that Luther only gave the long waited for signal of revolt.

Since the time of the emperor Sigismund (who would have brought about the revolution himself, if his knowledge had corresponded with his thirst for reformation, and who for want of that knowledge suffered himself to be led by the nose by some cardinals) Germany had been at work on a reformation. If a catholic at this time was to say what was said, not only in the schools and in publications, but at the council of Constance before the whole nation, at the diet of the empire, and by particular princes in their transactions with each other, he would be put into a prison as a violent heretic. It is indeed wonderful, how the minds of the Catholic princes were changed by the heat of dispute after that step was once taken, which they themselves had before endeavoured to produce. The well known hundred grievances (which in the end grew to much more than a hundred) of the German nation plainly shewed that most of the courts of Germany were ready to protect the first bold man who would revolt against the court of Rome, and support the political grievances with theological arguments. The cunning, active, and very eloquent Æneas Sylvius, who effected the concordate betwixt the pope and the empire by his crafty manœuvres, awakened still more the jealousy of all the thinking patriots of Germany. Though he was

a subtle genius, who for the moment could gain the ascendancy over the cold Germans, and make them acquiesce in silence, yet after all the declamations and fine intrigues of this Cicero of his time, the obstinacy natural to the cold character returned, and again brought forth the old complaints. *Aeneas Sylvius* thought his enemies weaker than they really were. In all his writings you see that he imagined that he should be able to cheat the Germans; but their genius was awake, and they saw through him, though they had neither experience enough, nor union enough amongst themselves, to resist the artifices he played off against them. *Mayer*, chancellor of *Mentz*, at that time the most enlightened, most refined, and most brilliant court in Germany, and which contributed exceedingly to the success of the reformation, in his letters (to be found in several compilations of the times) speaks to the Italians in a tone that would have put to silence any advocate of the court of Rome, but the very witty sophist *Aeneas Sylvius*. Whoever considers the intrigues and webs which the court of Rome must have wove to keep the duke of Bavaria and the Palsgrave of the Rhine in good humour (some proofs of which are to be met with in *Febronius*) will only wonder how the reformation came to be put off so late as to the time of *Luther*.

Whilst the politics of several courts of Germany were thus directed against the court of Rome, the reputation of the latter was daily sinking in consequence of the philosophy that gained ground in the schools, and the intercourse of learned men with each other. The progress made in printing, which became general in Germany in the last part of the fifteenth century, contributed to the general spread of knowledge. As early as in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Germans began to write their own language with correctness. The way was prepared for the people to be soon taught. This, no doubt, was the golden age of Germany. It had warm patriots, industrious philosophers, and thinking princes. The awakened spirit of improvement had manifested itself in legislation and the improvement of the police; peace was established at home, arts and taste had begun to spread over Germany from Italy. Bologna was the resort of all the German nobility. It is true, indeed, that they brought home with them the barbarous mixture of the Roman, Papal, and Lombard law, but they also brought home good manners, a knowledge of the Italian and Latin languages, and a taste for the fine arts and sciences. *Erasmus of Rotterdam*, *Reachlin*, *Hutten*, and many others, are signal proofs how soon taste was purified in Germany. Saxony in particular had several good schools. The university of *Leipsick* had succeeded to the fame of that of *Prague*; and that of *Wurtemberg*, out of which *Luther* was soon to give the signal for battle, was frequented not only by Germans, but by Hungarians, Poles, Danes, and Swedes. *Luther's* other writings are evident proofs how much the German language itself was cultivated in Germany, and his translation of the bible testifies how well the ancient languages were understood in the schools. Indeed it is probable, that Germany would have been the first country enlightened by Italy, and so have arrived at the present brilliant æra of literature immediately, had not religious disputes disturbed the minds of the people, and the war of thirty years, which followed, laid waste the country.

Italy, at that time the most flourishing country in Europe, thought of no reformation, though it probably saw the religious abuses still more clearly than the Germans themselves. The wits of Italy amused themselves with satires on the pope, cardinals, and their adherents the monks and nuns. They considered the abuses of religion with as little seriousness as men in the polite world look upon adultery and gallantry, which are now grown too universal for the police to have any hope of being able to restrain them. Indeed the excesses in which Italian priests and prelates indulged themselves, were not of that low savage kind which disgraced those of Germany, but accorded, better with the

polished manners, the character of the people, and social life; and the arts which contributed all they could to the outward splendour of religion in this country, covered many defects in the eyes of thinking men, just as a coquet procures admirers by a charming patch, with which she contrives to cover a wart or ugly spot of another kind. When we add to these considerations, that the commerce with the spiritual colonies brought home great riches, without the least hazard or expence to the nation; that since the time of Charlemagne these colonies had spread almost to the borders of the frozen sea, and that many Italian nobles made their fortune in the church; it will be no wonder that this country took no share in the reformation, albeit it was superior to the rest of Europe in philosophy and politics, and probably saw the corruption with a quicker eye than Luther and his associates.

As to France, since the days of Philip le Bel, it had learned to sport with the holy spirit of Rome. The court of Rome was no longer formidable to it. Our kings had a secret understanding with the popes, and knew how to make the vicar of Christ subservient to their purposes. Our manners too were more correct than those of the Germans, and our ecclesiastics confined themselves more within the bounds of their order and of honour. As a proof of this, the council of Trent found nothing to alter in the French discipline, though it made a signal revolution in the manners of the German ecclesiastics. Though we had not indeed so many brilliant writers as the Germans had, knowledge in general was much more universally spread; and there are proofs sufficient that men saw the abuses of religion as clearly in France, as they did any where else. The behaviour of our envoys at the council of Constance one hundred years before, and the manner in which our court united with the German Protestants, as well as many other instances of the kind that might be brought, are a plain proof that religion was considered in France as a subordinate thing to politics.

Many other causes besides the knowledge of the abuses in religion, must also have contributed to the breaking out of the reformation in Germany. These are very various; doubtless, one of the principal was the pride with which the court of Rome affected to treat the Germans: it had so often cheated and bullied this compliant, and, till the fifteenth century, stupid people, that it began to imagine it might increase the burthen, ad infinitum, without any danger of meeting with resistance; but, according to the old proverb, oppression is the parent of liberty. Rome imagined that the concordate of Aschaffenburg had secured it against any farther attempts from the nation; but this agreement had had quite a different effect, and had made the people see that they were betrayed by the craft of the popish mediators.

Another cause of the reform is to be sought for in the character of the nation. A phlegmatic man, when he once sees that he is betrayed and brought under the harness, is the most untractable and stubborn of men. The numberless sectaries in France, previous to the reformation, passed by like the fashions of the country, and were forgotten.

The manners of the clergy of Germany likewise contributed to produce a change. The nunneries were open brothels; and whenever the prelates or abbots happened to be the lords of manors, they exercised their right of prælibation over the daughters of their tenants, in the same manner as the temporal lords. Debauchery was not covered over in this country, as in Italy and Germany, by good company and good manners, but it broke out in the most brutal and disgusting excesses: for instance, a little before the breaking out of the reformation, a priest of Augsburg carried his effrontery so far, as to have knowledge of a woman in the open streets. Child murder, sodomy, and all the unnatural vices, had their full play amongst the German ecclesiastics. These hor-

rid acts must have struck that part of the German public, who had been polished by an acquaintance with the arts and sciences of other countries, more than they would do the stupid inhabitants of a land whose priests went no farther than other people.

To all these causes there still remains to be added, the heat with which Luther carried on his attack. The Protestants themselves do not deny, that the passions of the man, his pride and vindictive spirit, contributed much to his success.

We Frenchmen know nothing at all of Luther; both our ecclesiastics and historians have equally mistaken his character. Even Voltaire, who was commonly so fortunate in delineating features which had escaped others, knew no more of Luther than, that he had called the pope an ass. Luther's writings display not only a large quantity of knowledge, but an uncommon share of wit, and at the same time strong signs of a lively imagination. As to his wonderful humour, it is a kind of mean betwixt the manner of a well-fed monk, a true brother, and that of a sensible, learned, and patriotic professor of the present day. If we judge him by our present rules of taste, we shall find that he often falls into coarseness and vulgarity; but we must recollect, that he had to do with the populace, and that his scholars, animated by the zeal which the lust of reformation brought upon them, published many things which he did not intend should see the light. They began all their works with their prophet, and would not suffer a word of his to be lost, though spoken when he was drunk: it is thus his table conversations have come to be printed. You read in some editions of them, that when the great man perceived that some of the persons present were writing down his jokes, he said, "Ye asses, how comes it that you pick up the excrement that I let fall?" But it was as much owing to this rough kind of wit as to his learning, that his writings spread so far as they did. Like a truly phlegmatic man, he was irreconcilable and untractable when once he had been provoked. He moved heaven and earth against the popes. From the cloisters and jovial societies, in which he had made every body merry at their expence, he hurried to the courts of princes to urge the battle, or wrote himself the most bitter invectives against them. Though he would often put himself into no very decent passions with other reformers, on account of difference of opinion, he took care always to keep the sovereigns he had to do with united; a sure sign that he was a man of the world, who knew how to treat with the great, as well as with the small ones of the earth. Besides all this, and above all, Luther was a good man; he kept an expensive house, left debts behind him, and, what does the Protestant princes in Germany of that time no great honour, his wife and children fell into almost extreme poverty.

Erasmus of Rotterdam, and others, who in the beginning adhered to Luther's party, were undoubtedly more learned and experienced men than he was; but a far different being from a mere learned man was required to strike the stroke. It was necessary that the man who was to take the first step, should unite pre-eminence of learning with boldness and intrepidity, qualities which seldom fall to the share of a man of letters. He was also to be a man for the people, which is seldom the case with a man of Erasmus's character; in a word, he was to be a Luther.

Some people have been willing to deprive him of the honour of having struck the first blow, but this is very immaterial: they say that Zwingle had preached against the abuses of the church in Switzerland before the year 1507, in which Luther published his thesis; it is true that Zwingle had done so, and so had many others in Germany, before either Zwingle or Luther. From the time of the council of Constance, there never had been wanting men to preach and write against the injustice of the court of Rome, and the freedom of their pens was a singular contrast enough with the tyranny of the church government. But sermons alone could do nothing; all the political ne-

negotiations of the most respectable courts could do nothing before Luther. To effect any thing considerable, there wanted a man to set himself at the head of a large party, under whom all the learned men of the times would enlist, whom one of the most powerful princes of the times would support, and who should charge from so respectable a place as the university of Wirtemberg at that time was: this man was Luther. Circumstances too, must have concurred, the influence of which we cannot at this time speculate. Preaching alone would have done as little in Switzerland as it did in Germany. It was necessary to proceed to action, and to set hands to work. All the other reformations followed the example which had been set them in that of Saxony; and though other reformers afterwards broke with Luther, and some of them went farther than he had done, they all looked up to him as their chief, and as having broke the ice for them. Without him, or rather without the circumstances which impelled him, in all probability matters would never have come to action. Sensible men would have written satires, they would have made patriotic representations, and have preached; and in the end, the pope would have been compelled to do in Germany what he had done in France, from which last kingdom the sale of indulgences (which was the first signal of rebellion in Germany) and the great abuses, have been banished without reformation.

It is usual for latter writers to dwell much on the degree of light which the reformation has spread over the world. In my opinion, this is treating the matter in a very partial way, the fact is, that as to Germany, the illumination or the cultivation of it was put off for two hundred years by the reformation; during that period, France and Italy became very flourishing and enlightened countries, and Germany would undoubtedly have vied with them in cultivation, had not the theological disputes banished philosophy, and the country been torn up by civil war. Even Italy flourished in a degree which Germany will not yet arrive at for some time. Venice, Genoa, and Tuscany were so enlightened, so polished and, for their size, so powerful, that, making allowances for the different magnitudes of the countries, Europe has nothing at this time to produce that can compare with them. Venice alone was able to find employment for the empire and the whole power of Germany, and raised the jealousy of all the princes of those times. Naples also was a most flourishing state. As for myself, I confess, that I cannot see what pre-eminence the Protestants have a right to claim even at this day, with regard to general illumination, over the Catholics; for instance, the French, and part of the Italians. The general enlightening of the understanding does not depend upon two or three mysteries of religion more or less in one country than in another. I too, set out on my journey with the prejudice that the great body of Protestants must be more enlightened than the Catholics; but I was soon obliged to give it up, and found that many of our countrymen have much more knowing heads than can be found in the people of several Protestant countries I passed through. Even amongst the Protestants themselves, the knowledge of the people is in no proportion to the simplicity of their different religions. The Saxons, whose religion is by no means so simple, or, as some people would call it, so philosophical as that of some of the reformed, are, upon the whole, a more enlightened people than the reformed Swiss and Dutchmen: the difference amongst the peasants is very striking. In Germany, after the darkness in which war and theology had involved the country, the Catholics applied themselves much sooner than the Protestants to the sciences. Sturm, the first improver of the Protestant schools, in his *De Institutione Scholarum*, allows, that the Jesuits had an advantage over the Protestants in the Schools, and that these must exert themselves, if they would come up with them. It has been solely owing to the indolence and stupidity of the Catholic

princes, that the Protestants have not only overtaken them, but got a great way before them. Whilst the latter made use of the liberty which had been procured to their schools by the change of their religion, the former suffered the papal huntsmen to entrap them under the authority of their unthinking princes; but this was not the case in France, Venice, and other Catholic countries.

It may, I think, admit of some doubt, whether the abolition of the ancient church government did much more for the happiness of the people, than it did for their understandings; at least in every Protestant country I passed through, I heard the ecclesiastics complain of the decay of their credit, the narrowness of their circumstances, and the disorders which were the consequences of them; amongst which, that they most enumerated and complained the most bitterly of, was the not having a bond of union amongst themselves, but every man's being allowed to be a pope in his own circle. No doubt but the reformers merited much by improvements they introduced into the ecclesiastical police as connected with the civil, I mean by their banishment of celibacy, fasts, popish dispensations and indulgences; but these improvements are consistent with the existence of the Catholic religion, and have been introduced more or less into several countries. The trade of indulgences is ruined almost over the whole Catholic world. Even the Spaniards and Portuguese crusades, formerly the most productive of all, now bring in very little to the holy father. For a long time purgatory has only produced the trifling sums which monks, religious brotherhoods, and other communities, whose festivals are connected with indulgences, pay for their bulls of foundation; and this source of revenue is now almost dried up; for in most Catholic countries there are no erections of new cloisters, nor new fraternities, nor any introduction of new festivals; on the contrary, they are endeavouring as fast as they can to abolish the old. Indeed it is only to the ecclesiastics of the Catholic countries that purgatory is at all productive, but I have seen the ecclesiastics of Protestant countries use artifices to extort money from their people, particularly the peasants, far more dangerous than purgatory, which after all, produced only offerings freely given.

The great merit of the reformers consists in the change which their reformation made in the morals of the people: indulgences, processions, festivals, fasts, and the like might have been cut off by the civil power, without its having made any separation in the church; but no civil power can at once render a debauched, dissipated people industrious and frugal. Luther, who was not the best economist himself, preached nothing up so much as abstinence, frugality, and industry. The Calvinists went still farther; they taught that the world was a place of torment, and that the true life of man consisted in the mortification of the flesh. The catechism forbid all enjoyments, and made a sin of laughter. A man must read Swift's writings to see how much farther the Calvinists went in this point than the Lutherans. It must be owned, at the same time, that this command of abstinence is the cause why the Calvinists are every where richer than the Lutherans; for they are neither more active nor more industrious than these, but, on the contrary, their melancholy humour (a consequence of their education and their manners) which among the common people in many countries almost borders on stupidity, renders them heavy at every thing; indeed this is the reason that they have not done so much in the arts as either the Lutherans or the Catholics. I remember to have read in an English review, an estimate of the proportion between the artists and ingenious men produced by the Puritans or Calvinists, and those of the established church; according to this account, the former stood to the latter as one to six, and yet the dissenters make two fifths of the inhabitants of England. The Dutchman lives more carkingly in the midst of his money, than the Catholics and Lu-

therans of middling incomes in other places; he knows no pleasure in the whole world, except that of sitting over his dish of tea in winter to converse about war or peace, and in summer visiting his garden once a week; he is tedious, and in a certain degree torpid about his business, and it is to his indefatigable attention to the main chance, but still more to his niggardliness, that he is indebted for his riches. This is the character of the Calvinist every where; and the spirit, which is a consequence of this melancholy humour, allows some of them frauds in the daily trade and intercourse of life, which a Catholic or Lutheran would consider as manifest cheating. They have a text of scripture ready for all occasions, but give the preference to this, be ye wise as serpents. The Memnonites and Quakers are still more niggardly than the Calvinists, and in consequence much richer, but likewise still duller; these, as far as I can perceive, have no genius whatever for the arts.

It was natural enough to expect, that the reformation should here and there lead to absurdities, and that men would go from one extreme to the other; but as only a part of the protestants have carried these tenets to this excess, they are as profitable to the whole state, as they are probably pernicious to the happiness of the individual. Though the immense riches of the Dutch contribute little to render them happier than the poorer people, they enable them not only to support the greatest wars for themselves, but to furnish friends and foes with considerable sums.

As for the Lutherans, they possess part of the humour of their founder, and to a high degree of industry and frugality unite a great love of pleasure and jollity, which makes the enjoyment of society. The unnatural hatred to pleasure does not damp their wit and good humour, and they have nothing of the savage slovenliness, the dark hypocrisy, and the ill breeding, which distinguishes the majority of other sects.

By these regulations in the manners, we see how powerful religion is on the hearts of men. Prior to this miracle, for it really was one, Germany was in a constant frenzy; dancing, dancing, and intriguing. Kept priests and laity in a perpetual dream, and senseless spectacles of every kind contributed their share to the perversion of the understanding; when lo! in an instant, the people ran from the ale-houses and brothels to church, opened their eyes, believed, and became industrious, frugal, and active.

To bring about such a change as this was, required a degree of resolution, which is only to be met with among a barbarous people, such as the Germans of that time were. When pleasure has once enervated a nation, nothing of the kind is more to be expected. In the southern parts of Germany, particularly in Bavaria, the object would be as difficult to compass as it is desirable.

LETTER XLVII.

Berlin.

MY way hither lay through Wirtemberg, a good looking town, but which still preserves the marks of the frequent change of masters it underwent in the last Silesian war, and which it has not yet entirely recovered. It should be properly the capital of the electorate, but must yield the first place to Leipsick. Indeed, in point of riches and population, it is inferior to many other towns in Saxony.

As far as the Elbe, the country is as well cultivated as Upper Saxony, and seems to have the same soil; but you are hardly got a post beyond Wirtemberg, before you discover a great alteration; instead of the rich black soil of Saxony, you meet with nothing but sand; there is also a tedious uniformity in the prospect: there are large mounds near the rivers, and the number of thick black woods give the whole an un-

pleasing appearance. Of all the German provinces I have hitherto passed through, nature seems to have treated Brandenburg the most like a step-mother.

The inhabitants endeavour to remedy the niggardliness of nature by their industry. Wherever the soil has allowed of any kind of agriculture, they have made the best of it. The appearance of the villages and farms, as well as of their inhabitants, bespeaks prosperity.

My own experience confirms what several other travellers have observed before me. The custom-house officers in Prussia are neither so tedious, nor so distressing and vexatious to a traveller, as those of Austria; they are for the most part intelligible, sensible men, and by no means so despotic and boorish as the Austrian gentlemen of the same profession.

Berlin is a remarkably beautiful and magnificent city, and may certainly be looked upon as one of the finest in Europe. It has nothing of the uniformity, which in the long run makes the appearance of most of the new and regular built towns tiresome. The architecture, the distribution of the buildings, the appearance of the squares, the plantations of trees both in these and the streets; every thing, in a word, bespeaks taste and variety.

I have been for some days reconnoitring the town according to my common custom. Berlin is not so large as either Paris or Vienna; it is about four miles and a half long from the Muhlenthor, which is south-east, to the Oranienburgerthor north-west, and about three miles broad from the Bernaverthor to the north-east, to the Potsdamerthor to the south-west; but within this extensive enclosure there are many gardens, and in some parts even fields taken in: there are not more than six thousand houses in this town, whereas in Paris there are near thirty thousand. The emptiness of many places is a singular contrast to the magnificence of the buildings.

Nor is the contrast of this magnificence with the circumstances of the people less striking. Sometimes while you are standing gazing at the beauty of the building in the Ionic style, finely stuccoed, with a magnificent front, and all the outward appearance of the habitation of a farmer-general, or at least a duke, on a sudden a window opens in the lower story, and a cobbler brings out a pair of boots and hangs them under your nose, in order to dry the leather. As you are lost in wonder at this phenomenon, the second story opens, and a breeches-maker treats you with a pair of new washed breeches; a little while after another window opens in the same story, and a taylor hangs out a waist-coat before you, or a woman empties a dish of potatoe parings on your head: well, you go on a few steps farther, and come to a palace of the Corinthian order, which looks like a house belonging to a mistress of the king, or of one of the princes of the blood. Scarce have your wandering eyes reached the top, but you are saluted by a Jew from the attic story, who asks you whether you have any thing to swap; you cast your eyes a story lower, and behold shirts hanging out to dry, which belong to an officer, who is shaving himself, and whom you would hardly conceive to have two shirts belonging to him. You march on through two or three streets of the same kind, and in all of them see inhabitants of the same sort; at last you arrive at the house of a general officer, as you easily discover by the guard before the door; but you see neither porter nor running footmen, nor any thing of the train of attendants of the nobility at Vienna.

I have now been three days in the house of a privy counsellor, and am fortunate enough to have a lord of the war-office for my fellow tenant. It was impossible for me to remain at the inn. The host made bows upon bows, and was so very civil, that I had my suspicions of him the very first moment; nor was I mistaken, for upon

my staying dinner the next day at a gentleman's house, for whom I had letters of recommendation from Dresden, at my return he made his remarks upon it; and the day after took it in serious dudgeon, and that I would not leave a fine garden and good company, I had strolled to, and walk three miles home to add another item to his reckoning. We were however reconciled; but as he perceived I was one of those who did not hold long conversation with inn-keepers, he came into my room, and would read me the Berlin newspapers, which for lies and nonsense are not behind hand with the French ones. As he was going on with the weighty and important intelligence, that a Prussian general had died of the gout; that his royal highness prince Henry was gone a journey to Rhinsberg; that a person in the Newmark, who was a man of letters, was afflicted with the cholera; and that the wife of a general officer in Silesia was safely delivered of a daughter, I snatched the paper out of his hands. He took this affront so civilly, that I was on the point of forgiving the insolence of the night before, when he gave me to understand, that he would provide me with a companion to sleep with, as well as with my board, if I chose it; upon this I immediately went out to look for a private house, it being a maxim with me, that every inn-keeper who is a bawd, is of course a cheat. In general the inn-keepers of this place seem to be a peculiar kind of people; they are all outrageously civil at first, but extremely surly when they meet with any one who does not choose to be imposed on by them; there is likewise no end of their impertinent questions, and when they have no girls in the house, they make it no secret, that this is an article which they undertake to provide strangers with. They have lists in which the ladies of the neighbourhood are sorted according to their prices, and a servant is always ready to fetch the wares which the stranger bargains for. My landlord, the privy-counsellor, assured me, that there was hardly one landlord in twenty who did not deal in this trade.

A traveller who comes out of Bohemia into Saxony, is apt to be struck with the dearness of provisions in the latter; but it is nothing to what he meets with when he comes from Saxony hither. Several causes contribute to this; among which may be enumerated the natural poverty of the country in several commodities, the high customs, and many monopolies. To give you a small idea of the latter, the measure of wood, which you know costs a trifle at Paris, here comes to a guinea and a half, notwithstanding that Brandenburg is full of woods of all sorts. Indeed the small quantity of money in circulation, and the price of every necessary of life, forms a strong contrast betwixt this place and Vienna. At Vienna you are amazed that, with such a circulation of money, every thing can be so cheap, and here can hardly conceive how, with so small a proportion of cash, every thing can be so dear. Conceive that you pay six or seven livres here for a bottle of Burgundy which has nothing but the name of Burgundy; our common wines of Orlenois, Isle de France, Guyenne, &c. sell for three or four livres a bottle. Indeed the king is a little too hard upon the drinkers of wine.

In all the private houses I have hitherto seen, there prevails a rigid economy in the kitchen, cellar, and indeed in every part: the only article of expence is dress; but you see that the belly has been pinched for the sake of powder and ruffles. The ladies dress in the fashion, and I saw some ornaments in very great taste, and very rich.

There is no town in Europe, except Constantinople, which has so numerous a garrison as Berlin has: it consists of twenty-six thousand men. For a little money you may have every thing done for you by a soldier; they clean your shoes, wash, mend,

pimp, and in short do all that is done elsewhere by Savoyards and old women. They are also in the custom of begging of strangers, not absolutely charity, but something to drink; with which, however, they commonly purchase something to eat, as the Sprey has water enough to quench their thirst. They are not so surly as the imperial troops, and you meet with several sensible men amongst them.

As far as I can hitherto see of the people of this place, they are better provided, as to the upper region or head, than the inhabitants of Vienna, but cannot vie with them in the middle regions, the belly, and the pockets. The vacuum in those, particularly the purse, may easily be discovered by an attentive observer, and it strikes a stranger forcibly. They have indeed so little respect for the eyes and ears of the public, that officers and counsellors will drive a bargain for guilders with jews in a public coffee-house; a thing I saw with my own eyes the day after I arrived here. The merchants, manufacturers, and that part of the nobility which have places, deal so mysteriously in all matters of money, that you find it very difficult to distinguish them from those who have not any. On the other hand, you observe here such an information with regard to the state of the country, such a freedom in discoursing on the measures of government, such a national pride, such a participation in every public occurrence; and in the military and civil officers, such an activity for the state, and (notwithstanding their small salaries) such a jealousy of doing their duty, that in all these respects you would think yourself in London. This is an evident sign that the spirit of a people does not depend upon the form, but on the administration of a government; and that patriotism is not the exclusive privilege of republics. They talk here about the king's regulations, as well as about his omissions and commissions, with a degree of freedom that you would only expect to find in an Englishman.

Though I have been here but a short time, I think I can take upon me to contradict an opinion which has pretty generally gone abroad, upon the authority of some gentlemen who have travelled post through the country, about the mysteriousness of this government. It is said that there is a cloud round the king's operations, and that all is supported by his power; for my own part, I have not seen a more open or more popular government than this is, that of England itself not excepted. The whole plan of administration appears to me so plain, and at all times so open to every man's inspection, that I cannot conceive how so false an estimate can have been made. Some Englishmen, who think that the essence of liberty consists in babbling, and giving vent in parliament to every species of ill-humour, and who, from their imprudence and self-sufficiency, are the worst observers that travel, have most probably spread this opinion. It is not, however, necessary to be long in the country to discover that the king is no fonder of clandestine measures than he is of his power. The department of foreign affairs, and possibly some things which relate to the discipline of the army, are the only things which are kept in some obscurity; and surely no man will expect that the king will suffer his correspondence with his ministers, and the secret of his treaties, to be printed and sold in the shops: but I will talk to you more at length about this another time.

LETTER XLVIII.

Berlin.

FORGIVE me, brother, for having made you wait some time for a letter, but I have made several excursions through the country, and will now sit down to give you an account of my peregrinations.

I was three days at Potsdam. This city has still finer houses in it than those at Berlin; but, like these, they are inhabited only by persons of the lower and middling ranks. The situation of the town was much extolled to me, and for a country with so much sameness in it as Brandenburg has, it may pass for a fine one. Neither, however, the buildings nor the situation were the chief objects of my visit here; what I came for was to see the king, who has for so many years been the god of the Parisian idolatry, the wonder of all Europe, the master and terror of his foes, and, in short, who throughout all the neighbouring states is called the king par excellence. I was told that I might very easily be presented to him; but I have always thought it a great piece of impertinence to think so lightly of the leisure of a mighty monarch, as to introduce yourself to him without the smallest pretension. I had the good fortune to see him twice on horseback on the parade, where, however, he is not so regular an attendant as formerly.

All the prints I have hitherto seen of him are only half lengths; but there are many copies of a very good picture, in which he is drawn at full length. You may see one of these at madam S——'s, at Paris, and they are so common here, that you meet with them in several inns. The original was painted by an Italian, who having been extremely fortunate in hitting off the likeness, the king suffered copies of the picture to be taken by many good masters here, and made presents of them to several German princes, and thus the copies have become common. Heavily as the hand of age now seems to lie on this immortal man, the very strong likeness of the face still remains. The king of Prussia is hardly of the middling size, but strong built and thick set. His body is now much bent, and his head shakes, but his eyes are still piercing, and roll about when he is observing. Peace, order, resolution, and earnestness are marked upon his face. There is likewise that particular look about him which is common to all great personages, and which I should call indifference to all that surrounds him, were it not that you see evidently, that he takes an uncommon interest in the things which he conceives specially to belong to his province. The editor of *Voyages en differents Pays de l'Europe*, Mr. Pilati, says, that every thing at Berlin and Potsdam is carried on in silence, and that nothing can be known either of the king's private life, or of his public affairs. There is an universal opinion of the kind gone out about this court: if you will believe some Englishmen, especially Mr. Wraxall, the genius which animates the Prussian monarchy, is a man-hating, light-shining genius, who in imperceptible darkness strikes constantly at the estates of the subjects and lays snares for them. It is impossible to form a fair judgment of the king. Mr. Pilati, who contradicts himself in more places than any, says in another part of his letters, that the king's hours are so regularly distributed, that at any time you may know what he is then doing. Indeed the true cause why so little is to be said of the king's private life, is the great simplicity and regularity of it. Here is no minister to enter into intrigues with, to ruin a man of honour who stands in his way; no mistress whose humour a man must study to get the favourable minute to obtain a right, or have justice done him for an injury, or of whose adventures he must keep a register, to revenge himself on her by bon-mots, epigrams, and anecdotes; no queen to puzzle and perplex the court every morning with the very great problem, whether she has slept with her husband or not, whether she is breeding or not, and whether the fashion will not undergo some revolution, commanded by her majesty, in the course of the ensuing week. The princes and princesses of the blood have neither disputes for precedence to settle, nor cabals to contrive, nor large play debts to discharge, nor any of the mighty businesses which are the daily occupations of other courts to dispatch; the king neither hunts nor goes to balls or theatres, (a few

operae only excepted;) he has no occasion to advise with a minister of finance, how, or from what funds the mistress's new dress, or her new house, or her new garden, or her journey to — shall be paid; nothing is undertaken here for which the money is not ready. The king of Prussia has neither favourite, nor confessor, nor court fool (who, *mutatis mutandis*, is still in good credit in the other courts of Germany, and whose part the confessor mostly plays.)

Under these circumstances, the court anecdotes of the day must necessarily be very few; but yet the king gives himself so little trouble to be concealed, that as the Englishman, Moore observes, it is no difficult matter to arrive at his bed-chamber unperceived: he is surrounded neither by a guard or a swarm of footmen and valets de chambre; he often walks alone in the gardens of Sans Soucy, and wherever he is, except at a review, no man is kept at a distance.

It is owing to the same simplicity and order which obtains in his private life, that the operations of the king of Prussia's government make so little noise. Whoever considers his administration as mysterious, or his dealings as established in intrigue, falls into the error so common to all us mortals, of thinking there is intrigue wherever there is simplicity; hence it is, that we do not see the truth that is under our noses. Sometimes, however, a man's over zeal works out somewhat bitter from his own gall, and this I conceive to have been Mr. Wraxall's case.

It is true, that the king neither holds stated councils, nor yet a *Lit de Justice*; he has no parliament whose members are promoted for their flatteries, and banished for their opposition. The princes of the blood have no opportunity of compelling him by representations or protestations against his measures, either to forbid them appearing at court on certain days, or to pay their debts; men of honour are not banished from him by *Lettres de Cachet*, nor can the ministers cabal against them; neither is this king compelled to appeal to the love and patriotism of his subjects, as often as the invention of the minister of finance is exhausted, and the poor man has no artifice, save flattery left to wring the last penny from their purses; he knows nothing of state lotteries, nor of annuities, nor of loans, nor of new vingtiemes, nor of augmenting the capitation; he has no *dons gratuits* to expect from his clergy, nor is he obliged to threaten them with reformation in religion, if they will not make him the presents required; he has no bishops nor sorbonne, who imprison sensible men, and take away their character in the public estimation, in order to preserve their own places; his ministers can neither make parties amongst themselves, nor play at the blind cow with him. All this must in truth render the government very uniform, and affords very little subject for news.

I spent many days in considering in what part of this administration it would be possible to introduce mystery, without being able to make a probable conjecture. There is, indeed, a mystery incidental to foreign affairs, from the very nature of them, which even the English ministry contrive religiously to conceal from the eyes of parliament; but as to home occasions, neither the religion, the nobility, nor any part of the state is ever at variance with the whole. Far from endeavouring to undermine the rights of the nobility, the king takes all possible pains to maintain them in the full possession of them. He has assisted the Silesian nobility, who are the most powerful in his country, by lending them large sums of money, at one and a half per cent. The same thing has been done for the nobility of other countries who have wanted his assistance. No community, city, or religious order, is in the least danger of having their privileges intruded upon, as long as they are not detrimental to the advantage of the whole. The rich cloisters in Silesia and the Western Prussia, have not the least thing to apprehend.

The Prussian government is generally considered in other countries as the most despotic that exists, though, in fact, nothing can be less so. The maxim which is the foundation of the British constitution, *Lex in regno suo superiores habet Deum et Regem*, is no where so well observed as it is here. People will not surely call a rigid observation of the laws which promote the good of the state despotism; and what instances are there of the king's ever having allowed himself any thing that bespoke arbitrary sentiments? In no country are the rights of reason, the rights of nature, the customs, and particular statutes which do not militate against the happiness of the whole, better observed and guarded than they are in the Prussian dominions. No where does government direct all its steps so exactly according to the rule of right as it does here. The strongest proof that can be given of this assertion, is the consideration of the administration of finances. Taxes are the only mark of universal despotism, all other acts of power affecting only particular persons, and chiefly those who for their own interest subject themselves to them; but taxes are levied equally upon all the people. Let us therefore see how it is with taxes in the Prussian dominions.

Exclusive of the crown lands, mines, manufactures, and other revenues of royalty, the finance system of the king of Prussia rests upon the two plainest grounds that can be, the taxes and customs. The taxes fall upon the most numerous and most useful class of the people, to wit, the farmers and holders of land; and they are as moderate when compared with the value of things, as those of any other country in Europe. The farmers in the Prussian dominions, as the Englishman Moore himself acknowledges, are as well off as those of any other country whatever: they compose at least three-fourths of the king's subjects; and the good circumstances of so large a part of the nation, is a good compensation in the eyes of humanity for the nobility not being so rich as in England and France. In both these countries the farmers, though they constitute what is properly called the nation, or people, are the last thought of by government.

It is worth while to compare the state of the English farmers with that of the Prussian ones; as it is by such comparisons alone that we can form to ourselves distinct notions of liberty and despotism, as well as of the little dependance that is to be placed on the accounts of things given by English travellers, who are wont to treat as slaves all nations who have no nabobs, nor lords, nor corrupt brawlers in parliament, nor yet a king whom every rascal is at liberty to throw dirt at under the mask of patriotism.

The substantial English farmers cannot be taken into our comparison, on account of the smallness of their numbers; for, according to the accounts the English writers themselves give, they hardly make the sixtieth part of the whole, and are exactly what the possessors of small estates and the farmers of the crown lands are here; or rather the number of these is much greater in Prussia than that of the substantial farmers in England.

The number of yeomen, freeholders, and copy-holders, who have the right of choosing members of parliament, is also very small, and it is well known that their right of election is a vain title. The nobility, whose tenants they are in great measure, or who can bring them under their dominion various ways, rob them of their votes either by open power or secret bribery.

In the present state of things in England, the farmer has evidently no share in the legislation; he is in the strongest sense of the word a slave of a superior order. He is compelled to go as a soldier or sailor to America, or the East or West Indies, and the highest and less numerous class of the people enjoy the fruits of his labours. The quantity of gold which he brings back to England, at the expence of his blood, raises the

price of things, so that he is not able to export the produce of his lands and a part of the best land in Europe must have remained uncultivated, had not parliament granted such large bounties on exportation, as enabled the holders of it to support the competition of other nations: nor can even this precarious state of the corn trade last longer than till such times as the navy of Russia and other states, which border on Poland, shall improve. As soon as Russia and Prussia shall have a sufficient navy, and the agriculture of Poland is become what it is capable of being brought to, the English corn trade will of course be destroyed. That system of convenience, which Great Britain has taken up for so many years past in defiance of justice and the law of nations, is as oppressive to the farmer, as it is advantageous to the nobility and trading part of the country. It is the former who must fight out the wars which this system introduces; they are principally affected by the stagnation and fall of national credit, the immense debt of the country, and the exchange of coin for paper-money. The increase of taxes, in the case of a war, all fall ultimately upon them, as this event at once takes a great number of hands from the plough, and the internal consumption is lessened by the absence of so many thousand men from their native country. The dangers of the sea, and the political state in which Great Britain has been for these fourscore years past, almost confine their corn trade to the countries from which the largest quantities are exported in time of peace. A long war necessarily occasions a great increase of street robbers and thieves, who are all of the class of farmers, and are a new plague to the country people. The wars England has been engaged in during the last century, which taken altogether occupy half that period, have diminished the population, to the great detriment of agriculture. Whatever is said of the population, of England, it does not bear any proportion to those of France, Italy, and Germany, the size of the respective countries being taken into the account. In these countries there are two thousand five hundred men to every square mile, and in England hardly one thousand nine hundred; and yet it has a greater proportion of the necessaries of life than any country.

Blinded by a false appearance of freedom, the English farmer thinks that he is fighting for the good of his country, whilst in fact he is fighting to support the vices of the great. This is the true cause why some English writers have thought, that instructing farmers prejudiced the state, and have contended for keeping them in a state of savage barbarity, as a thing essential to the happiness of the whole. The true meaning of this is, that the nation would have soldiers and sailors to fight through storms and batteries for a freedom which hardly a twentieth part of the nation possesses.

Dr. Moore thinks that the king of Prussia's reason for contributing so much to the prosperity of his farmers is, that they may supply him with soldiers. None but an Englishman, who is used to distort every thing to the opinion which best suits his prejudices, could have had such an idea. Hardly two-fifths of the Prussian army consists of farmers sons; above half are foreigners, and the other half is made up equally from town and country. Pilati flatly contradicts Moore in this particular. He informs us, that the Prussian armies are made up of men which ancient Rome would not have accepted of for her defenders, to wit, manufacturers. I shall not take up your time nor my own in writing down any more of these conceits, which only make a sensible man laugh. The king of Prussia, as the reason of things directs, and far differently from the English legislature, considers the peasants as the most useful members of the community. He does not trouble himself with foreign colonies, which deprive the land of the hands necessary to till it, and which the peasant is obliged to defend for the advantages of the dissipated part of the nation. His system of politics rests neither on being master of the sea, nor on the vanity of interfering in all the concerns of the European powers, for the

sake of having the doubtful name of the maintainer of the balance and freedom of Europe, which has embroiled the English in so many wars, whatever may have been falsely said to the contrary. His peasants, as I will shew you in a future letter, are in no danger of being the victims of ambition, as those of England constantly are. It is impossible for the Prussians ever to be put to the difficulty of not being able to part with what their land produces. In England, according to the account of the best politicians, large tracts of the best land is uncultivated. In Prussia, even the dry sands are ploughed. In England a man of fortune has it in his power to put a forced price upon the corn in the market to his own profit, and to the great detriment of the neighbouring farmers. Here the country is not only free from all such acts of power of the nobility, but the king, by wise regulations and by magazines, contrives to keep the corn at a constant high price: this he effects by wise regulations, and laying out large sums to keep his granaries always full. The bounty granted by the English parliament for the exportation of corn, bears no proportion to the sums spent by the king of Prussia on the improvement of agriculture. He not only gives those who are inclined to improve the waste lands, wood for building, cattle, and stock of all kinds, but lays out large sums of money amongst the poor farmers. For several years past he has given the inhabitants of the Middlemark alone 10,000 thalers a year, and, according to a computation made, he gives every year about 700,000 guilders i. e. 2,500,000 French livres amongst the poor farmers. The yearly out-goings for colonies, causeways, canals, &c. all which have the advancement of agriculture in view, cost him no less. The great advantage which the Prussian farmer has over the English, that which renders him, without a doubt, the freest and happiest farmer upon earth, is, that his land-tax is never increased; this circumstance alone would be sufficient to silence all the clamours raised about Prussian despotism, were the persons who raise them capable of any shame, or did they take any trouble to see more of the country than it is possible they should see by riding post through it.

The taxes in the king of Prussia's dominions are subject to no alteration. In the very pressure of the Silesian war, when all Europe thought that the Prussian country must be drained to the uttermost farthing, they were not raised a six-pence; and had the war been longer and still more violent, they would not have been raised. This is due to the perfect knowledge which the king has of the state of the country, and his aversion to despotism and arbitrary power. He knew that taxes are doubly distressing to the farmers amidst the desolations and distresses of war, and that any increase of them must be extremely pernicious, at a time when from the absence of the troops the consumption of the produce is lessened, the country plundered by incursions of the enemy, and many useful hands taken from the plough.

Mr. Pilañ, who does justice to the king's attention to the improvement of agriculture, concludes what he says on this subject with this remark: "Notwithstanding all that the king has done to promote it, agriculture will not flourish in the Prussian dominions, on account of the smallness of the circulation." I could observe no distress arising from any circumstance of this kind; on the contrary, what I saw of the dress, the furniture of their houses, and the way of life, bespoke a degree of ease, which approached very nearly to luxury; indeed, it appears a priori, that the inhabitants of the country cannot be exposed to that want of money which is felt in the great towns; they are the great canals, or, if I may be allowed the expression, the great reservoirs of the gold, which comes to them through the small canals of the state, and returns from them through small canals to the body. The whole machine of government is calculated for their benefit; they feel the excise and monopolies less than any persons, and may free themselves entirely

from their burthens, if, according to the king's paternal requisition, they will abstain from luxury. It is the manufacturers, artists, petty tradesmen, and above all, the lower and middling inhabitants of the great cities, who are compelled to consume the productions of the country, and the farmer has all the benefit of it; indeed, the whole Prussian system of customs is adapted for the peculiar advantage of the latter; for instance, the object in the extravagant duties on foreign wines, is to compel the people to drink the beer of the country, in the making of which the farmer employs his barley and his hops. The soldier gives every thing to the farmer; his clothing, his eating, his drinking, all contribute to the prosperity of the inhabitants of the country. An evident reason why the Prussian farmers must be the very people who can know no want of money, is, that the productions of the country are much dearer than they are in any of the neighbouring countries, though the sale is much greater.

I have read in a German review the account of a work, the author of which attempts to prove, that the advantages enjoyed by the Prussian farmers over the other orders of the state, will some time or other prove dangerous to the constitution; but is it not natural, is it not republican, is it not consonant to the dignity of man to conceive, that the most useful, and most numerous part of a community should have the greatest authority in it? Shall a parcel of lords possess all the advantages of that freedom which the farmer is obliged to give his blood to defend?

Mr. Pilati, who often contradicts what he has proved, and often proves what he has contradicted, makes a remark in his account of Sicily, which, though it does not agree with what he himself had said before of the state of agriculture in Prussia, does great honour to the Prussian administration. After having contrasted the profuse blessings of nature in this island, with her step-mother treatment of the countries under the Prussian dominions, he tells us, that notwithstanding this, the Prussian farmers are happier than those of Sicily. What a god-like administration must that be, which makes the inhabitants of a sandy waste happier than the possessors of a country, which both ancient and modern writers extol as a miracle of fruitfulness and wealth! The land in Sicily produces a hundred fold, and in Prussia it is a miracle when the maize yield seven or eight times, and the corn twelve or fifteen times, what has been sown. The Sicilians, besides the corn trade, have oil, silk, wine, citrons, oranges, sugar, and several other most valuable articles. The Prussians have only a few turnips, crab-apples, and nuts; and yet the latter are richer than the former: and is it not far more honourable to the administration of Prussia, that notwithstanding the niggardliness of nature, the greatest part of the inhabitants are happier than if it possessed a dozen lords Clive, Cavendish, and Baltimore, and three score dukes Pignatelli, Monteleone, and Matalone? If one considers, as it is just to do, the very unfavourable soil that was to be worked upon, it will appear that the king has done wonders in agriculture. I saw several tracts of cultivated land, which fourteen or fifteen years ago were barren sands. The number of villages and houses in his several dominions, which he has either made, or so improved, that they are not to be known again, amounts to several hundreds. As the morasses contain some of the best land here, he spends immense sums in drying them; upon the whole, you see that agriculture here, is what nature prescribes it shall be, the ground-work of every political operation of the country. The ministers and privy-counsellors dedicate to the improvement of it those private hours, which in other countries they give to pleasure, play, or caballing for each other's places. The prime minister Hertberg, who, in every sense of the word, is one of the greatest men of the present century, has an estate some miles from hence, in the improvement of which he spends his hours of relaxation from the cares of state. In almost every village you meet with a nobleman, whose principal

occupation is agriculture, and who possesses the art of making his amusement and business coincide. In order to find out to what produce the soil of Prussia is best adapted, they not only import seeds from Poland, Russia, England, Sicily, and the other countries of Europe, but have made several fine experiments with corn from Barbary and Egypt. The most brilliant æra of the king's government, in his own eyes, is that which is distinguished by some useful improvement in agriculture. I was told an anecdote which does him more honour than the emperor of China derives from opening the ground with a golden plough. There is a privy-counsellor here of the name of Brenkenhoff, a man who, born without a penny, had made himself worth millions by his industry. This gentleman, some years since, distinguished himself by his improvements in agriculture. Amongst other things, he sent for rye from Archangel, which succeeded so well, that by degrees they begged his seeds all through Pomerania, Silesia, Brandenburg, and Prussia; and the country gained considerable sums, which before used to be paid to the Poles and Russians for this commodity. In consequence of this, whenever Mr. Brenkenhoff has any thing to ask of the king for himself or the province, he always couches his request in the following manner: "Had not I brought rye from Archangel, your majesty and your subjects would have been without so many thousands you now possess; it is therefore fit and proper that you likewise grant me my request." The king not only makes it a rule never to deny him any thing he asks, but has often said, "Brenkenhoff is the most extraordinary man born in this country under my administration, and I am proud of him." Mr. Brenkenhoff has imported large quantities of camels and buffaloes from Asia, for the improvement of agriculture. The race of the latter thrive very well under the Prussian sky. I have likewise seen some of them at Salzburg, where, notwithstanding the southern situation, the climate is not warmer than it is in Prussia; but the laziness of this animal renders all his other advantages of no account. The experiment with camels was attended with no success. The rearing of sheep, and cultivation of tobacco are, after the corn trade, the great resources of this country. They also make a large quantity of coarse silk, but this is rather the entertainment of speculative farmers, than a regular produce of the country. The nobility, clergy, and possessors of great estates, are the only ones who attend to it. It is, however, very remarkable, that there are twelve thousand pounds of silk wove every year in Prussia; whilst Hungary, whose climate is undoubtedly as favourable to this produce as any country in Europe, cannot raise above seven or eight thousand pounds worth, notwithstanding all the pains taken by government for the improvement of this branch of commerce. Once again, brother, I must repeat it, the Prussian land-holders, who are secured against every arbitrary imposition, and in every possible way supported and protected, are a greater symptom of national liberty, than a dozen fat lords, or a corrupt parliament. In my next letter I will speak to you of the people who really feel the pressure of excise and monopolies, and amongst whom there is of course extreme poverty.

I cannot send away this letter without observing, that the very way in which the king exercises the functions of government, is a plain proof of his not having any secret or mysterious views with respect to any of his subjects. A despot, who is not to be confined by any regard to rectitude and justice, who is always distinguishing betwixt his own advantage and the utility of the whole, and who wants to cheat his people without their observing it, must have either fools for his ministers, whom he may cheat as he does the people, or he must have a favourite, whom he can make use of for his mysterious purposes. Neither of these is the case with the king of Prussia. His ministers and counsellors are all of them the most enlightened patriots; and many of them would make a figure as men of letters, if they had time, or would give themselves the trouble of

writing. With regard to a favourite, the very name is unknown in this country. Voltaire, the marquis D'Argens, Algarotti, Quintus Icilius, and Bastiani, were only the companions of idle hours, and knew less of the government than any body, as Voltaire has often proved by his *bon mots*. These beaux esprits were obliged to keep within their proper sphere, and never could bring the king to be familiar with them, how little soever he made them feel the difference of rank in the ordinary affairs of life.

The king possesses the rare and great talent of letting himself down to every man, without forgetting himself in the least. His reader and secretary dare not bring him either complaint or petition. The king appears to be exceedingly mistrustful of himself, and to fear least his daily conversation and familiarity with all sorts of people should lead him into error. His secretary, who passes so many hours of every day with him in private, must lay all the business to be done before him in form. His ministers are the only persons he refers to; they are the executors of his will.

It has been frequently observed, that no king upon the face of the earth is so well served as the king of Prussia, though there is none who pays his servants so ill. But these good servants are not to be procured by mere severity; they must have observed, that the king far excels them in understanding, and that he himself strictly adheres to the rules of justice and equity, which he lays down for the conduct of others. Had they discovered a weak side, either in the head or heart of the monarch, there would have been an end of their good services. It is only to his extreme impartiality, his justice, and his superior understanding, that we must ascribe the activity and order in the Prussian courts of justice. No prince of the blood has the slightest advantage over a farmer in a law-suit. When a dispute happens with a subject upon any part of the domain or crown lands, there is no judge who dares have a leaning towards the king's side; on the contrary, in this case they are ordered to have a leaning against him. The same aversion to despotism leads him to make it no secret, that he does not think the kings of the earth are placed here as gods of it, and vicegerents of the Almighty. He looks upon the royal dignity as a station, which, like that of a general, and many others, has been established through human dispositions, and to which, in consequence of these dispositions, birth alone gives a title. He makes as little use of religion as he does of politics, to blind his people, or keep up his authority by faith and opinion. The consciousness that he is capable of no injustice or act of power, can alone set him above this Machiavelian policy. To conclude my thesis, that the king is nothing less than a despot; I must observe, that he has no over-bearing passion; fame is by no means his pursuit; he despises all the applause of men from his heart. The great physiognomist, Lavater, must have observed in his countenance, that he despises man himself; at least I think I can affirm, with a degree of sufficient confidence, that the king appears less in no man's eyes than he does in his own. Flatterers have very little to expect from him; and those who have written against him with the greatest bitterness, may be assured that he has no gall against them. The abbe Raynal, who is at present here, is a sure proof of this. There is no place in the world in which there is less noise made about the king's actions than there is at Berlin. None of the newspapers of the country say a word about them; and there would not have been a word said about them at all, if some patriots of other countries had not taken it into their heads, of late, to blow the trumpet of fame, whenever their governors did any thing that was not palpably absurd or impertinent. These fulsome panegyriste stirred up some Prussian patriots, who love their king, to shew the world, that Frederic, who is so unknown to most strangers, does more in silence than half a dozen other demi-gods of the earth put together. The world was astonished when it learned, that for years past the king had distributed several millions amongst his subjects.

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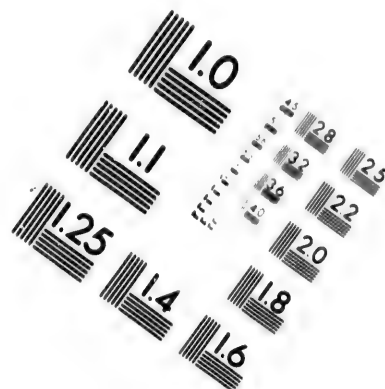
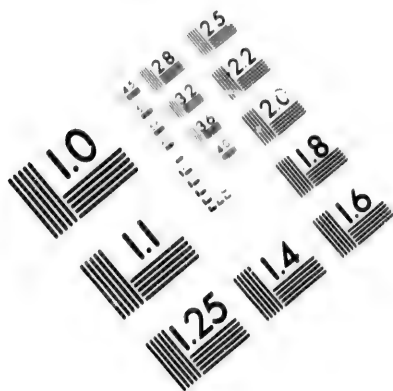
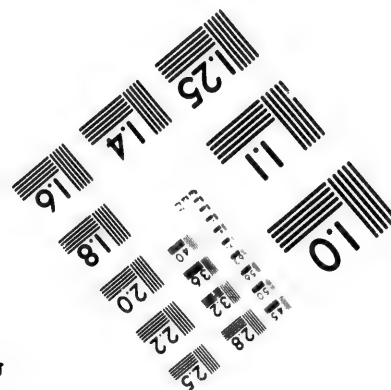
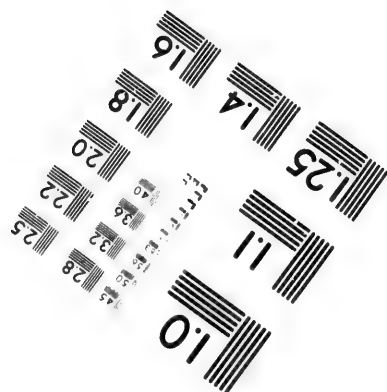
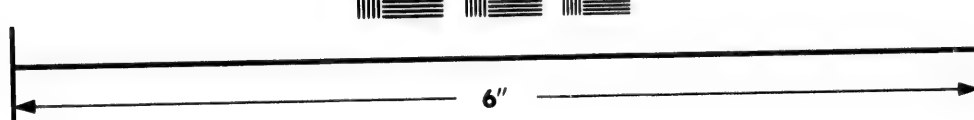
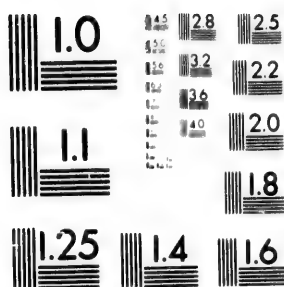
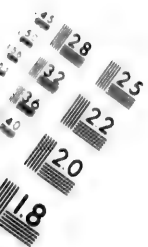


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and the writers of newspapers took it very ill that he had done this without their knowledge. It was not till within these few years, that we knew that the land-tax in the Prussian dominions is never altered, though this system is as old as the time of the king's coming to the crown. Long before the philosophers of the last twenty-five years (for, till within these last five and twenty years, there has been no philosophy) began to declaim against capital punishments, the torture, and the duration of law-suits, all these things had been banished out of the Prussian dominions, without any scribbler taking the trouble to sing a *Te Deum* about it (Beccaria himself makes this observation.) Avarice is as little the king's weak side as the love of fame. Nobody gives more willingly than he does, when he sees that the money is likely to be made good use of. He has money in his head, and not in his heart; and œconomy is one of the first virtues of a governor. But I shall say more of this in my next.

LETTER XLVII.

Berlin.

THROUGH all Germany, and particularly through all Saxony, it passes for an established truth, that the king of Prussia knows nothing of the true principles of trade. In the Dutch coffee-houses, those eternal fountains of political nonsense, he is treated as an ignorant dabbler. That foreign merchants should think this, or say so, does not at all surprise me: when they blame the king, they only speak like the great Roman orator, *pro domo sua*; it is impossible that they should be pleased with those principles which preclude them from the power of robbing the king's subjects of their money; but we hear the same complaints here, and in the other countries subject to the king. There are men here, who are always crying out on excise, customs, and monopolies, and extolling universal liberty as the first principle of trade. It is very true, that the excise makes the manufactures so expensive, that several of the Prussian, whose productions are extremely good, cannot support a competition with those of other countries. It is very true, that the many monopolies to be met with here, are a great restraint upon national industry; still however in my opinion, the king of Prussia may be defended. The fact is this; every thing here is connected, but the true principles on which the excise and monopoly systems in Prussia are grounded are not seen, because, like many other things in the Prussian dominions, they are too near the eyes, let us see if we can explain these matters a little.

Neither commerce, nor manufactures, nor the encouragement of private industry, which tend to produce a great inequality in national riches, and render part of the people affluent at the expence of the rest; neither all these, nor any part of these, are the corner-stone of the Prussian edifice of state; it rests on agriculture only; and if we consider the king of Prussia's politics in this point of view, we shall find an exact symmetry of parts in them.

It is on this principle, that that part of the subjects which is the most numerous, has the least business, and is most inclined to live at the expence of the working inhabitant of the country, is obliged to contribute most to the expences of the state. Whoever will take the trouble of comparing the several articles of the Prussian excise with each other, will soon find that they bear the exactest proportion possible to luxury, and are, as they ought to be, always the higher, the more the article of consumption on which they are laid is remote from the first necessities of life, which the farmer supplies. For this reason the excise always varies, and must do so. The king has an exact account laid before him of all the articles of luxury imported from abroad. When he sees that

the consumption of any article rises immoderately, he immediately lessens it, by raising the excise on that article; he has done so lately by coffee, which, according to his account, had taken many millions out of his country for some years past. The meaning of this manœuvre was to recommend to his subjects warm beer, which is the produce of the country, is a more wholesome, and more palatable food than coffee, and from the use of which he himself had found great benefit when he was young. Another time he observed, that 12,000 florins worth of eggs were every year brought to Berlin out of Saxony. In order to save his subjects this expence, he immediately laid a considerable tax on the Saxon eggs, and thus encouraged his own farmers to breed chickens. This principle is one of the plainest in legislation; it is that which prevails in all enlightened countries, only not with the same good sense and equity as in Prussia. Indeed the English customs and excise are much more hostile to eating and drinking than the Prussian; and it is a proverb in Holland, that of every dish of fish he eats, a man pays five parts to the state, and one to the fishmonger.

The complaints which have the most foundation of truth in them, are those which are made with respect to the price of the absolute necessities of life. These, it is said, are so high, that it raises the price of work too much, and by so doing, tends to ruin, not only the Prussian manufactures, but the monopoly itself. But these taxes only affect the inhabitants of the towns, the artists, manufacturers, labourers, merchants, and all who live by the service of the state.

In order to form a just notion of the influence which high taxes have upon the necessities of life, one should consider the connection which the industry of the citizen has with the productions of the country, before one allows one's self to think of its effects on foreign trade. The king of Prussia, who in every thing follows the order of nature, has not been so solicitous to procure money from foreigners, as to stop the channels through which his own money went out of the country. Consider things in this light, and you will find, that the imposts on the necessities of life have not been any restraint on private industry; for the price of work has kept on a level with the price of the necessities of life, and the excise has only been a new and larger canal to assist the circulation of money. The king, who regularly pursued his plan of making the country independant of foreign industry, took care the money paid by the subject should flow back from the exchequer by the surest channels. Thus all that was spent by the soldier, and all that the inhabitants of great towns spent for the comforts of life, flowed back again to the farmer, and encouraged internal agriculture and industry. In order that this might be so, the duties on foreign goods, such as cloths, linens, and the like, were always so high, that only the highest degree of luxury could prefer them to the same commodities made at home; and it was proper that those who had this degree of luxury should be punished for it.

As to the exportation of Prussian manufactures, which of course would be affected by the excise; all that is to be said is, that the lesser evil is to be preferred to a greater. Luxury is the ruin of a state. Immoderate enjoyment is the greatest political sin. An unequal participation of national riches is the cause why half a people are tyrants, and the other half slaves. Thus cry out our philosophers here, and they are in the right. Still more, you find it observed in almost every parliamentary debate in England, that British freedom will be ruined by the disproportionate riches of part of its members, and the facility there is of acquiring them. They say that pleasure, corruption, ambition, and extreme poverty, have enervated the nation; but how is it possible to set bounds to luxury and immense riches, except by the Prussian excise? The more a man spends, and the richer he is, the more he pays to the state, which divides this overflow of the

richer class amongst the poorer, and by this means restores the balance as much as it is possible to do it. Once grant that the real strength of a people consists in frugality, industry, and an equal division of property, and you must be content to put yourself above the trifling inconveniences, which a small part of the whole must unavoidably be exposed to, from an attention to these maxims.

Is there any country that has wasted its strength on merchandise, that has been able to support itself long? The immense quantity of riches, the inevitable consequences of the freedom of trade, have always drawn along with them luxury, extravagance, effeminacy, tyranny, and the consequent ruin of the country. Mr. Wraxall himself, who has echoed the outcry of the merchant on the Prussian system of finance, but who might have convinced himself, in the houses of the Prussian farmers, that the king's subjects are not at all in arms against him, as he says they are; Mr. Wraxall himself is the warmest declaimer against the pride and tyranny which great riches have introduced in England; but let him shew me another dam to these ravages, besides that which has been opposed to them by the king of Prussia.

It is a strange perverting of political reasoning, when one hears the same man cry in England, that the great wealth of the nobility hath undermined the wealth of the state, and finds him in Prussia joining the Prussian nobility in saying, that the prosperity of the farmers is hurtful to the interests of Prussia. History can shew no example of the prosperity of the farmers having excited convulsions in a state; whereas it abounds in instances of states overturned by the power of the nobles and the freedom of trade. The farmer seldom has too much; but if he does happen to be rich, his income is more equally divided than that of the inhabitants of the city; he has besides more children to provide for out of it; besides this as the farmer's substance is procured by hard labour, he is more frugal in the management of it, and on that account likewise less hurtful to the state.

The Prussian system of excise does not in the least affect the real prosperity of the subject; it affects only the consumption and the disorderly foreign trade. The only object of it is to make the subjects frugal; and frugality is the mother of industry. There is no science in which so much sophistry has been used as in that of state economy. It is generally thought that trade alone will make a country rich, whereas nothing is so false. Cadiz, Naples, Lisbon, Smyrna, Aleppo, and many other flourishing trading towns I could mention, flourish at the expence of the countries to which they belong. When they cry out in Prussia, that trade has fallen off, it only means that the consumption has decreased; no doubt it is a falling off to the dealers in coffee, that they cannot sell as much coffee as they were used to do; but these people, who are the persons that have raised the outcry against the king, ought to consider, that a country of Jews (I speak of modern Jews) is the most wretched of all countries, and that a governor is in the right to concern himself very little about what may be for their advantage.

If foreign trade has decreased in the Prussian dominions, on the other hand industry has increased. There is a visible proof of this in the astonishing increase of towns and of population. No country in Europe of the same size has doubled its population, as the Prussian dominions have done (in these I do not comprise the conquered countries) within the space of fifty years. This single fact contradicts all the outcry about Prussian despotism. Effects must always correspond with their causes, and no administration hostile to humanity, could produce such an astonishing increase of men.

Even the monopolies make part of the king's system of universal benevolence. I shall not enter into an exact disquisition of every single article, but only consider that which

raises the greatest outcry, namely, the monopoly of wood. The company who is in possession of this large sum of money, pays the king, or what is the same thing, the state, for the king has neither stables of six thousand horses, nor coach-houses with coaches in them worth 50,000 livres, nor a table of fifty covers, nor mistresses, nor hunts, nor journeys which cost several millions. This company is not allowed to set an arbitrary price on its commodity, but the wood is taxed, and it is obliged to furnish the best sort. Though the price of the wood be high, it keeps pace with the wages of the manufacturers; so no man feels it but those who live upon their own estates without doing any thing, or those who receive stipends from the court. If the former of these would work like the other parts of the industrious public, they would reckon the articles of fire-wood in their account; as they do not, they are very properly punished for their laziness. As to the latter, to be sure they do not get much, but what they get is sufficient for the decent purposes of life, and the king's maxim is, that every man shall have enough, but no man shall have too much. To the farmer the monopoly is of service, for the company is obliged to sell him the wood as cheap as if there was no monopoly, and besides, he is himself allowed to carry a certain portion of it to market, where the regulations enable him to sell it to better advantage than he would do otherwise. The monopoly also serves to preserve the forests, which all Europe has long lamented the diminution of. The scarcity of wood makes people more cautious how they grub up and burn. Nor does the monopoly affect any but the inhabitants of Berlin and Potsdam, who have great advantages over the rest of the country from the residence of many officers of state in them, and the facility with which money circulates. Strangers indeed, who reason from the state of their own purses, and see that the materials for fire are as dear at Berlin and Potsdam as Brasil and Campeachy wood, form no prejudices in favour of the Prussian monopolies, and thus far they are in the right; but when they build upon such grounds to call the king of Prussia a tyrant, as Mr. Wraxall does, it is going a little too far.

The other monopolies are like those we meet with in other countries, to wit, on tobacco, salt, cards, and the like. The king encourages every kind of manufacture and trade which does not militate with the whole system of his administration, but he endeavours chiefly to promote the exportation of such articles as are of real advantage to the country, and least likely to be affected by a competition with other powers, or the variations of fashion. Of this kind are the woollen stuffs of this place, the Silesian linens and cloths, tobacco, and various other articles; the prime materials of which grow in the country, and find an easy admittance every where. Besides these primary articles, the manufactures of silk, wrought iron, and steel, looking-glasses, china, sugar, and above all, the trade in wood bring great sums of foreign gold into the country. The Poles pay a large tribute to Prussian industry; and, indeed, every where the balance is in favour of the Prussian merchant, in consequence of that frugality and abstinence, which follows from the king's system of excise.

The king's treasury, into which so much money flows every year, is commonly looked upon as one of the greatest obstacles to the trade of the country. This may be true with regard to the common Jewish sort of trade, which, though favourable to laziness and avarice, is in fact, as hurtful to the state as the sale of mountebank and quack medicines; but in my opinion, the king's treasury is one of his wisest institutions. He yearly lays by in it a sum of money, which bears a fixed proportion to that which the balance of trade in his favour brings him in from the stranger. It is generally thought that the sum thus set by amounts to 100,000*l.* or as much as the new buildings, the payment of the troops, and the improvements made in the country respectively cost; but if we con-

sider that the whole income of the state is appropriated to particular and specific purposes, according to the settled and permanent order, never interrupted by any menus plaisirs; and that, according to the highest calculation, the balance in favour of the Prussian trade produces only two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, it will appear that the king does not lay by half of what comes from foreign trade.

It is one of the nonsensical maxims of the present age, which, like a great many others of the same kind, have crept into our modern political theories and romances, that all the money of a country must be employed in the circulation, and none of it be laid by for cases of necessity; but it was owing to the royal treasure that no taxes were raised in the last war, and it is for this very purpose that it was intended; for in the American war, the increase of taxes fell heavier on the French and English than all the other pressures of the state put together. Schroeder, who is one of the oldest and most acute of the German political writers, has long shewn the falsity of this maxim. Besides, that, taxes fall more heavily on the subject, and are more difficult to raise in time of war than in time of peace, they cannot be so soon collected; and if in consequence of this you are compelled to add new ones, the result will be what we have seen happen in France, many provinces will be so exhausted in three or four years as not to recover for a whole century. In these emergencies ministers have recourse to state lotteries, loans, &c. which finally produce the fine system of debt, which annually consumes half the revenue of Great Britain.

If the king of Prussia had had no treasure, it would have been impossible, after the terrible war which lasted from 1756 to 1763, for his lands not only to recover, but to be in a more flourishing situation than they were before. There is also a local consideration, which makes the king of Prussia's treasure of peculiar consequence to that country, which is, that as several parts of it lie open to the enemy, were it not for this resource it would be possible, at the breaking out of a war, to cut off a great part of the revenue, by seizing upon a principal town. Indeed it is to the reserved supplies, which have enabled him to parry every evil of this kind, that the king owes the success of those operations which have rendered his name immortal. Nor is the treasury entirely inactive at any period. At different times the king has lent very considerable sums at a very inconsiderable interest to the states of several of his provinces; these sums are in circulation, and all that the king requires, is the exact reimbursement at the time fixed.

The Prussian state, considered as a state, is the richest in Europe; and it is absolutely impossible that it ever should be exposed to feel any inconvenience from the want of money; for its system of finance is established upon such solid foundations, that if any of the king's successors were to think of introducing a change, it would overturn the whole building. You would hardly think it, but I can assure you, that the bank bills of this place are bought up with avidity. Nobody has any opinion that they will ever lose their credit. The Dutch are very happy when this bank will take their money, as notwithstanding all the outcry about Prussian despotism, they are convinced it cannot be more secure any where than it is here. Upon the whole, it is easy to see, that most of our very wise declaimers against the government of Prussia, draw their topics from the difference they observe between it and the other European governments; whereas if they would give themselves the trouble to lift up their eyes and give matters a little closer and nearer inspection, they would soon give up their prejudices, unless, indeed, their self love made them incapable of all judgment. I have known none of these gentlemen but what have praised, in some part or other of their works, the very principles on which the Prussian government is built, though they overlooked them and could not

see them when they were writing professedly about it. This arises from the amazing difference that there is betwixt theory and practice, and that in all philosophical declamations, people commonly only consider the end, without thinking of the means by which it is to be brought about; nay, they often overlook the only means by which it can be brought about at all. Hence it has appeared, that those who have written the most strongly against luxury, have not been favourable to the Prussian system of excise, though it is the only sure dam whereby all excesses may be restrained. All the political principles with respect to the happiness of nations, which l'abbé Raynal gives us in that famous *Histoire Politique et Philosophique* of his, in which he is so violent against the king of Prussia, without knowing any thing about him, had been adopted in Prussia, and perhaps no where else in the wide world before the abbe put pen to paper.

Another part of these declaimers find fault only for the sake of appearing singular. Mr. Guibert and some others of our countrymen are among this class. These gentlemen took it in their heads to exhibit the king to a people, the god of whose idolatry he has long been, through a kind of magic lanthorn, with his head where his heels should be. Doubtless, the indifference with which the king is accustomed to behold all such buffooneries, must have made them vastly pleased with their wise work.

The king of Prussia and his father have solved the three most difficult problems of state that exist; and history affords no example of their having been solved so quickly, so happily, and so universally, as they have been by these princes. They have made a lazy, prodigal, and stupid people industrious, active, and alert; they have given to a country, which had been entirely neglected by nature, a value which many of the most highly favoured countries have not, and they have placed a small nation in a situation not only to vanquish in a favourable moment all the combined forces of the mightiest monarchies of Europe united, but to be able at any time to measure swords with either of them singly.

LETTER LI.

Berlin.

WHEN you hear the king of Prussia mentioned in the southern parts of Germany, you think they are speaking of an angel of death, whose employment is to kill the people by hundreds and thousands, to burn cities and villages, and to be the first general of his day. This opinion commonly rests upon the same ground as another, which was very generally received by the common people during the last Silesian war, of the king of Prussia's having taken up arms against France and Austria for the extirpation of the Roman Catholic religion. Austria had often recourse to such little artifices; she was wont to appeal to the religious and passionate feelings of the people, whenever her troops were beaten, and probably found some consolation in it, not that only which arises from exciting compassion, but the more substantial one of the support derived from the riches and forces of some of the Catholic princes of Germany. Such prejudices in the populace are easily produced; but when you read in the writings of some of the most famous Austrian statesmen and literati that the king of Prussia's whole system is contrived for the purpose of making himself terrible to his neighbours, of plundering them, and of living by robbery, you do not know whether to laugh most at their ignorance, or be most ashamed at their impudence.

Out of Germany they look upon the king of Prussia as a great general, but are not therefore blind to his other virtues. Our countrymen, whose impartiality and justice in judging of the merits of great men nobody can controvert, read his civil ordinances,

his bon mots, and the anecdotes of what passes in his family, with as much pleasure as they do the account of his expeditions. Even they, however, impartial as they are, form quite a false opinion of the king, when they consider his military conduct as the greatest of his exertions, and think his principal merit consists in being the greatest general of his day. It is natural enough for the love of splendid actions to make us more attentive to the bustle which has attended his services in the field, than to his still and benevolent occupations. But we could not therefore ascribe to him a love of this bustle, and a delight in the occupations of war, which no king upon earth likes less than he does.

Nourished in the arms of the muses, and attentive only to the progress of philosophy, scarce had he ascended the throne, when one of the most extraordinary events of this century happened, an event which must naturally call his attention very strongly to it. He was one of the many princes who had pretensions to the succession of Charles VI. What he claimed was some marquisates in Silesia. The point was how effectually to secure these rights. Most probably he would have taken the part of Maria Theresa, attacked as she was on all sides, had a proper attention been paid to his requisitions; but the Austrian ministry, ever blinded by its own consequence, only answered his manifestoes with insolence and contempt. The consequence was, that after having defeated the imperial troops in the field, he made free with all Silesia, which gave great offence. Then however he discovered the moderation of his nature; for it would have been easy for him, by supporting Charles VII, to have sunk a house, which was the most dangerous to him in all Europe. But his politics did not allow him to commit an injustice.

It was neither the king of Prussia's love of plunder, nor any thing indeed, except the pride of the Austrian ministry, and the little knowledge it had of the strength of the Prussian dominions, that was the true cause of the loss of Silesia. The Austrians despised a court which had no princes and dukes in its pay, but only merchants and knights a quaranto Ecus* for ministers and generals. They saw no further than the outside of the court of the present king's father, who, under the mask of a ridiculous singularity, had laid the foundation of the Prussian greatness; they laughed at his unpowdered hair, his dirty boots, his turnip dinners, and his tall men. People knew not that these tall men, whom they looked upon only as his particular amusement, were under the best of discipline; they knew not that his unbetitled and unbestringed ministers were the most enlightened patriots; that the most exact œconomy had made the small country of Prussia richer than the proud and mighty Austria. In fine, they knew not that Spartan œconomy, and Spartan subordination, which this ridiculous king was making the characteristic of the nation, must get the better of indolence, effeminacy, and profusion, even though the tribe of gentlemen had not been so numerous in Austria, as it was.

This ignorance was the true thing which some persons have affected to call the good fortune of the present king of Prussia.

The invasion of Bohemia, which took place some time after the conquest of Silesia, was undertaken in consequence of the most pressing and repeated instances of the emperor, the head of the German empire, of which the king was a member.

I have conversed with an old and respectable Dutch officer, who accompanied count Seckendorff, as adjutant, to Berlin, when he went to desire the king to help the emperor out of the distress which he must otherwise have sunk under. The king was

* Knights worth fifty crowns.

for a long time deaf to all representations and entreaties. As count Seckendorff was pressing him one day upon the parade, he shewed him a regiment which had suffered considerably in the first Silesian war. "Behold," says he, "what war costs me; this regiment has lost above half its men, and shall I expose my people to the danger of being so roughly handled again?" This is the king whom people call upon as a robber and tyrant! Seckendorff, who was a greater statesman than he was a general, in vain tried all his rhetoric to carry his point; nor would any thing have induced the king again to become the enemy of Austria, but the being informed in what an unmanly manner the Austrians had behaved in Bavaria, how they had plundered the archives, robbed the nobility, laid waste the country, and carried the peasants into captivity; that in short, their known pride, their spirit of revenge, and their cruelty, gave cause to apprehend every thing for the house of Bavaria.

The king undertook to free the emperor from his distress, without hurting Austria much: and he compassed it with a moderation which the unprejudiced part of the world still admires. He obliged prince Charles to give the emperor breathing room, by forcing him to hasten with his army from the Rhine to Bohemia. When he had done this he was quiet, and asking nothing for himself, was contented with having done what equity and the share he took in the emperor's calamity required of him. It is well known what little share his love of robbery and conquest had in the breaking out of that war in which he eclipsed all that had been done by ancient or modern heroes. In the very heat of this war, in which he himself gathered so many laurels, he wrote a letter to Voltaire, filled with wishes for philosophical quiet, and full of lamentations on the cruelties of war. Very far from being intoxicated with his fame, and untainted with any degree of the pride which filled the breast of that Roman governor, who, returning from the government of a distant province, thought that all Italy must incessantly be filled with the praise of his administration; he asked Gellert, who sued to him for peace in the middle of the theatre of war, whether he had not heard or seen there were three powers in arms against him; and whether he thought it depended upon him to make Germany a present of peace! So free was he from being elated with the eclat of his wonderful arms, and so far from thinking of higher things than how to defend himself.

In this wonderful letter to Voltaire, he promises, when he shall once be quiet, to cut off the most distant pretences for war, nor to take any concern in the politics of Europe; but to give up all his time to the improvement of his own country, amidst the blessings of peace. This promise he has hitherto most religiously adhered to. You think, perhaps, that he did not in the affair of the division of Poland; but he took the least part possible in that affair. The world will be astonished when the particulars of this business come to be known, as none has ever been so misrepresented and distorted by political motives. I collected at Vienna some very extraordinary documents relative to this matter, which I will communicate to you when we meet. Thus far is notorious to all mankind; that in this famous partition, the king had not a third of what fell to Russia, nor a quarter of what Austria had. A stronger proof of the king's moderation, and of his pacific disposition, it is impossible to give. Possibly the division would have been a little more equal if ever the parties had come to blows.

In the last Bavarian war he again observed the same wonderful moderation. The cause of his taking up arms was to restore the house of Wittelsbach to his inheritance, and to maintain the constitution of the empire; which, as a member of that body, he was bound to protect. He asked nothing for himself, and did not go a step farther than he was forced to by the strongest necessity. No monarch ever went into the field

with greater magnanimity, and greater disinterestedness, than the king of Prussia did on this occasion. Since the twenty years he has given himself to philosophy, he has let several other occasions go by, which would not have been missed by another monarch who had had the same powers of war in hand as he had, and the warlike disposition commonly attributed to him.

No prince can manifest more regard for mankind, than what is shewn by the king of Prussia every day. He interests himself as much in the welfare of a common farmer, as in the flourishing of the greatest house of trade in his dominions. It is his greatest pride, and his greatest pleasure, to read in the yearly lists, that the population of his country has increased. He has not been seen so cheerful for many years, as he was upon finding, by the list given in last year, that the number of new-born children within the year, far surpassed the number of the dead. A king who has this way of thinking, is a warrior only when necessity compels him to it. His Lacedemonian armies only serve the purpose of enabling him to cultivate his country in peace, and to bring his law-suits with his neighbours to a speedy conclusion. They are evidently not the end of his government, but the means; and it is only those who are contented with viewing the outside of things, and do not look into the springs of the Prussian government, who think them the great object.

Some of the Austrian writers think the king could not keep up his armies, if he did not, at certain periods, take a share in the disturbances of his neighbours, and raise out of them a sufficient revenue for the service of some years; but this is one of those assertions which it is impossible to hear without laughing.

More than half the army, as I have already told you, are foreign troops. They subsist on the produce of the country, the consumption of which is immediately connected with the progress of agriculture. Their clothes and linen are made of materials which grow in the country, so that they promote industry both by contributing to the raising the first materials, and by the working of them. Their pay likewise is issued from the treasury, in such a way as greatly to assist the general circulation. After their time of service has expired, many hundreds of the foreign troops continue in the country, and so promote the purposes of agriculture and commerce; but the greatest part of the natives are always upon furlow, and work at home. Upon the whole, both industry and agriculture rather gain than lose by the army. Indeed you can call only the foreigners a standing army; for the natives are, in time of peace, as Moore has observed, a regular, well-behaved, and easily raised militia.

All the military regulations have these two ends in view; that of preventing the improvement of agriculture from suffering by the number of troops; and that of making them subservient to the circulation of money. For these purposes the annual reviews always take place at the time of the year when fewest hands are wanted for the purposes of agriculture, &c. The troops are quartered in the several provinces in the exact proportion of the revenue of these provinces, so that no money can go this way from one province to another. Every thing is precisely upon a par. Silesia has just as many troops more as Brandenburg, as it has more revenue; and the other provinces in the same proportion. As the army raises near two-thirds of the revenue of the state, there remains by this means more gold in the provinces than there is in any other country in Europe, where commonly the gold flows to the middle, and the capital grows rich at the expence of the country. Each regiment has a peculiar part of the country assigned it for recruiting, and in this, or near it, are commonly its standing quarters. By this means the troops are not only easily got together when they are wanted, but the father has always his son in the neighbourhood to help him to improve his land, and at the ar-

nual review time, the latter has not far to go to join his regiment. It is inconceivable how, after this, such clamours can be raised against the king of Prussia, on account of his army, and how it can be represented as hurtful to the country. Those of the soldiers who are natives, do not spend a longer time with the army than their fellows in the English or Swiss militia's. Indeed the maritime service in one of these countries, and the custom of letting out troops for hire, which prevails in the other, tend to deprive them of hands to till the soil, whereas the Prussian army increases the number of cultivators.

The Prussian army consists of about one hundred and ninety thousand men, and costs the king yearly about 20,000,000 of florins, or 52,000,000 of our livres.* These men are, indeed, disciplined into a state of mere mechanics, nor can it be denied, that the hardship of the fate of the common men will make one of our modern philosophers shudder; and yet, without these hardships the army would not be what it is, so that the king must be content to bear with it as a necessary evil, in order to secure the tranquillity of the country. What would those who feel so much for the Prussian soldiers have said, if they had seen the troops of Alexander, or Cæsar, which, in all probability, and from all we can gather from history, had not a milder fate than the Prussians? what do I say a milder fate? some intelligent men are of opinion, that both the discipline of Cæsar's troops, and the labour required of them, was greater than those the Prussian soldier is exposed to. Be this as it may, there is a distinction to be made between the Prussian troops. The fate of the native soldiers is not so hard as is generally thought by a stranger travelling post; nor are they, as I have already observed, more than a well-regulated militia.

Another observation I have made on these men is, that they are not by any means so insensible and sulky as they have been commonly thought to be. On the contrary, I have observed amongst them, a great deal of good will, and a great deal of affection both for their king and their country. As during their furlows they have other occupations besides arms, and keep company with other people besides their corporals and companions, they are civiller and freer in their intercourse than the foreigners. These last are enlisted in consequence of a voluntary contract (for it will be unjust to lay to the king's charge the decoys of professed enlisters) the conditions of which are exactly adhered to.

No sovereign pays more punctually or more sparingly than the king of Prussia; nor is any man obliged to serve beyond the time for which he is enlisted, as has been falsely pretended. It is true, indeed, that the officers employ all their powers of persuasion to retain a good soldier; but a stiff and stubborn denial puts an end to their entreaties.

The necessaries of life are dealt out very sparingly to these people, and you may read upon many of their meagre faces, the extremes of poverty, added to the extreme of labour. But the sailors, who serve other states in time of peace for the purposes of trade, have hardly a milder fate; nor is it less ridiculous to reproach the king of Prussia, on account of the hardships to which his soldiers are exposed, than it would be to compel these nations to relinquish their navy on account of the loss of men they are subject to by storms, salt provisions, change of climate, scurvy, and the other accidents of a seafaring life. Without frugality and labour, the king of Prussia's soldiers could not be superior to those of other powers; but as he is surrounded by enterprising and jealous neighbours, he must endeavour to procure himself, by art, what others enjoy in consequence of their natural strength. The sufferings of a small number is no evil, but a

* About 216,666l.

good when the state cannot be benefited without it, and those who blame this extraordinary discipline, must also, with Mr. Linguet, find fault with agriculture, as it falls nearly as hard on the greatest part of the subjects of every European state, as the military service does on the Prussian soldier.

The hardships too of the situation, have been much exaggerated by travellers. Even blows, about which so much has been said, are only used when the man shews incorrigible stupidity, awkwardness, negligence, or wickedness. In no armies whatever are recruits treated with more gentleness than they are in the Prussian. Their corporals teach them the exercise, and how to march with all possible care and attention; nor do they grudge to repeat the way of doing the thing a thousand times, when the man's skull is hard of penetration. But when once he understands the thing, his teacher takes the stick, and tells him, that this for the future will be his teacher, if he does not do what he is now able to do.

In the course of my travels, I have often had occasion to make a very interesting observation. In all the countries belonging to bishops, and in many of the free states, I met with soldiers who had served the king of Prussia, and who had most of them deserted from him. As you know it is my way to be more observant of men of the lower orders of society, than of those who have stars and strings; I talked with about twenty of these deserters, and did not meet with one amongst them who did not wish himself back again with the king of Prussia. I have sometimes purposely contradicted them, and have endeavoured to shew them what far more pleasant days they enjoyed under their bishop or magistrate, and how impossible I thought it, from all the accounts I had of the Prussian army, that they should be displeased with their change of situation. This did not satisfy them. They all spoke of the king's great achievements with a degree of enthusiasm, which often struck me not a little, and the conclusion of what they said was always this: "it is very true that soldiers are rather roughly treated by the king of Prussia, but the pay comes regularly the day it is due, and there is no instance of any man having ever been starved to death by him." When a man does his duty, the officer's eye is upon him, and every one knows in what rank he may class himself; in other places men are only half soldiers, and derive no credit from it. Notwithstanding they have the utmost liberty under these petty princes, and are oftener in the ale-house than under arms whilst they continue with them, many of them, who are young enough, desert back again to the king of Prussia. It is remarkable enough too, that in all these places they consider themselves as a kind of veterans. In one of the episcopal residences, I heard an officer swear at a soldier. The fellow answered him with a degree of cold pride not to be described, "sir officer, I have served the king of Prussia." And the officer was silent.

The frequent desertions, are the capital objections which men make to the Prussian military establishment. It is very true, that upon marching into an enemy's country, a twelfth or fifteenth of the king's army leaves him; but they come back with interest after a fortunate action, and though, after unfortunate actions, so many of the foreign troops desert, his own subjects desert less than any soldiers upon earth.

A new instance of the king's wisdom and goodness in not being willing to expose the country to any distress, is shewn in his willingness rather to bear with these inconveniences, than have more of his subjects under arms. After the battle of Collin, half the army deserted; and at Roebach his army was made up almost entirely of his own troops; but mark, he beat our armies, and the armies of the empire, and the last served him to complete his regiments which had suffered. Thus it always goes. The Germans who inhabit near the Rhine, Maine, and countries about the upper parts of the Danube, always join the victorious army. When the emperor is fortunate, they leave the king for

him; and when the chances turn, they turn with them. In the mean time they must of course always stand one action in the place where they are.

With regard to the interior government and tactics of the Prussian army, all I can tell you about them is, that no foreigners know any thing of the matter. Mr. Guibert, the celebrated French writer on the subject, is looked upon here as the most miserable driveller in the whole world; and they pointed out several things to me, which he had entirely mistaken. I will give you only one specimen, which I happen to recollect. He says that the cylindrical rammer of the Prussians depresses the gun too much when they present. This is not only false in fact, but Mr. Guibert overlooked something here, which the Prussians consider as a remarkable advantage. They always lower the gun a little when they present, because they have observed that it is always raised a little by the natural shaking of the soldier, especially when he sees himself within the enemies' fire. They say we lost I know not what battle in Flanders, by our men always firing too high, whereas the English took such care to make their people fire lower, that some of the officers even lowered the guns of the soldiers with their arms and sticks.

In my opinion, the same thing is to be observed in this, as in every other part of the Prussian government. It is not so much the mystery which obtains, as the simplicity of things, which people overlook, and judge falsely about. They seek for artifice where there really is none, and set up mystery because things are too near their noses to be seen. I was assured by several officers, that in marches (which they consider as one of the most important parts of the art of war, though they do not make a whole regiment stand for some minutes on one leg, in order to teach them how to preserve the equilibrium of the body) there are certain little things, which people do not observe, on which the whole depends. The king suffers no person to be present at the grand manœuvres, without particular permission; but this is probably done more to prevent the troops being disturbed by a swarm of spectators, than to make a mystery of any thing. It requires indeed a very nice and well-accustomed eye, as well as a very favourable situation in the field, to see and understand a Prussian manœuvre; so that amongst twenty professional men, who are spectators, there shall hardly be one that can compass it. This is the true cause why the Prussian officers themselves can give so little account of their own art. Every man has too much to do upon his own spot, to be able to attend to what is passing round him.

As wonderful as the Prussian infantry is, it is still infinitely surpassed by the cavalry, according to the testimony of all the officers I have spoken with. Even English travellers, who are not apt to give any favourable accounts of what they meet with in other countries, and who are so proud of their own cavalry, confess that this part of the Prussian army goes beyond all that can be conceived of it. The king himself says of them, that they always stand to advantage between him and the enemy he expects. He spends immense sums upon them, and sends for horses as far as Tartary. The Prussian officers, though not given to boasting, assert, that in all the history of the art of war, there is not an instance of the cavalry's ever having been brought to the point of perfection it is now brought to in Prussia. They ride always full gallop; but their evolutions are as exact as any of those of the infantry.

They look upon the attack of the cavalry as not to be stood by the infantry. The king's cavalry is above eighty thousand strong, and he every year uses five thousand fresh horses. The emperor takes all possible pains to rival the king in this respect; but he is still at a great distance from him, though his cavalry is beyond comparison the best in Europe after the Prussian.

A great advantage possessed by the Prussian army is the uniform discipline that obtains all through. There are particular masters of exercise for every division of the army. These the colonels themselves must not control, when they are exercising their regiments, though they are often only majors. This occasions an attention to a great number of little things, which in other armies particularly our own, depend only on the will of the colonel, and are therefore often neglected. By this means the whole must harmonize better, for when rules are the same, the alacrity or negligence of the colonels or majors in the execution, make a wonderful difference in regiments.

Another cause, which in my opinion, greatly contributes to the excellence of the army, is the high birth of the officers. They are most of them of the first nobility of the country, and you hardly meet with one foreigner in twenty. They must all have been educated at the cadet's school, and have served as cadets: I have some very respectable acquaintance amongst them. They are in every respect well-educated people, and upon the whole very sensible men. The small pay of the subalterns obliges them to be economical, which is of great advantage to the service. They have all a martial appearance, and that alacrity in every thing, which bespeaks men always ready to cut a knot with their swords. I believe that the Prussian army has an advantage over the Austrian, from the Prussian nobility not being so powerful as the Austrian. You cannot expect from counts and princes with large incomes, that exact subordination and simplicity, which is the soul of the Prussian army. Our experienced officers make a great outcry about the irregularities in service, which are perpetually arising from the intrigues of private families; and it is well known that the English army is as ill circumstanced in this respect.

The Austrians are by nature a far stouter race of soldiers than the Prussians, but this does not avail them; for, after all that has been said of the advantage of art over uncultivated nature, no stronger instance can be shewn of it, than bringing up a miserable artificial being, with all his art about him, to face a natural man, who is without it. The natural man, who, were they both unarmed, would be able to tear to pieces a dozen such creatures, lies stretched out at the feet of the wretched man of art, as soon as the latter gives fire.

The same truth holds good with regard to armies that are more or less disciplined, nor are the natural qualities of the soldier able to stand against those which are acquired by art.

LETTER LII.

Berlin.

WHEN we read in Linguet's Annals that the king of Prussia had more soldiers than peasants, during the last Silesian war, we are naturally apt to take it for a bon mot; but I am apt to think it rank ignorance. The man who could advise the European powers to help the house of Austria to a part of Germany, in order to enable it to oppose the Turk on all sides, is very capable of making such a blunder. He estimated the Prussian territories by the map, where, on account of their broken appearance, they make but a sorry figure, and so naturally fell into the opinion of its being impossible for more than two hundred thousand men to inhabit so narrow a slip of land.

What confirms me in this opinion, is the ignorance people are in with regard to the real strength of Prussia, which yet they ought to be better acquainted with, partly by the information of their eyes, and partly from German documents, which are open to every man.

Mr. Pilati, one of the few foreigners who understand German, and derive their knowledge from the fountain head, relates, that the king of Prussia had not more than 120,000 men, when he made his first conquest.

When the king came to the crown, his own territories contained at least 2,000,000 inhabitants; Brandenburg had 600,000; Prussia 60,000; Pomerania 300,000; Magdeburg and Halberstadt 300,000; and his own Westphalian dominions at least 400,000. His income consisted of at least twelve millions of florins, and he had inherited a wonderful treasure of ready money from his father.

It is likewise a very generally received prejudice, that Prussia is not strong enough to maintain itself hereafter in the state of splendour to which the present king has raised it. It is very true, that with regard to interior strength, there are but few of the European powers which do not surpass the Prussian; but, as long as the system of government shall last which has been established by the king, it will always be able to measure swords with any power in Europe. In fact, the true strength of a state does not consist so much in the quantity of its positive force, as in the use made of it; but there is no power in Europe who is able to stretch every nerve and every fibre, as the Prussian certainly can. Besides this, if population continues to encrease as it has done during the time of the present administration, the positive force itself will encrease faster than that of any other country.

The Prussian dominions, of which no person can have an idea in the map, contain 3650 German square miles, which is as much as the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, and Portugal put together. The population is about six millions. The kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal put together, do not contain so many inhabitants; nor does England alone contain as many. As the Prussian population does not yet bear any proportion to the size of the country, and as that is not yet all cultivated, the Prussian population is susceptible of a great increase. With regard to goodness of territory, the country in general may be counted amongst the middling sort. The soil of Brandenburg indeed, is remarkably bad; but that of Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Cleves, the marquisate of La Mark, and some parts of Silesia, Pomerania, and Prussia, are as remarkably good. When, in process of time, they have acquired the degree of culture of which they are capable, they will be able to support eight millions of persons. Besides these, this court has much to expect from an accession of the marquisate of Anspach and Bareith; and it is ten to one that it will come in for a share, when the courts of Vienna and Petersburgh shall execute the plan against the Porte, which they have been engaged in ever since the emperor's journey to Petersburgh.

This plan has been spoken of here for some time with a great degree of confidence, and as it is impossible that whenever it takes place, this court should sit idle, I will lay before you the political opinions of those persons who deserve the most credit. They say the two imperial courts hardly need the third part of their troops to be a match for the Turk. The king's situation is therefore critical, for he is placed between two courts, each of which equals him in strength, even after they have sent out one hundred and eighty, or two hundred thousand men against the eastern enemy. This is true; but if the king chooses to oppose their measures, France, who is more interested in this affair than the Prussian court, on account of her Levant trade, which is an object of eight millions a-year, must naturally seek for a connection with him. France, however, has had the folly, at a time when the west and north were occupied by the two most formidable powers that history knows of, to waste her power at sea; and the two imperial courts suffered her to spend herself in the American war, in which she had no manner of concern, till she was entirely exhausted. By this means she has loaded herself

with debt, and will not be able to maintain the balance in the east. By the bye, brother, it is very humbling to a Frenchman to observe how they speak of the power of France in this country. They affect to think our armies might make a tolerable stand against Dutch, Piedmontese, or such troops, or at most against the army of the states of the empire; but that they would make no resistance at all if opposed to the Russian or Austrian armies. But to return; the king of Prussia, whose age and love of philosophical quiet, incline him to peaceful councils, would let himself be persuaded to peace by a slice of Poland. Something he must have; for should it please him to put his old weather-beaten head out, he would find many methods, by his great treasure, of procuring such assistance from Sweden, Denmark, and other German courts, as would enable him to make head against both the imperial courts; especially if France was to do for the Porte, what its fleets enable it to do, or was to force the emperor to make a diversion in the Netherlands and in Italy, where she might be assisted by the kings of Naples and Sardinia. Difficult as it may be, to make so powerful a head, and unlikely that all circumstances should concur, we may venture to say that it is ten to one the courts of Vienna and Petersburg will rather choose to make the king quiet in his own way, than drive him to the utmost. Only shew him that it is worth his while, and probably he will contribute his share in driving the Turks out, or at least guarantee the imperial courts against the attempts which may be made by any other powers of Christendom, to impede their operations.

If the courts of Petersburg and Vienna shall, as they have it in their power, proceed to the execution of this plan; the loss of our profitable trade to the Levant, must be the inevitable consequence of the ruinous American war, the end of which we cannot yet see, and which we cannot get as much by as we are sure to lose by this means. Our wine trade to the north must likewise suffer from this cause, as the Poles have been long at work on a canal, which, by means of the many rivers which pass through their country, is to unite the Atlantic and Black Seas, and to bring wine for the supply of all the north, from the provinces which now constitute Turkey in Europe. Not to say that Europe will have two powers more at sea, which will be hostile to us on the Mediterranean. All this gives us good reason to blame the fleets built at the expence of our land forces. We have only one hope left, which is, that Russia and Austria cannot long continue friends when they are so near one another.

The Prussian monarchy has also great improvements of another kind to expect. If it was once compact and close together, it would be a considerable deal stronger than it now is. They often talk of an exchange of the Prussian territories in Westphalia, and the dutchies of Bareith and Anspach for Mecklenburg, Anhalt and Lauffits. This would be very advantageous for the king, but it is extremely difficult to bring about.

The king's income is about thirty-four millions of Saxon florins, or eighty-nine millions of livres.* His civil list is incredibly and uncommonly small. His first ministers appointments are 15,000 florins. I know some privy counsellors in Vienna who have more. The state of his ambassadors, at the greatest courts, does not amount to more than 15,000 florins. The public of Vienna laughed at the baron Riedesel, the editor of the Journey to Greece, for not having from thirty to forty thousand florins, like the imperial minister; but he knew very well, that the qualities of a good minister are not to be found in his pocket. Accordingly a long time did not pass before he gave the ton in the best societies, and his jealousy for the honour of his master, made several of the emperor's ministers ashamed who were much better paid than he was.

* About 370,833l.

Silesia is the province of most consequence after the kingdom of Prussia. It is only half as big as this, but has nearly the same number of inhabitants, and yields very near as much. The Silesian linens are famous all over the world; and the king has just opened a trade with Spain for them, which was formerly in the hands of the Hamburgers. They have likewise a large trade for handkerchiefs. The Silesian forests also afford a great deal of wood for ship-building. The Ville de Paris, which was taken the 12th of April of this year, was entirely built of Silesian wood.

Having made several excursions into different parts of the Prussian dominions, I have observed that there is no where so much poverty as in the two towns of Berlin and Potsdam. This probably it is, which has contributed to bring the country into discredit with foreigners. The high price of the necessaries of life in these two cities, the great number of idle people, the small pay of many civil and military servants, the pinching way in which many of the smaller nobility, who must have their servants (and often their debts) live, and the great luxury of dress, may be the causes of this. Upon the whole, the country appears to me, though not rich, yet in a state sufficiently prosperous. The equal distribution of the coin amongst many people, makes the sum not so striking as it is in other places, in which a nobleman covers the poverty of a hundred of his poor countrymen by his dissipation. This is not the case here: there are no persons in the Prussian dominions, some of the large feudal nobles in Silesia only excepted, who possess above thirty thousand guilders income in landed estates. Indeed you cannot find more than three houses which have twenty thousand florins; but still the inhabitants are upon the whole as remote from extreme poverty as from excessive riches, and you meet with as few beggars here as in any other country in Europe. There is no ground for the assertion of some travellers, that manufactures do not thrive in this country, for I did not see one city, though ever so small, in which there were not some flourishing manufactures. It has indeed been objected to the king, that his system of finance has ruined the fair of Franckfort on the Oder; but the trade carried on there was a kind of Jewish business, which might perhaps be profitable to the merchants of the place, but was rather hurtful than useful to the rest of the country. The same objection, upon the same narrow grounds, is made to the emperor, with regard to the fair of Bissen, in the Tyrol.

With regard to the sciences, and literature of all kinds, Berlin is, without a doubt, one of the first cities in the world. It is obliged to the king for this pre-eminence. His father was as orthodox and stiff as the late empress of Germany; and the Muses, who without liberty do not live at their ease, fled from him of course. This silly prince banished the celebrated Wolfe, who certainly was no infidel; but the king had no liberal ideas; he considered every study, except those of divinity and finance, as nonsense and delusions of the devil, and his treasurer was a greater man in his eyes, than Wolfe, Leibnitz, or Newton. The present king, who is a true friend of the arts and sciences, has established a freedom of thinking in his country, which is not to be met with any where out of England. Neither orthodox nor politics restrain philosophy in this country; but whilst every professor at Vienna is teaching that land and people are the private property of the monarch, they publish here, without the least fear of danger, that the king is nothing more than a stadtholder, or the first amongst his fellows. As to religion, the Jews openly declare that the Messiah is not yet come; the Catholics, that they eat him every day, and that the pope is the head of all princes; the Protestants, that the pope is the wild-beast in the Apocalypse, and the Whore of Babylon; the Greeks, that there is no Trinity; the Turks, that Mahomet was a greater prophet than either Jesus or Moses; and the whole race of Infidels, that there never has been

any prophet at all. All these things are considered as bare speculations of the closet by the police; and any priest, rabbi, or cadi, desiring to make an *auto-de-fe*, would be the first to occupy a place on his own faggots.

The king has an academy, which is not composed of the best wits to be met with here. There are, however, some men of true merit amongst this generally very indifferent set. But Frederick, as has been observed by several of his enemies, has a prejudice in favour of foreigners, and had rather take one of our journalists* to fill up his academy, than any of the German literati. Mr. Pilati has observed that several of the German men of letters would make a better figure in this academy, than most of the foreigners who are in it. The king does not think so; but then it must be confessed that he has given the Germans full revenge on this subject, by the publication of his *essay sur la Littérature Allemande*, which makes it very evident that he knows nothing at all either of their literature or their language. The reason of this is also obvious. When he began his course, German literature was still in its infancy, and there prevailed at Berlin especially, a barbarity which must have vexed him sorely. His taste was consequently formed on the French and Italian models; and the company he kept in his hours of recreation, consisted only of persons of these nations. In process of time, light advanced in Germany, but he did not perceive the blaze it made in its progress. He himself wrote and spoke only in French; and the jests of the foreign wits who surrounded him, and knew no German, increased his prejudices, both against a language which he could neither speak nor write, and against a nation which he knew only by its dark melancholy humours, and stiff cut of the clothes for which the inhabitants of Berlin were remarkable in his father's time, and which they have not yet entirely thrown off. When the fame of German literature increased, and incontestible proofs of its eminence were offered to be laid before him, it was impossible for him to enter into the beauties of a language which he had always treated as barbarous, and of which he could only write and speak the most miserable jargon. In order to discover the beauties in any tongue whatever, it is necessary to be acquainted with its peculiar idiom: for it is in this case as it is with an actor who succeeds one that had been the favourite of the public. The new actor may possess all that art and nature can bestow upon him, still he will not do enough for general expectation on his first appearance; the spectators must have time to grow familiar with his peculiar pronunciation, his carriage, and a number of trifling circumstances, which only hurt him from the comparison with his predecessor, in whom many things of the same kind did not make unfavourable impressions, on account of the habit which people were under of seeing them. The king, who never had time enough to spare from the cares of his state, to make himself thorough master of the beauties of the language, and to wear away the prejudice he had formed against it, was rather confirmed in his prejudices than shaken in them, by the proofs that were laid before him, of the contrary opinion. It is possible too that his instructors might not be happy in the choice of the works they took to convince him. After all, if we consider that ever since his accession to the throne he has only used literature for a recreation and amusement, we shall not be very angry with him for his aversion to German literati. The ton of the polite world is seldom found united to their learning, and their wits are mostly stunted by the severe studies of their respective professions. Whilst in other nations the literati often sacrifice their understanding to their genius, they always offer up the former at the shrine of the latter. Hunger and want of knowledge of the world render them boorish and untractable in social life, though

at the same time they form the imaginary worlds of which they write, after quite a different system from what they practise, and know how to give their writing a polish which they want themselves. The professional countenances of the Dutch literati, and the studies of the beaux esprits, which came to the king's notice, could not recommend German literature much to him; doubtless the genius of the nation contributed something to the preference he gave the French and Italians. The German genius is dull, and though many of their pieces do not absolutely stink of the lamp, yet you may easily observe that they have come with difficulty from the authors. In consequence of this, they seldom recommend themselves as fine writers, even when they are most entertaining; for they have not the liveliness which enables the French and Italians to mark the remarkable parts of a thing in a minute, and to give a neatness to observations often paltry enough in themselves. Religion is also in some measure the cause of this. The Protestants are accustomed to give too great a preference to the useful over the agreeable, and as the Catholics, whose religion gives the finest scope to the powers of wit and imagination, are in Germany, all plunged in the deepest barbarity, it is not to be wondered at that the king chooses, for his hours of recreation, Italian abbees rather than German pastors, who are often much superior to them in real knowledge, but who have the air of their cathedrals, and are apt to fall into the preaching tone, with which it is impossible that the king should be pleased. The same thing obtains with respect to the writers of German politics and history. In point of truth, and the knowledge of bare facts, they far surpass the historians and politicians of all other countries, but they do not know how to make their heroes speak, nor how to give them a beautiful dress. It is certainly better to be true and dry, than false and witty; but truth also allows itself to be joined with wit, which makes it slip down more glibly. The complaints which the king makes on this head, in his essay against his countrymen, *sur la Littérature Allemande*, are certainly well grounded; but his remarks on the schools, as well as his proofs of the want of genius of several Dutch writers, are certainly not well chosen. The shooting of darts as thick as the arm, and the ring on the finger of time, have been universally exploded in Germany for the last twenty years. As to the schools, in no country in Europe are they so flourishing as in the king's own dominions. The Germans proceed entirely by rule, and even in things in which they are not calculated to improve themselves, they are able to give the best directions to others. No nation surpasses them in estimating the productions of genius. They have given the best rules how a history is to be written; which, however, like all the rules in the universe, have not yet produced a single genius. In the mean time, rules and criticism of authors, is all that hitherto goes forward in the schools.

Nothing so much prevents the progress of German genius, as the indifference of the princes of Germany to German literature; but on this account, in my opinion, they deserve no reproach: for if they go on as they have begun for some time, to encourage agriculture, to make the arts alive, to improve legislation and manners, and to pay their debts; these manly, these imperial pursuits, will, as the king well observes in his essay on German literature, contribute more to the happiness and glory of the nation, than if their poets and historians eclipsed all those of old and modern times. This, however, is my own private opinion. But when one of the first princes of Germany reproaches his countrymen, as the king of Prussia has done, for not having produced a Virgil, a Horace, a Tully, a Corneille, a Moliere, a Voltaire, and a Tasso, one would think that they ought to contribute to the progress of taste and language, and to the developement of genius; whereas I met with no court in Germany, in which a foreign dialect did not prevail. In all places but Saxony, the immediate followers of the court generally spoke

their mother-tongue wretchedly, nor was their French and Italian jargon less miserable. No man can make his way at either of these courts without the French language. In most it is accounted vulgar and unbecoming to speak your own language; and yet the court is the only place where language can acquire the rounding, and the lightness which is to distinguish it from the brogue of barbarians.

In France and Italy the court contributes most to the polish of the language; for it is not the writer who makes the language, but words and expressions must have acquired the right of denizenship in good company, before any author can use them without offence. The jealousy of speaking their own language well and with taste, is an object of the same pride and pleasure to the great folks (who always assume the tone of the court) as the being distinguished in their dress, their hair, and their demeanour. Even in Greece and Rome, good company, and the business of the state, contributed much more to the forming their languages than the writers, who did not appear till after those nations had already acquired a very considerable degree of polish. But upon what models are the German writers to form themselves? On the pulpit? Few people in high life pay any attention to what passes there. On the courts of justice? By the nonsensical law jargon, and the cold and tedious form of suits? No, no, this cannot be: there must be Roman tribunals, and a Roman administration of justice, before Cicero can possibly be expected. As to transactions with foreigners, which were formerly a wide field for German eloquence, they are mostly carried on in the French language. There are several princes who have their very proclamations written in French, and translated out of it before they publish them to their subjects. The diet of Ratisbon, the only place where the scattered nations of the empire form an aggregate and can consider themselves as a whole, and where the love of their country, ambition, and even national pride, ought to make Demosthenes', Ciceros, Burkes, and foxes; this celebrated diet is the temple of sleep, insensibility, silent corruption, the darkest nonsense and treachery. All the transactions with foreign ministers, and most of those with the ministers of the German courts themselves, are carried on in French, and in the assembly of the states itself, every thing is carried on by a single yea; you seldom hear a nay, and commonly all is soon brought to a decision. As to the emperor's court at Vienna, there is a jargon there, which not one man of letters in ten can understand; nor is that of Wesslar one jot behind it in unintelligibility. The German nation is no where brought together in a point, nor is it accustomed to consider itself as one and the same nation; hence the language can be as little fixed as the character is. But if these impediments were once to be removed, still the German genius would always be kept back by want of encouragement.

The small court of Weimer is the only one I have yet met with in Germany, where the national genius is not left to starve; but in order to feed it, the duke is forced, by the scantiness of his income, to make his wits counsellors, secretaries, and lord high treasurers. Klopstock is perhaps the only poet alive, who shews any thing like a well understood patronage in any of the German princes. In a word, the most miserable of our journalists will make his fortune sooner at a German court, than the greatest writer of the country. There is a visible proof of this in the state of the academy of this country.

Amongst the numerous tribe of literati of this country, qui ne sont rien, pas meme academiciens, I was made most happy in the acquaintance of the Jew Moses Mendelsohn, Messrs. Busching, Teller, Spalding, Nicholai, and Madam Karschin.

The first of these is one of the most remarkable writers in Germany. His works are elegant, and his style has a neatness, richness, and precision, which must in time make

him classical. He is at the head of a house of trade, and brings out his philosophy as he can. He amuses himself at his spare hours with the publication of fragments of his scattered opinions. He has all the elegance in his manner which distinguishes his writings, and it helps him to carry off a corpulent unwieldy body.

Busching, Teller, and Spalding, are members of the consistorial court.

The first is the greatest known geographer in Europe. His description of Europe surpasses, in point of accuracy and fullness, every thing that has gone before. Geography is a science which, from the various changes which take place every hour, must of course have many defects; but I doubt whether it be possible to do more than has been done by Busching. Not only his immense industry, which is absolutely necessary in a work of this kind, but his wonderful acuteness in the choice of his help-mates, is most admirable. His historical and geographical magazine contains the most ample materials for modern history, particularly that of Russia. He himself is an inexhaustible fund of anecdotes of the European courts; nor is there a single one amongst them all, with those circumstances he is not as well acquainted, as if he kept a servant fed in each of them. As he possesses a great variety of living languages, none of the geographical political, or historical productions of the age escape him; the whole world lays ever before him, just as a part of Switzerland does before general Pfisser of Lucern, who you know has contrived to delineate not only the natural and physical state of each country, but also the motions of the men in them. I talked to Busching of finishing his valuable geography, but he alledged his numerous occupations, which prevent his undertaking the task he affected to be delighted with. I could discover, however, amidst all this that he is deterred by the difficulties of it; and indeed Asia, Africa, and America, are not so easy to be described as Europe was. I find, however, that he has done a great deal towards these.

Teller and Spalding are the most unpriestlike priests that I know. No soul upon God's earth is in danger of being damned by them for his speculative opinions. Their religion is theoretical and practical philosophy. Both of them are wonderful preachers, elegant writers, and deans of churches. Contrary to the generality of Protestant teachers, they have comfortable incomes, to which it is probable that they owe much of the softness and gentleness of their manners; as it is often hunger that makes divines ill-mannered, rough, and untractable.

Ramler is one of the most amiable poets in all Germany; and none has carried the polish of his verse so high as he. He has somewhat of the sharp and short points of Horace, as well as of his nervous and crowded periods. His language is classical. He is professor at the cadet schools, but not in very good circumstances.

Mr. Nicolai is a prodigy as an original writer, but possibly still greater as a compiler. His Sebalduß Nothander is one of the best German novels; it is quite original, and abounds in striking characters and interesting situations. As he is a bookseller, no body can find fault with him for regulating his authorship according to the pounds and shillings it brings in. There is no German writer, except only Wieland (who, notwithstanding his notorious Jew practices in this branch, has dared to blame him for it) who knows how to dress his commodities, so well according to the public taste, and to send them out at a proper time. His own interest, however, often coincides with that of the public, and they run together. Germany is obliged to him for a Literary Journal; which, in point of solidity and real merit, has not its equal in Europe. As he is only the compiler, there is no being angry with him if a partial review of a book now and then slips in; but there are very few of these; whereas all the Reviews of other nations are, generally speaking, plots upon the credulity and ignorance of mankind.

His conversation is singularly interesting, as he is possessed of a fund of anecdotes of German writers, which, if they were to be published, would surpass every chronicle that has hitherto been called scandalous.* He knows all their clubs, and the secrets of their private houses.

Madam Karschin is an amiable poetess. Her tales breathe innocence, soft sensibility, and peace of mind. She is likewise very good company, and the more admirable for having made herself what she is.

You meet with many women in this place who are well acquainted with the polite arts, and belles lettres. Madame Rechlan, among many others I could mention, is an excellent German poetess. I was in several societies where all the young women took a part in literary conversations.

There is no country in which you meet with ministers so enlightened as you do here. All the ministers and effective counsellors are chosen men, among whom there is hardly one but would be a wonderful writer in his own line. The present attorney general has done more in clearing up the subject of criminal legislation, in a short pamphlet on the subject, than all the folios and quartos in the Beccaria taste put together. The minister Hertberg, to whom the king's Essay on German Literature is addressed, and who takes the part of his countrymen with great warmth, has been distinguished by the writing of many, and the publication of still more excellent state-papers. He is an excellent minister, and must be known to you by his conduct of the dispute on the Bavarian inheritance, and the peace of Teschen. The chief justice Zedlitz has published some very excellent remarks on education; and many of the king's counsellors are good writers. If, according to the old proverb, a man is known by his servants, every one must think highly of the king of Prussia.

What principally distinguishes the literati of the northern parts of Germany, is their acquaintance with the literature of the more cultivated European nations. I did not meet, either here or in Saxony, with a single character of eminence, who was not well acquainted with the best French, English, and Italian writers. They are true cosmopolites in literature, and totally void of prejudice, either in favour of the productions of their own country, or against those of a foreign growth. I have no where met with such universal and impartial knowledge of the world as there is here. This is an advantage which neither the English, French, or Italians, can dispute with them.

LETTER LIV.

Berlin.

OF all the amusements of this town, that which delights me most at this season, is the walk in the park on the south side of the Sprey. I have never seen a finer public walk. The varied beauties of the woods, alleys, and groves, and wilderness, beggar all imagination. It is above three miles round, and has water sufficient to give it more life than there is in the walks of much larger cities. A part of it commands the Sprey. It is a pity that they have not carried it over the parade and the royal wood market as far as the river, from both banks of which you have very beautiful prospects.

In this park on a Sunday you see Berlin in all its glory. It is to the people of this place what the Thuilleries are to Paris, only the mixture of the company is much more striking, as you find all the populace and all the fine world here. You ride or

* Mr. Nicolai, greatly to his honour, has declared that they never shall.

walk through without any molestation. In some parts of the park you likewise see rows of ladies magnificently dressed, sitting together as in the *Thuilleries*, and have the same freedom of staring them full in the face, and comparing them to one another. You also meet with most of the literati of the place at stated times. There are refreshments of every kind provided, nor is there, as at Vienna, a police to prevent any amusement ladies and gentlemen may choose to fall into.

I had no opportunity of seeing the Royal Opera, which is looked upon as one of the best in Europe, but is seldom open except in winter; nor is there any theatre here except a very indifferent German one, which is not to be compared with those of Vienna and Munich. The manager, Mr. Dobbelin, has some very singular opinions. He places the strength of his company in the number of his actors, and seems to distribute the parts amongst them by lot. I have often observed that he who plays the servant is much better qualified to play the master, who again, was nature attended to, would play the servant. Among fifty actors there are hardly four that would be reckoned tolerable at Vienna. The wardrobe is of a piece with the rest. I saw two pieces in which modern manners were represented, played in Spanish dresses no longer wore. Amidst dresses of the fifteen centuries, you often behold a modern one, especially amongst the women. The women seldom change their head dress, though the scene should happen to be in India; and yet Mr. Dobbelin makes a great outcry about his wardrobe, and the propriety of the costume. This theatre is so small, that many of the spectators are obliged to take care lest the clouds of heaven over them should be entangled in their hair. I saw trees which were hardly big enough for walking sticks. Some of this great king's troops are carrion, whom hunger has robbed of all their flesh; and many are hardly able to move their legs and arms, for which want of action, the actresses are accountable, as you may easily discover by the sound of their voices. Mr. Dobbelin's wages, which are from six to eight guilders a week, are indeed not calculated to give his people a great deal of strength. Their forte consequently consists in fainting away, in which art two or three of his women surpass every thing that I have ever seen of the kind. In this they are only excelled by themselves when they die. Dying is the principal business of every German actor, and when he knows how to give life to his death, like some great actors I have seen, whose convulsions began in the feet and ran through the whole body, he is sure of the applause of a German pit. The tragedy taste which obtains throughout Germany, from the Mediterranean to the Eastern sea, would lead a foreigner to imagine that the country was made up of ravishers, house-breakers, &c. especially as the same cannibal gusto is discoverable throughout most of their modern romances.

Though the inhabitants of Berlin, including the garrison, amount to one hundred and forty-two thousand men, yet it is not able to keep up a good company of players. It is entirely owing to want of encouragement that Mr. Dobbelin suffers half his company to starve, and plays in a building, which in any other city would be looked upon as a barn. In this respect the city is unique. You will imagine that the officers alone, who are constantly from eight to nine hundred in number, would be sufficient to keep up a good theatre; but it is not so. In truth this is one of the most eminent marks of the poverty and parsimony of the people of this place.

A man would not wonder to find the public of all the great cities of the Prussian monarchy disaffected to plays. The great industry which they are remarkable for must have this effect; but the capital is the rendezvous of all the idlers of the country, and though the number of them does not amount to that of any other capital, it should, one would think, be sufficient not to let a couple of dozen of players starve. These parti-

cularities are to be solved by considering that the idle, supposing them to have their incomes neat and free from incumbrance, are still very poor people. This is the natural consequence of the wise system of finance established by the king. The industrious part of the public does not feel the dearth of the necessaries of life, which is the consequence of the excise and monopoly, because the wages of work are raised in proportion to them. But those who live on their rents feel their whole weight. If therefore they choose to live consistently, and in some degree answerably to their estates, the expence of the theatre becomes too weighty an item for their purses. In a word, the labouring part of the public do not go to the play here, because labour makes them sparing; and the idle do not go because they are too poor.

I know no stronger mark of distinction betwixt the Prussian and Austrian character than what relates to the theatre. The Prussian monarchy contains several other fine cities. In Königsberg there are upwards of sixty thousand souls; in Breslaw, forty thousand; Stettin, Magdeburg and Potsdam contain thirty thousand inhabitants and above; Francfort on the Oder, Wesel, Embden, and other cities, have from eighteen to twenty-five thousand inhabitants. A great many have from ten to fifteen thousand souls. In all these, two companies of players can hardly get enough to keep out hunger. On the other hand, throughout Austria you meet with a theatre in every small town. I found one at Lintz, at Neustadt, at St. Polnair, and even at Chreps. The larger cities, as Prague, Presburg, Gratz, Brun, &c. have all standing theatres. This difference is not owing to the difference of fortunes, for Vienna excepted, which is fattened not only with the marrow of the whole monarchy, but with part of that of Germany; there is much more money in the Prussian, than there is in the Austrian dominions, though no single house in the former has an income of fifty, one hundred, or even two hundred thousand guilders. There is an appearance of care amidst the middle classes of the inhabitants of the Prussian towns, of which you can have no idea in the Austrian monarchy, the Netherlands and Lombardy only excepted. The only difference consists in the greater industry of the Prussians, and the frugality which is inseparable from it. The Austrian cities are full of idlers and spendthrifts, who are, on the contrary, the scarcest commodities in the Prussian states. Besides this, the knowledge and manners to be found amidst the inhabitants of the greater part of the Prussian provinces, put them in possession of better pleasures than are to be met with in the theatre, the dancing booth, the cellar, &c. In the smallest Prussian villages you meet with more happiness, than in many large states in Austria; and there is much more good done by private persons in the former, than in any of the latter.

You have long been desirous I should say something to you of the heir of the Prussian monarchy. The common accounts of him are as contradictory as they are ridiculous. There is a German journalist who has been shameless enough to declare that the king has purposely neglected the prince's education, in order that the shades of his future government may make his own administration more glorious. It is impossible to revile either the king or prince with less semblance of truth. The prince of Prussia is not only particularly well educated, but the king seeks every opportunity in his power to attach him to his system of government. The warmth of his temperament betrayed him into some amorous excesses in his youth; but he is now much more staid and sober. According to the testimony of the king himself, who praises no man upon slight grounds, he is a great general; and all the people here, who know him at all, assure me that he is likewise a great statesman. He loves the arts and sciences, and what ought to recommend him to the notice of the German reviewers, thinks much more favourably of German literature than his great uncle. He has been reproached with being reserved, and

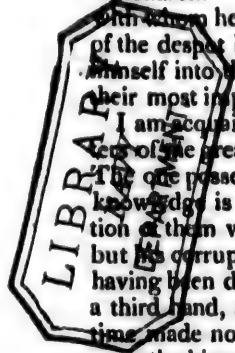
not knowing any thing of friendship. This was a consequence of his former excesses, which naturally rendered him diffident whom he trusted or admitted to be witness of his irregularities; but it is also a proof that the king had always a watchful eye over his education. All this, however, is much changed within the course of a few years, and his character has opened itself so much to his advantage, as to render him worthy of ranking amongst the greatest princes, who, by a kind of miracle, of which history affords no other example, have within a century raised the Prussian kingdom from almost nothing to be one of the most terrible states in Europe.

The only thing which makes the Prussian patriots at all apprehensive of a change, is a little love for magnificence, and rather too unlimited a generosity. It is true that these are most formidable failings in a monarchy, which, like the Prussian, is built only upon simplicity and frugality, and has no other strength but that which arises from the exactest œconomy. But the king, who is better acquainted with this than any body else, and has ever been a more careful father, both of the prince and country, than journalists think, has frequently made him feel, by experience, the bad consequences of the want of proper frugality; and though the prince should not, during his uncle's life-time adopt his system of œconomy, he will not sit half a year upon the throne after his death without being convinced that he must adopt it. The Prussian state is a piece of clock-work, which stands still as soon as one wheel is impaired; and the prince has wisdom, alacrity, and honour sufficient to give ear to the pressing voice of necessity, and not to let the country sink through his indolence.

The incomes of the Prussian princes and princesses are by no means so scanty as people are generally taught to believe. Every prince has 50,000 rubles per annum settled on him as soon as he comes of age, and the king's brother, as well as the hereditary prince, have besides, incomes arising from estates and places. Prince Henry has nearly 400,000, and the hereditary prince at least 350,000 livres annually to depend upon. Neither of them are able to make the year meet on their incomes. But in cases of necessity the king is as free of his assistance, as of his brotherly and paternal advice. He has a special art in mixing advice and admonition with the money he at any time bestows. At the same time there is not a better pay-master in the world, nor is there an instance of his having cheated any individual of a penny in his accounts with them.

I cannot conclude this subject without giving you some more anecdotes of this in general so much mistaken monarch. I shall not repeat any of the stories which are publicly known of him, and do him as much honour as a private man, as his exploits do as a monarch. What I have to communicate to you relates to his treatment of persons with whom he had reason to be dissatisfied, which will shew you at once both how little of the despot he really has in him, and how well he understands the art of insinuating himself into the cabinets of the several European princes, and making himself master of their most important secrets.

I am acquainted with two persons who have long been employed by the king in matters of the greatest importance. They are both of them adventurers of the first class. The one possesses some talents, which however are more shining than substantial, as his knowledge is too much confined to his own affairs, and he does not know the connection of them with political circumstances. The other had not hands sufficiently clean, but his corruption has arisen more from dissipation, than nature or culpable habit. Both having been detected in imposing upon the king, there came to them secret advice from a third hand, and they disappeared from Berlin at different times. The affair at that time made no further noise. It happened that both had it afterwards in their power to serve the king, the one at the Eastern Sea, and the other at the Lower Rhine. All those



who have at any time been in close connection with the king, even when they quarrel with him, preserve an affection for his service in their breasts, which shews more than any thing else, that the king is not the tyrant he is represented to be.

The abundant love for his service, which was more a consequence of true regard and friendship than of self-interest, induced the fugitives to write the king word that there were things on the spots where they were, in which they could be of service to him. This happened at different times, and the circumstances had nothing to do with each other. The king accepted their offers, rewarded them according to their services, and though he sent them many letters, some of which I have seen, let fall never a word of their former misdeeds. So far from it, there were marks in several of the letters, that he wished to banish the remembrance of them from his memory as fast as possible. A still more extraordinary thing is, that one of the men has been returned this three years, and has often had occasion to converse with the king, without having heard a syllable from him that could lead, even in the most round-about way, to the old story.

Some anecdotes which I have been told here, and do not recollect to have seen in print, shew that this treatment of the two adventurers did not arise from any regard to self-interest, but was the result of the opinions which the king entertains of human nature. The present minister ———, was a major in the last Silesian war. As he had confessedly great military talents, the king made him adjutant to general Hilser, who was as brave as his own sword, but was no deep thinker. This was done in consequence of the usual custom; for when a dangerous expedition is in hand, Frederic always employs persons with iron bodies, who are used to run without fearing against any wall he sends them; but then he always places an adjutant behind them, to give them the direction. The major did his duty, and the king was well pleased with him, and expressed himself so. The next thing you would imagine would have been preferment; but this did not follow; for the gentleman had too much salt in his composition, and had happened to make some observations rather too warm on the king's operations. These came to his ears, and made such an impression on him, that he found an opportunity of letting the gentleman know that his actions were more pleasing than his criticisms. The major now thought that all hopes of his promotion were at an end for ever, he therefore retired to a provincial town, and gave himself up to philosophical pursuits, like a man who had nothing more to hope from the court. After a certain time had elapsed, the king bethought himself of enquiring for him. He was told that he was studying politics and finance for his amusement. On this the king let him wait a little while longer, and then promoted him to a conspicuous post in the province, where having had occasion to distinguish himself, he was finally called to the ministry, nor has there ever been the least hint given of what had passed between him and the king.

Quintus Icilius had once been treated very roughly in consequence of one of his publications, by a gentleman who was displeased, and took the liberty of writing with great freedom against him. A little while after, having occasion to publish again, he asked the king's permission to do it. "I have nothing to say to these matters," replies the monarch, "you must ask Mr. ———, your reviewer's leave." This nettled Quintus Icilius, whose weak side was the pride of authorship; and he shewed his resentment by absenting himself for a few nights from the king's suppers. When the king imagined his author's pride was a little cooled, he sent him word that he had heard with pleasure that he was well again, and hoped to see him at the usual season. Quintus accordingly attended, and not a look or question passed which could put him in the least distress. On the contrary, the king conversed with him with a familiarity and good humoured pleasantry that would have done honour to a private man, and could come only from one

who was a man of the world, and loved mankind as well as he understood them. There are many other traits of the same kind, which shew how different the king of Prussia is in every thing from a Sultan.

Whilst the Prussian administration is thus generally misunderstood; whilst the very courts who endeavour the most exactly to imitate the operations of Frederick, cannot enter at all into the spirit of his administration, and commonly either take that for an end which is only a means; or for want of thought make those parts of their government mysterious, which he renders the most open to every man's inspection who chooses to look upon them; whilst, in fine, most of the other powers of Europe have not sense enough to think of learning his system of government; he is perfectly acquainted with the constitution, administration, and the external circumstances of every power in Europe, the smallest and most apparently insignificant not excepted. He knows France better than our whole ministry put together. I have been assured from good authority, that for many years past four persons have travelled at his expence throughout our several provinces, in order to give him accurate information of the population, the agriculture, the exports, and particularly the manufactures of the country. I know for a certainty that by this means he knows the Austrian provinces better than they are known at Vienna itself. The anecdote mentioned in the *Discours preliminaire*, of the book entitled *Grande Tactiqueet Manœuvres des Guerres suivant les principes de Sa Majeste Prussienne*, of the Prussian ambassador at Paris, lord Marshall, having in vain endeavoured to open the eyes of our minister for foreign affairs with regard to the affairs of Russia, is founded on a fact. Nor is this the only opportunity our ministers have lost by their presumption of being taught by the king what might have been advantageous to the country they pretended to govern. It cannot indeed be denied that the emissaries which he employs to come at the secrets of foreign courts, often make use of ways and means by which honour comes short home. When, for instance, the partition of Poland was in agitation, the papers of a private secretary of a certain cabinet were procured in a manner which much hurt the bonds of private friendship; not only so, but there was an audacity used which far surpasses all idea. Without attempting to apologize for such things, I can only say, that as they are artifices which all the courts of Europe allow themselves, none is so successful in them as the king of Prussia, as there is no monarch who has such trusty and acute servants as he has. The activity, fidelity, and secrecy with which all his matters are managed, are the causes why the Prussian ambassadors in all courts make such short processes, and commonly arrive at their conclusions when other ministers first begin to reason, to conjecture, and to combine. That cabinet which thinks to carry on any important thing in which the king of Prussia is concerned, without his coming at the knowledge of it, is much mistaken. In the present transactions of the courts of Petersburg and Vienna, with regard to the Porte, the king of Prussia has sprung some mines which have opened him the doors of the two cabinets. He told the Jesuits of their fall two years before it happened; but they believed not in him, and imagined themselves to be much greater prophets.

Upon the whole, the strength of the king of Prussia consists partly in the knowledge of his own strength, and partly in that he has of the strength of his rivals. There is a double advantage in this, arising from the understandings of the latter being as unsteady and variable as those of the king and his ministers are plain and precise. Want of understanding is the mother of pride, which leads us to the greatest political errors, and makes us despise our enemies, to our great loss. This blindness it was which, as the king well observed, carried Austria into Silesia, and Great Britain into America. He himself is sure never to fall into such a snare, as his self-love never blinds him. As a proof of this, observe the remarkable difference there is between Austrian and Prussian

state-papers. In the former the writers always endeavoured by all means, and often in the midst of visible marks that they themselves know better things, to trumpet forth the power of Austria, and lessen that of Prussia. The latter, on the contrary, even when they are at war with Austria, speak in the highest terms of its greatness; nor is there an instance of a Prussian's having given himself the trouble in a public writing, to make the greatness of his country more than it is. They use plain facts and arguments, without the least exaggeration. A very strong distinctive character this of the two countries. In the midst of the Bavarian war, whilst Austrian writers used to set forth that the king of Prussia was obliged to enter into some war to pay his army, whom he could otherwise neither clothe nor feed; the Prussian ministers only observed in their state-papers, how inconceivable it was that so high and mighty a power as the house of Austria, a power so justly formidable to all the neighbours round, should seek to make itself still greater by the depression of an old monarch, from whom it had so little danger to apprehend. In a word, the Prussian kingdom is governed by rule, and the greatest part of the rest of the world by opinion.

LETTER LV.

Hamburgk.

THE body, my dearest brother, feels itself as much worse in all the parts of North Germany, than it is in the southern ones, as the mind feels itself better. On this side the Erts-mountain, the inns, roads, post-waggons, and all that relates to travelling, are the very best possible; on the other the inns are not a jot better than the Spanish ones. The roads are like the Hungarian, and instead of post-chaises, they have a kind of large farmer's waggon, without cover or window, in which the passengers lay along the straw like swine, and are exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather. On the other hand, here you meet with the best company every where; there is hardly a village so small but what has manufactures, collections of the arts, and libraries; besides which, every parish-priest in the country has more knowledge of mankind, than many a courtier in the south of Germany.

Nature has likewise made a great difference with respect to the physical appearance of the two parts of Germany. Saxony, which is the best northern province for natural fruitfulness of country, still bears no comparison with Bohemia, Austria, Bavaria, and Suabia, and the hills of Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg, are not nearly of the same value as those of the same size in the south.

The dutchy of Mecklenburg is as large as the dutchy of Wirtemberg. The latter has five hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants, and its prince enjoys a revenue of two millions of rix dollars; the former hardly two hundred and twenty thousand men, and a revenue of not more than four hundred thousand rix dollars, of which the Schwerin line enjoys three, and that of Strelitz one part. Notwithstanding this much larger population, the dutchy of Wirtemberg could nourish all the inhabitants of Mecklenburg with its superfluity. On a calculation, we should find that the dutchy of Wirtemberg has five or six times the natural riches of that of Mecklenburg, notwithstanding the more advantageous situation of the latter on the sea.

With regard to picturesque appearance of country, there is much more beauty and variety in the dutchy of Mecklenburg than in the mark of Brandenburg; though you meet with no hills properly so called in either, for the things which they dignify with the name of hills, throughout this whole country, are no other than mole-hills when compared to true hills. There are however in Mecklenburg, several very pretty land-

scapes, where soft hills beautified with great varieties of woods; meadows covered with corn, and little cottages surrounding small lakes, make a very fine picture.

The Mecklenburg farmers are a very strong and healthy race of men. Their curling white hair reminds the traveller of the old Germans, who heretofore contributed to the Roman luxury that aurea cæsaries which, on the head of a thin boned, sallow-faced, and coughing young senator, must have been the greatest satire on the corruption of Rome, in the eyes of thinking men. Almost all the farmers in Mecklenburg are slaves; but their fates are not so hard as they seem, as the nobility are humane, enlightened, and good-natured. They, as well as the burgesses of certain cities, enjoy a freedom here which has long been lost in the Upper Germany. The duke of Mecklenburg and the electors of Saxony, are the most limited princes of the empire; nor have any decrees of the imperial court, which they have brought forward in their several contentions with their states, yet been able to humble their nobility, whose jealousy of the power of their governors sometimes amounts to an almost ridiculous excess.

The dukes obtained at the treaty of Teschen, in return for having given up their claims on the marquisate of Leuchtenberg, the famous *Jus de non appellando*, in consequence of which no law-suits can be carried out of their own courts to the tribunal of the empire. They thought by this to have gained a prodigious advantage over their states; but these protested against this privilege, as being inimical to their liberties, and the affair is not yet determined. Probably the dukes will maintain themselves in the possession of a privilege, possessed by few except the electors, and by this means obtain real dominion in their countries.

When I tell you men of the great world, that there is very good company to be met with on the banks of the Lokeniss, the Stor, the Rekeniss, the Warne, and several other rivers, which though you have never heard them mentioned in your lives, are not only as true rivers as the Somme, the Scheld, the Sambre, but in many parts of them navigable rivers too; you will think that my taste must needs have suffered great corruption from the gross air of Germany. I can assure you, however, that if by a stroke of a magic wand you could be taken out of your perfumed beds, and without breathing a drachm of German air, be transported into a circle of Mecklenburg noblesse, you would find the society very agreeable. It is true you meet there no academicians, no abbés, no virtuosi, no journalists, no players, nor any of the characters which contribute so much to enliven your society. But on the other hand, natural sound understandings and good hearts give the conversation a stronger and more substantial relish than all your anecdotes and historiettes de cour, your comedies, brochures, and all the other artificial ragouts, with which you mix so much assafoetida.

I have seen no noblesse happier, or more hospitable than that of Mecklenburg, especially that in and about Gustrow. Nor are they so unacquainted with the refinements of life, and the great world, as you may imagine. The tables are wonderfully well covered, and you may visit many persons who are very well acquainted with the life of courts. Literature is found among all ranks who are above the populace. The women know nothing of what is commonly called ton. They have none of that boldness and imperiousness, nor yet any thing of the desire of conquest of our country-women; they are gentle, and attentive to their children, still and bashful; but all that they say is so naïf and hearty, that the wit of our most famous country-women appears, loathsome and flat to me when compared to it. I was not at all surprised to find the present war much the subject of conversation throughout the whole of my tour. The nation takes a natural concern in it, both on account of the troops they let out, and from their having been for several centuries very warlike themselves. No wonder that under such cir-

circumstances more than a hundred newspapers should not be sufficient to satisfy their hunger after news. But what I cannot so readily explain is, the amazing partiality of the Germans for the English. You hardly meet with one German out of a hundred who is on our side. The Mecklenburghers especially have a fondness and veneration for our enemies which approaches to superstition. I was in many places where they gave little fetes whenever the god with two trumpets, the one before and the other behind, spread reports favourable to the English. It is true indeed that there is something great in the heroic deeds and character of the English, which naturally leads the opinion of mankind towards them. But it is not only in what relates to war that the Germans are hostile to us. They look upon our government as the excess of despotism, and consider us as a tricking and treacherous people. You know that this is the direct opposite of the character we give ourselves, and indeed of that which is given us by some other nations whom we have made our friends by our frankness and honesty; but it is the projectors and adventurers, who being cast out by France, have attempted to make their fortunes in Germany, that have raised this prejudice against us; for which reason I could not forgive the Germans their judging so unfavourably of us from such specimens, if I did not know that we are equally unjust towards them, and are apt to consider the baron, who often makes a ridiculous figure in Paris, with his embroidered coat, and embroidered vest, as a model of the German nobility. Upon the whole, different nations must forgive each other their prejudices, and it is easy to forgive them when, as it is in Germany and France, they do no hurt to individuals, however they may affect national pride. In England, Holland, and some other countries, they are often attended with fatal consequences to individuals, and are therefore not to be forgiven.

The first appearance of the free imperial city of Hamburg is very disgusting and ugly. Most of the streets are narrow, close, and black, and the populace in them is fierce, wild, and, generally speaking, not very clean. As soon however, as a man has made his way into the principal houses, he begins to conceive a more favourable opinion of the town. In the houses of the rich merchants you see taste, cleanliness, magnificence, and at times even profusion. The Hamburgers are the first protestants I have seen, who have continued good catholics in the material points of eating and drinking. Their tables are even better than those of the people of Vienna, Gratz, Prague, and Munich, whom heretofore I have described to you as such commendable proficient in the art of the Apicii; nor is there a place in the world where they have so many refinements on the sensual pleasures as in this. Though in few parts of Germany gardening is in as flourishing a state as it is here, yet they are not contented with the wonderful vegetables which their own country affords, but import many species of them from England, Holland, and various parts of Germany. This is owing to fashion, which has affixed a preference to the vegetables which come from these countries. They get together from east, west, north, and south, what every country produces peculiar to itself and costly for the table. But it would far exceed your belief was I to lay before you an exact picture of the way of living here. You may however form to yourself some idea of it, when I tell you that it is the custom in great houses to give a particular wine with every dish. According to the established courses of good housekeeping, Burgundy, Champagne, Malaga, Port and Moselle, have each their different dish to which they belong; so that when the meat is served up for which nature, according to the opinion of the Hamburgers, has destined each particular wine, there is always fresh glasses set on. With young green beans, which is a dish of some ducats, and new herrings, a dish which costs a guilder, the Hamburgers commonly drink nothing but Malaga wine; and Burgundy is the standing vehiculum of green pease. Oysters must of all necessity swim in

Champagne; and the costly salt meats admit of no other convoy than Port and Madeira. You must not think that this takes place only on festivals; by no means; it is the daily food of the rich; and their way of living is adapted in every thing to this.

I am soon to make some visits in the country houses near town, which are out of all number. Equipages, furniture, play tables, every thing, in a word, is answerable to the expence of the table. Few assemblies of Parisian people of fashion, are more brilliant than the parties who meet in villas here, and they hardly play as high. Those who can afford to spend no more than twenty or thirty thousand livres a year, rank among the middling class, and though they are all obliged to support themselves by their own industry, and that there is scarce any nobility with a stated revenue to be met with, there are many families who spend from forty to fifty or sixty thousand livres a year in their housekeeping.

Notwithstanding all this love of good eating, the mind is not oppressed and borne down by the body here as it is in the southern parts of Germany. The Hamburgers of the higher class are still more jovial, more happy, more conversible, and more witty, than the Saxons. You meet here with many literati of the first class. Natural history particularly flourishes much, and is held in high estimation. It was a Hamburger who gave Linnæus the fundamental ideas of his *Systema Naturæ*. As most of the young people are sent abroad to form trading connections in the several ports of London, Petersburg, Calais, Bordeaux, &c. in all which the Hamburgers have houses, a stranger is sure to meet with some people who are acquainted with his native country. The Hamburgers upon the whole are great travellers, which renders the society of this place particularly lively and animated.

The women of this place are handsome, genteel, and freer in their manners than they generally are in protestant countries; particularly there obtains a vivacity which a man is not used to look for in the north, and is a strong contrast to the aldermannic gusto of Holland. Doubtless the good eating occasions this.

One of the great pleasures of this city arises from the Alstersluss. It comes from the north, almost through the middle of the city, and forms a lake in it, nearly eight hundred paces in circumference. In a summer evening this lake is almost covered over with gondolas, which have not such a melancholy aspect as the Venetian ones. These are filled with family or other parties, and have often boats in attendance upon them with music. The whole has an astonishing good effect, which is still greater from there being a much-frequented public walk by the lake; the liveliness of which corresponds very pleasingly with that of the people on the water.

Near the city there are some villages on the Elbe called the Four Lands, which are also in summer a notable rendezvous of pleasure. The farmers who live in these villages are in very good circumstances, and take a prodigious sum of money from the town, for their excellent vegetables, particularly for their green pease. Every day during the summer you meet here with parties from the city, who are as conspicuous for their genteel appearance, as for their excess in eating and drinking. The farmers' daughters are very pretty, and their dress the handsomest I have yet seen amongst this class of beings. They allure the young men of the city to their cots; and many quarter themselves here under the pretence of a milk diet, but in fact to be near their sweethearts.

These above mentioned four villages supply the town with vegetables, butter, milk, hay, and many other things of the kind; also with most of the women of pleasure, and most of the spinners.

The city of Altona, which lies at no great distance from this town, also affords this people many opportunities of amusing themselves. The king of Denmark, who from

a jealousy of Hamburg, endeavours by every means in his power to make this place flourishing, appears to have it in his head to hurt the brothels and inns of the city, as well as the trade. Through his care Altona has, in a short space of time, from a small village, become a town of thirty-five thousand inhabitants, amongst whom, however, to speak freely, there are far too many rascals.

The country round about Hamburg, though a flat, is extremely pleasant; the various and flourishing agriculture gives it a very gay appearance; the water, however, contributes much to the beauty. The river conduces extremely to the advantage of this city, which by taking the last toll, has almost an illimited command over it. It is a mile and three quarters broad at Hamburg, and forms several islands, on which they make parties of pleasure. The aspect of this mighty river, always well filled with ships, and in several parts containing very rich islands, has a great deal of majesty in it. 'Tis a pity that you enjoy this magnificent prospect only from a few houses in the city.

Notwithstanding the quantity of water, and low situation, the air of the place is extremely good; this is owing to the cleansing it receives from the strong winds which blow upon it from all quarters. The north wind is very dangerous to the city, it impedes the course of the stream, and occasions many inundations which frequently fill the lower parts of the houses with water, and do a great deal of mischief to the country around.

LETTER LVI.

Hamburg.

HAMBURG is without comparison the most flourishing commercial city in all Germany. Except London and Amsterdam, there is hardly a port in which you see constantly so many ships as you do here. The present business consists in great part of commission and carrying; but the proper and solid trade of the inhabitants is likewise very considerable. Their principal trade is driven with Spain and France; and they gain considerably by the exchange with the former. Hamburg has hitherto supplied Spain with most of its linens; it also supplies it with large quantities of iron, copper, and other articles which the north produces. The Prussians, Danes, Swedes, and Russians give themselves a great deal of trouble to be the carriers of their own commodities to Spain; but it is extremely difficult to turn trade out of an old channel, and many of the merchants of the north find the carrying trade of Hamburg too convenient, and in part, also too profitable to them, for the present proprietors to be in any great danger of losing this channel of trade. The sums advanced stay too long at Cales, and when a country cannot pay itself in the commodities of that it trades with, the trade with Spain is very troublesome. At present Hamburg is always in debt to Spain, for except in time of war (when materials for ship building, ammunition, &c. make some difference) it carries more things out of the country than it furnishes. Another reason why that part of the northern exports will always go through the hands of the Hamburgers is, that they can pay for them quickly and regularly; whereas the waiting for the ships from the Havanna, without the return of which the Spanish trade cannot go on, often puts the northern merchant to inconveniences.

Sugar cane is the great article which goes from Spain to Hamburg, by which the latter gains great sums. No nation has hitherto been able to vie with the Hamburgers in boiling and refining sugars. The trade for these articles extends through all Germany, Poland, and a great part of the north. Other important articles which Ham-

burgh takes from Spain, and with which it derives a very considerable trade in the north, are wine, salt, fruit and the like. Besides all these, manufactures of handkerchiefs, ratteens, and ribbons, apothecaries' drugs, and the fishery form a very considerable part of the trade of the country. There is no place in the world which contains finer and more cunning speculators than this does; no circumstance or moment favourable to a single article escape them. The present war has brought them in astonishing sums.

The enlightened and patriotic governors of this place omit nothing which can contribute to the extension of trade. Some years ago the prospect of advantage to their fellow citizens made them attempt to open a trade for them on the coast of Barbary; the Dutch were immediately jealous of this, and made the king of Spain believe that the Hamburgers furnished the Saracens with implements of war: the king, in consequence, made several orders, which have stopped the channel to the present merchants, whom however he cannot prevent from a much more profitable commerce with his own subjects.

This state is surrounded on all sides by mighty rivals, of whom, however, the industry, cunning, and liberty of the inhabitants ever get the better. The Danish government omits nothing that can hurt the country; nay it often seeks to hurt it without any prospect of advantage to itself. One of the favourite projects of the Danish ministers is to unite the East Sea to the German Ocean, by a canal joined to the Eyder. This would give a death stroke to the commerce of Lubeck and Hamburg; but the government and the intelligent part of the country are as easy about this, as they would be if his Danish majesty was to order a canal to be dug in Greenland. On the other side, the king of Prussia had, by his terrible taxes, cut off the communication of this country with Saxony by the Elbe, which was a severe stroke to both countries. What did the wise government here do? It entered into a treaty of commerce with Hanover and Brunswick, and laid the plan of a road between Saxony and this place. This soon convinced the king of Prussia that his toll on the Elbe would be ruined sooner than the trade between Hamburg and Saxony, and forced him to lower it accordingly. Still however it is too high for the Saxons and Hamburgers, but must continue for some time within tolerable bounds.

Notwithstanding all the impediments cast in the way of it, the trade of this country has been continually gaining ground during this century. No doubt, the immediate causes have been the improvements in agriculture, the increase of population, and the greater approaches towards luxury, made by the inhabitants of the north. Liberty alone would however in time have been sufficient to have removed many of the hindrances which hostile neighbours sought to put in the way of the trade. Whilst the neighbouring powers were increasing their excise and custom-house duties, and by so doing stopping up so many channels of commerce to their subjects, here they were opening every door both of exports and imports; and instead of seeking to raise, were inventing every possible method to diminish the taxes. This illimited freedom of trade is of a piece with the spirit of the constitution and of the city, and was the only means which the wise governors of it could hit upon to raise the state. But if the state had not been a single independant city, as the luxury which supports a free trade could not have been kept up but at the expence of the country, the illimited freedom would have been very disadvantageous to the country belonging to it. The politicians of this place are in the right when they maintain that illimited liberty of trade is the foundation of the well-being of their country; but they are in the wrong for blaming, as they all do, the Prussian system of excise, as a mad system, equally destructive to the country and people. There is a great difference between a single independant city and a great state.

That commerce which enriches the Hamburgers, makes several of the Holsteiners and Mecklenburghers poor, by taking so much money from them for coffee, sugar, wine, &c. and it would soon ruin the king of Prussia's best provinces, just as the flourishing trade of Dantzick has too much contributed to the impoverishing of the wide extended kingdom of Poland. If Hamburg had a large extent of country, it would soon find the bad consequences of an illimited freedom of trade, especially, if like the leaders of other republics, its governors would not prefer the inhabitants of the country to those of the city: In the mean time, the base clamour of foreign and domestic merchants, by neither of whom the king of Prussia would suffer his subjects to be plundered, has made him be reputed a tyrant by Mr. Wraxall, and writers of his stamp.

The fortunes of the inhabitants of this country are in a constant state of fluctuation. The expensiveness of living is the reason that there are very few rich houses; you can hardly find any that has been fifty years in the same style of splendour. The immense profits of this grand commercial country are so well divided, that you cannot meet with above five persons who possess a millicion; but the number of houses which have from three to six hundred thousand guilders is extremely great. But then as soon as a merchant makes one hundred thousand guilders, he must have his coach and country house. His expences keep pace with his income, so that the least blow brings him back to poverty; from which, however, the slightest labour will extricate him again. Hamburg is truly singular as a commercial city, in this respect, for you meet in it with persons who have been bankrupts three or four times, and yet have returned to riches. The man who has an income of from two to three hundred thousand florins, and makes more shew with it, both in his trade and house-keeping, than many Amsterdammers who have many millions, loses in a moment his country house, his house in town, his palace, his warehouse, his coach and gardens, and begins again as a broker; but hardly are his old estate and country house sold off, than he has another estate, buys another country house, is able to drive through the town with two prancing Holsteiners before him, and has his garden, his coach, his gambling box, till, heigh presto! he is a broker again. The inexplicable facility of making use of one's money, renders the Hamburger here too bold; so that he does more business with fifty thousand florins, than a Dutchman will do with two hundred thousand; but then he is more exposed to reverse of fortune than the Dutchman is. However the security he is under of not being obliged to beg in his old age, renders him quite careless. There are, indeed, no where so good retreats for bankrupts as there are here. If broken merchants do not choose to turn brokers and try their luck afresh, they have employments given them on which they may live very comfortably. Besides these, there are funds for the support of poor burghers, words which mean here bankrupts. There is no place indeed where the establishments for the poor are on so splendid a footing as they are here. Look where you will you see that bankrupts have had a share in the legislation, and that they have sought to make themselves and their posterity secure against all events.

The great and frequent revolutions in the commercial houses of this place, give the merchant an alacrity which he has no where else in the world. The genius of trade does no where so many wonders as it does here. The Hamburgers far outdo the Dutch in happy calculations, speculation, and fortunate hits; and you meet with more true theory of trade amongst the brokers of this place, than there is to be found in many thick books written expressly on the subject. Only you must not expect to see the subject treated with a view to finance, as they have no relish for customs, excise, and all the modern Jewish inventions to sponge the substance of the people.

The quickness and vivacity with which trade is carried on here, employs a larger capital than is put into it by the Dutch, who are more expert at saving money than at getting it. The Hamburger works himself up again with the same ease with which he falls; whereas the Dutchman could not make his fortune without excessive parsimony, and, commonly speaking, is indebted only to his industry and saving for what he gets. Rich inheritances are very scarce here, in comparison to the sum of money there is in the place, as this is divided amongst too many, and the ebbs and flows are too frequent. The great capital of every inhabitant is his industry and understanding.

The illimited credit of the bank of this place, is a certain sign both of the riches of the state, and of the right notions which prevail here with respect to every thing which has a relation to trade. The foundations on which this bank rests, are the simplest that can be imagined. There is neither paper nor any kind of coined money, but only a large quantity of silver, which is measured out by the pound. It is, however, the most respected, and I must think the most secure of all the establishments of the kind in the world.

The government of Hamburg is wonderful. I am acquainted with no commonwealth that has so nicely hit off the just mean betwixt aristocracy and democracy, and secured itself so well against the inconveniences of both, as this has done. The legislative power is in the hands of the assembled burgesses. These are chosen from the five parishes of the city. The first college, or first deputation of them, consists of the aldermen, three of whom are chosen by the inhabitants of each parish. Every parish also sends nine persons to the second, which, with the former one, make a college of sixty. Finally, each parish contributes twenty-four to the third, making, when joined to the two former, a number of one hundred and eighty. The ordinary business is regularly brought by the council before this assembly; but when there is a new law to be made, or a new tax to be raised, after having passed this court, it must farther be laid before a general assembly of the burghers. The one hundred and eighty, together with six assessors added to them from each parish, must appear before this assembly, in which every man who possesses a house of his own, or an estate that is out of debt, or a certain sum in specie above the value for which the house or estate is mortgaged, may appear and give his vote.

The miserable corporation system, which in other republics approaching towards democracy, often leads to ridiculous, and often to very serious and fatal excesses, has no influence here upon the state. No manufacturer can tyrannize over the people, as is the case in many other republican governments; nor does the happiness of the whole depend upon the will or caprice of a company of skimmers or barber surgeons. Due provision has also been made that the will of the mob, which often overturns the wisest ordinances, and the most useful projects, in countries approaching so nearly to the democratic form as Hamburg does, should not easily do mischief here. Before a law comes before a general assembly of the people, it has been tried and approved by the wiser part of them, which renders it not difficult to gain over the rest to the good side, as of course they will have confidence in legislators originally nominated by themselves. This legislative assembly is likewise so numerous as to render it very difficult for a part to get the mastery over the whole, by the usual democratic artifices.

As these colleges are established for a long time, and are not easily changed, the members of them are well enough acquainted with the true circumstances of the commonwealth, to be able to lay before both their respective communities, and the burghers in general assembly, an accurate and just account of the sense of every law, proclamation, or tax. The division of the burgher societies, according to parishes, has likewise

this further advantage attending it, that family connections do not easily acquire a prejudicial influence as they do in republics divided into corporations or private societies. If you will take the trouble to compare this constitution with that of other commonwealths, many other advantages will immediately strike you.

The council, in whose hands the executive power is lodged, consists of thirty-six persons, to wit, four burgomasters, four syndics, twenty-four counsellors, and four secretaries. Only the burgomasters and counsellors have votes. It elects its own members by lot. The power being directed only towards the proper execution of the laws in being, is illimited, the natural consequence of which is, that both the courts of justice and the police have a strength here which they have in few republics that are so democratic. Nor is government taken in hand here as in other countries, by persons who have no proper vocation to it. Three of the burgomasters, the counsellors, and all the syndics and secretaries, must be graduated literati, who have given proofs of their learning. One burgomaster and ten counsellors must, consistently with the nature of the commonwealth, be merchants. The pay of the counsellors is sufficient to restrain the spirit of innovation. Honour, virtue and ability, are the most likely foundations to succeed in being elected. When a counsellor abuses his power, he is obliged to leave the city. The number of counsellors is too small for the power of private families to be able to put a restraint on the administration of justice and police. In a word, the legislative power is as gentle and popular as it can be; and the executive is, as it must be, monarchically strong. Hamburg is in truth the model of a well-regulated commonwealth. A misapplication or waste of the public treasure happens very seldom, and is almost impossible, as the persons who are charged with the administration of it, are no members of the council, but on the contrary are watched over with the greatest attention by them and the general assembly, and are obliged to the greatest punctuality. They consist of ten persons selected from the general assembly, and are chosen out of each parish, one by vote and the other by lot. Every six years each of the three deputies lays his office down, and his parish sends another in his stead. The reason of the change is not as in other republics, that all may have a share of the cake, but to free the deputies from a troublesome and laborious office.

The income of the state is very large. It is made up partly from standing sources of income, and partly from occasional taxes granted by the community. Some taxes are voluntary, and the burghers have the right to put what they think their quota into the purse which is shut, and the deputies dare not open in their presence. Upon the whole the taxes are considerable. In order not to let the mouth of the Elbe, on which the existence of the country depends, be choaked up with sand, and for the maintenance of the several harbours in it, they have been obliged to raise some taxes, which in appearance are beyond their means. The aggregate of them together makes about 3,000,000 of marks, or 4,000,000 of livres, and is hardly sufficient for the purposes required of them.

The quick and constant revolutions in the fortunes of every citizen secure this commonwealth still more than its constitution from the mischiefs of oligarchy and family plots. They know nothing here of domineering or dangerous houses, from which none of the republics of the present day are free. One sign of the good government and wonderful administration of this commonwealth is, that it is almost the only imperial city that carries none of the suits between its own members before the tribunal of the empire. At Vienna they mentioned to me several free imperial towns who had rendered themselves dependant on the emperor, by carrying their private grievances before the emperor's court. In the beginning of this century Hamburg itself was exposed to some danger of

this kind, but in 1708 it was suppressed by the benevolent offices of the imperial court, and the zeal of several patriots of the place, and since that time the tranquillity of the country has met with no interruption. The bands of society are too fast bound for there to be any cause of uneasiness about future events.

The only real cause of apprehension which this city has experienced of late years, has arisen from a misunderstood religious zeal; but in our time religious zeal, if it light any fire, can only light up a fire of straw, which is very easily put out again. In the instance before us, the imperial ministers (whom the burghesses have more than one cause to respect) and the wisdom of the council united, took joint care that the sparks should be smothered before they could break out into a flame. The case was this: Hamburg was blessed with an orthodox priest, who let it want for nothing that could stir up a flame. This, by constant blowing, he had at length so well fed, that the people were for proceeding to action to prevent the Catholics from serving God in the chapel belonging to the imperial minister; but the police took care to prevent the mischief, which has never since broke out to any extent. There is indeed at the head of the present clergy, a man who would do our present philosophical age very little credit, were it not that every body knows the government only suffers him because they are secure that his inquisitorial spirit only hurts himself, and cannot have the least bad effect upon others. This gentleman, who is called Goss, some time since gave fire in his pulpit against the pope and all his adherents; but this produced no other effect than his being compelled to make an apology to the imperial minister. The case it seems was this: When this gentleman first ascended his paper tribunal, the custom still prevailed at Hamburg of cursing the pope and all his adherents publicly in the prayer before sermon. The government wisely perceiving that this gave great scandal in such times as these, ordered the court priest to omit this ceremony in future. The love, however, of cursing, had taken such firm possession of the man, that he not only gave in a formal protestation against this inroad of the spiritual upon the temporal power; but the next Sunday, without waiting to see what answer his superiors would make, fired a double volley. Upon this, the council took the best way of teaching the ill-mannered brute a better behaviour, by punishing him with the loss of his fat benefice. Myneer high pastor had soon philosophy enough to see that it was better for him not to curse than to starve and so the pope and his state had justice done them in the state and high church of Hamburg. But though this man has been many times publicly and universally hissed since this event, which took place twelve or fifteen years ago, and though he has been the jest of all the Protestant part of Germany, and even of his own brethren at Hamburg, yet is not his holy head in the least cooled. He raves as publicly against the race of monks, as he does against the pope. He is the declared enemy of all public amusements. The theatres are a particular eye-sore to him. This, as the better part of the public do nothing but amuse themselves with him, gave rise to a very humorous adventure. An Englishman who happened to be at the play, was so pleased with a piece which he saw exhibited, that he asked the gentleman, who sat next to him, the name of the author. The gentleman, whose name is Dreyer, happening to be a wit, assured the Englishman that this very excellent and interesting drama was written by Mr. Goss, first preacher in Hamburg. The Englishman, full of impatience to be acquainted with such an extraordinary good poet, went the next day to make his bow to the reverend author, who, contrary to his expectation, received the compliment upon the fruit of his brain so ill, that he fairly shewed him the outside of his door. Dreyer, who had sent the Briton on the errand, soon after met him in the street, where the Englishman, without entering into the least explanation, gave him such a box on the ear, as very nearly brought him to the

ground. Notwithstanding which, Mr. Dreyer has since that time played the anti-theatrical priest several other tricks.

I have talked to you thus long of this priest, in order to convince you that the protestant clergy are not as tolerant throughout Germany as they are in Prussia and Saxony. Notwithstanding this, the religion of the more fashionable people who inhabit the lower parts of the Elbe, is by no means so austere as that of those who dwell higher up. The mistaken zeal against public amusements is attended with this bad consequence here, that every other kind of pernicious excess reigns uncontrolled. Thus whilst no theatre can support itself in a city which has ninety thousand inhabitants, many thousand guilders are every day lost at play during the hours in which it is usual in other places to go to the play.

LETTER LVII.

Hamburg.

SINCE my last letter, my dearest brother, I have made an excursion into the territories of Denmark. As soon as I came into Holstein, which is still a part of Germany, I was struck with the difference of living and manners, as well as the diversity of agriculture; but when I had got some posts beyond the Eyder, which is the natural boundary between Germany and Denmark, I found a difference betwixt Germany and this country, which was as striking as any betwixt Bavaria and Saxony. When people praise Protestants for their good sense, and freedom from prejudices destructive of happiness, they ought to make some limitations; as should Protestants also when they pass indiscriminate censures on the Catholics, for their stupidity, laziness and debauchery.

The Danes are at least a century behind most of the Protestant states of Germany, and in no respects better than the Bavarians or Portuguese. They are the most melancholy, most untractable, and most clownish people I have hitherto seen. Their debauchery, bigotry, and brutality distinguish them so much from the greater part of the Germans, that it is only necessary to be amongst them to be convinced of the inefficacy of religion alone to make men better, when other favourable circumstances do not concur. There are, it is true enlightened men amongst the priests of this country, but in general they are as proud, as intolerant, and as ignorant as the Spanish priests. I saw some of them who were likewise very like the Spanish priests in their external appearance. They wore their spectacles over the nose, held up their heads, drew back the body, spoke through the nose and throat, and strutted just like the priests at Barcelona or Saragossa. When they sit down to preach, they do it as if they were in labour with the salvation of mankind. I visited one of them, who passes for a great botanist, though he knows nothing more than the medicinal plants of his own country. He was studying his sermon for the next Sunday. It was long a matter of doubt whether or no he would give me an audience. After having conversed for about half-an hour upon the wind and weather, with his two daughters, the silliest and most unformed creatures I had ever seen, who, out of real or affected modesty, never trusted themselves to look in my face, out came their bulky and yellow-coloured mother from the study of her lord and husband, to assure me that he was extremely busy about his Sunday's discourse, which would however only take him up another hour, after which I should have the honour of smoking a pipe of tobacco with him. I was for some minutes in doubt whether I should accept of this honour or not. It rather hurt my self-love to think that I was destined to serve a clownish priest for the vehiculum to his smoking, and I would have gone away, but that I recollected that had I been among the Hottentots, I should have been obliged to pay respect to the cus-

toms of the country. After waiting therefore some time the penetrale was opened, and I beheld my hero, a short square figure, the Trulliber of science, enthroned amidst a labyrinth of books, and encompassed with clouds of smoke which scarce allowed me to view his visage. In four or five minutes our conversation was at an end. I tried him every way, but no tone I could take would bring a word out in return. At length, after having observed himself that smoking rather spoiled the conversation, he took his sermon in hand, and read me a period or two by way of enlivening it. Of this I did not hear a word, as the smoke of the tobacco puffed under my nose, took away my respiration, and obliged me to attend to self-preservation; but he was determined I should not get off thus, and so proposed to open what he called his treasure. This was a chest which contained all the sermons he had ever written, making in all eight or ten thick folio volumes. When he took out the first a cold sweat ran down my shoulders, which making him apprehensive that he might kill his patient, he assured me he would read only the texts of the sermons from the tables of contents. I bore it for one table with great resignation; but as he was taking down the second folio, took my hat and stick and hurried to the door. In no protestant country which I have yet seen, Holland itself not excepted, are the priests held in such profound reverence by the people as they are in Denmark. Pride and insolence in the ministers of a humble religion, is ever a sure mark of little knowledge and a bad government in the places where it is found. The temporal and spiritual powers are by nature so jealous of each other, that there must always be indolence in the governors when the priesthood comes to have a certain degree of authority. Every body knows what an influence the Danish priests had in the fate of Struensee. You observe indeed, in every part of Denmark, notwithstanding many foreigners are settled there, many marks of the overgrown power of the priests. In several places I found prejudices conceived against me, on account of my being a catholic, by people from whom one should have expected better things. At Horsens, a young lady of one of the best houses, could not be persuaded that the catholics were christians. They look upon us in the same light as Jews and heathens. I do not believe that the king of Denmark, as absolute as his power is, in other things, could make as great advances to toleration, as has been done at Vienna.

The government of Denmark is the most despotic in the universe. This form of government has its advantages and disadvantages; the smallness of the country renders it easy to govern thus; and on the other hand, this very circumstance makes the people feel more severely the weakness and oppression of its governors. Denmark is in truth the smallest of all the European powers. It contains hardly one million eight hundred thousand inhabitants, Lapland, Greenland, and Iceland included; and the Holsteiners, who live in a part of Germany, hardly make the number two millions in all. The king of Denmark's income does not amount to above 9,000,000 of Rhenish florins, or 20,000,000 of livres,* even with what arises from the passage of the Sound, which the sea-faring nations willingly pay. He cannot cope with the elector of Saxony, and the elector of Bavaria is upon a footing with him. Without subsidies, the king of Denmark is unable to maintain an army of forty thousand men, and a fleet of twenty ships of the line only for a few years. The taxes are very high, and some of them are of a sort which are met with in very few countries. Here a man must pay for a license to marry. Our government you know formerly raised a tax on batchelors; but the Danish and French principles of government are very different.

*. About 83,333l.

The emptiness of the treasury is the reason why more projects are entered into in Denmark than in any other country in the world; but most of them are only air bubbles, which are in general blown away by the first wind. The private interest of the projector is commonly at the bottom of them all, and the court wants not only the power, but the good will to encourage the projects of good patriots. The king, who is the only king in modern history who has distinguished himself by a public trial of his wife, is obliged to leave a great part of the government to his minister. His step-mother, it is true, possesses a great deal of court-craft; but still the ministers and counselors have the most influence. Amongst them, there are constantly cabals, intrigues, and revolutions, as you may learn from the history of Struensee, particularly his apology, which will make every man who reads it exclaim, *Beatus ille qui procul*. Another first minister has been lately dismissed.

St. Germain was very ill treated in Copenhagen. The late king called him to his court with a view of having his troops better disciplined, at a time when it was his intention to take part in the affairs of the north, or at least to make himself formidable. St. Germain was told that he would have the command of fifty or sixty thousand men; but when he came, he found hardly any soldiers except the guards. The rest consisted partly of a wild undisciplined militia, and partly of a number of Hungary invalids. There was no cavalry at all. The good king, who had only seen his troops upon paper, and probably, as he was not born for a number of troops, had not sufficiently considered them even there, could not easily conceive how his great army should have mouldered away by St. Germain's arrival. Some of the ministry, who governed the paper troops, entertained hopes that St. Germain would play part of the game with them; but he was not the man for their purpose, for as soon as he found out that part of the sums destined for the payment of the forces went into the purses of the ministry, commissaries, and officers, he set himself with his usual determined spirit to bring about a reformation. He, however, soon found out, that even if the abuses could be corrected, the hopes of having an army able to take part in the affairs of the north, must continue a vain expectation. Being satisfied, therefore, that where there is nothing, there can be nothing to reform, he told the king, with his usual freedom, that he saw nothing in which he could be of any use to his majesty; on the contrary, he was only a burthen, and in his opinion, it would be most advisable to send him away again.

The ministers were extremely happy to get rid of so troublesome an inspector, and the more, because they could not easily have got rid of him by a court intrigue, because the king loved him; for court intrigues can do but little against extraordinary talents, united with a true knowledge of human nature and courts, where especially, as the case was here, the sovereign is on the side of justice as often as he understands it. After some trifling, and a great many under-hand tricks, the ministry proposed to St. Germain to accept of a certain sum of money paid once for all, instead of the promised pension. Nothing could be more agreeable to him than this, as he knew the unsteadiness of the Danish court. But he was unfortunate in the end, for having never paid any attention to his own private money matters, he thoughtlessly contented himself with a letter of credit of fifty or sixty thousand thalers,* on a merchant at Hamburgh, whom, on his arrival in that city, he found had become a bankrupt, and was run away from the German states and territory. St. Germain thought, to his last hour, that the minister was an accomplice in the robbery. It is well known that he was maintained for a long time after by a collection made for him by the officers of our German troops, out of their own allowance. A beautiful trait in the history of the Danish ministers.

* 2500*l*.

Struensee, and every other man who had a grain of penetration, thought that the best principles of government which the court of Denmark could adopt, would be to make retrenchments of the sums expended on foreign affairs; not to meddle with the disputes subsisting between the other German powers; to limit its own establishment to what would suffice for the maintenance of the internal tranquillity and the police, and to employ all its strength in the cultivation of the waste lands, and the promotion of industry. This is indeed all that experience and patriotism united can recommend; for in the present circumstances of the two countries, Denmark has nothing to apprehend from Sweden, or if it had, a word from Russia or Prussia would set every thing to rights there. But on the other side of the country, the first elector of Germany who shall set himself to oppose an extension of the Danish power, would reduce the country to great difficulties. The loss of a single magazine or treasury would put an end to their whole war apparatus: nay, even if most of their operations did not depend upon foreign subsidies, they would not be able to keep the field long against a middling German army. The militia of the country, in which the strength of the army principally consists, is raw and unformed, and the German forces, which have been raised at a great expence, would desert the instant they set foot out of the country; for they all detest a climate in which, by reason of the unwholesomeness of the air, the bad and unusual food, and the little attention shewn to their health, they are exposed to perish like so many fleas. Whenever I had occasion to converse with Germans in the Danish service, the tears used to run down their cheeks, when they recounted how they had been decoyed away by crimps, and described the miseries of their present state. Indeed the instances of the extraordinary means they have made use of to get out of the detested country, are almost incredible. Beside all this, there is a want of cavalry, which in the present time is so serviceable, and constitutes a fourth part of the German armies. Innumerable subsidies indeed would be required to put that of this country upon a respectable footing. It cannot be raised out of nothing in a minute, on the breaking out of a war; and the maintenance of it in time of peace demands an expence which the resources of the state, with all the subsidies they can procure, are not equal to. The times are past, in which wonders could be done with a handful of undisciplined and disobedient troops, who were maintained at the cost of the enemy. The mode of war now in use requires preparation, and a provision for such and so many wants as would make the Danish minister's hair stand an end, if an account of them were to be set before him. Supposing the Danish court to receive a subsidy of even a million of thalers* per annum, which is more than the French or English courts have ever given to the courts of Stockholm or Copenhagen, this would hardly be sufficient to enable it to keep the field one campaign with an army of 40,000 men, and it would be completely ruined by the loss of a single battle. The short campaign in the Bavarian war some years ago, though no extraordinary stroke was struck in it, cost the court of Vienna seventy-two millions of Rhenish guilders,* exclusive of the sums expended on previous preparations, which are always necessary. The army was at least three hundred thousand men strong. Calculate what the proportion will be for forty thousand men; but what would forty thousand men do, if, what however is impossible, the court of Denmark alone was to carry on any operations for a length of time out of its own territories. The king of Prussia would swallow up this army in a moment, let him have ever so much occupation; for it is a maxim, that when a man is once engaged with great enemies, he will do well to add lesser ones to them, as a single stroke may get from these all that

* 1,400,000*l*.

is lost on the other side. What became of the Swedish army, whom French subsidies led into Pomerania, in the last Silesian war? And yet the king of Prussia had at that time to cope with most of the principal powers in Europe. What became of the poor Saxons? of the poor army of the empire? And yet the Saxon and imperial troops were better kept, and at least as well fed, as the Danish are likely to be.

Denmark cannot, like Sweden, be compelled in any case to break the neutrality, nor is it necessary for it, on that account, always to maintain itself in a respectable situation. For more reasons than one, it has nothing to apprehend from Sweden, and its position secures it on every other side. Indeed, could it render its power ever so respectable, it has nothing to expect at any time by taking part in an offensive war, but a great deal to lose; whereas the advantages it would derive from bestowing the sums wasted in military preparations on the improvement of the country, are considerable. I have been thus particular on this point, in order to convince you and your friends, that our court added a new folly to the many it has lately been guilty of, when for certain privy purposes it gave subsidies to the Danish court. The money was in every respect thrown away. Half of it stuck to the fingers of the Danish ministers and commissaries, and the other half was very ill spent. Strong as all these reasons are against the keeping up a great land army in Denmark, every day produces fresh projects to encourage it. The vain minister, whom Struensee has so well depicted in his apology, will not let the world forget that Denmark is a monarchy. He gives himself airs of astonishing consequence. A few external marks of respect from the great courts, make him believe that he is respected, whereas he is in fact the jest of them all. A single word from the Russian minister brings the whole country to the empress's feet; and she has at least twenty times more weight at Copenhagen, than either at Vienna or at Berlin. It will certainly be much more politic in Denmark to aim only at being a maritime power, which is more consistent with the nature of the country, and the situation of the people. By pursuing this plan the Danes might, with some assistance, make themselves formidable, or at least protect their merchants in time of war. But the Danish minister chooses to shine both by sea and land. The navy accordingly consists of fifty ships, including those of fifty guns; however, not above six of these are in a condition to put to sea under six or eight weeks, though since the armed neutrality they have been making all sorts of preparation to put to sea. Many ships have been repaired within these six or eight years, and others are no longer in a reparable state.

The facility with which adventurers of the first class contrive to make their way into the Danish councils, and even into the ministry, is no very favourable symptom of the wisdom of this court. There is a proverb at Hamburg, that when a man is fit for nothing else, he is fit for a Danish privy counsellor, and may make his fortune by projects at Copenhagen. Under such circumstances much patriotism is not to be expected. Upon the whole, the Danish government is a visible proof, that despotism, notwithstanding all the great apparent force, is the weakest of all governments, when the head is not very sound and strong. The ministers ride on the counsellors, the counsellors on the secretaries, the secretaries on their clerks, and the wives of all these on their lovers. It sometimes happens too, that the minister is governed by the counsellor, the counsellor by the clerk, and so on; all this produces an absolute anarchy, and the quiet and happiness of the country depends upon the throwing the handkerchief to this or that woman. It is no wonder, that in a court like this many catastrophes happen similar to that which took place ten years ago. Prince Frederick, the king's brother-in-law, promises the country some hopes of better days. He seems to be more disposed to do

what is right, than to govern by faction or intrigue. His influence is however hitherto very limited.

On my return out of Lapland, I came hither by Lubeck. That place, which formerly played so great a part in the league of the Hantz cities, has scarce half the importance of Hamburg in point either of population, riches, or trade. The Danish minister sets his whole force against this place, as he has only Hamburg and it to fear. At Lubeck, however, his principal operations are confined for the present, for though he makes the poor town feel what he would do by every petty injury in his power, he dares not hitherto come to open hostilities, as it is protected by the emperor and the states of the empire. He is therefore compelled to change his siege into a kind of blockade. The bond of union betwixt the German imperial towns operates much more forcibly with regard to foreign powers, than is commonly imagined; and the article in the emperor's coronation oath, not to allow of any diminution of the empire, is maintained in its full force under Joseph the Second. It is indeed this article which compels our court to treat the small princes its neighbours who border on Germany with much more attention and respect than it shews towards the other sovereign states in its neighbourhood. It would not dare, for instance, to act towards the imperial state of Spire, as it has lately done towards Geneva, where it is interposed with such great effect, after having formally renounced the mediation, and having hardly any bond of union with the city.

LETTER LVIII.

Hanover.

ALL the country, dear brother, which lays to the north and north-west of this, and is watered by the Elbe and the Embs, is partly sand, and partly mud and morass. Indeed the mud which is thrown up by the sea and rivers, is looked upon here as a paradisaical earth, as it affords the inhabitants bread and hay, whilst the higher countries are nothing but sand. Here, my dear brother, a man perceives, for the first time, the blessings of a mountainous country. Through the whole road, from Hamburg to Embden, and from thence through a great part of Westphalia to this place, I did not see a single hill, a single laughing landscape, shady forest, beautiful wood, or, in brief, any of the things which can give a fillip to life. In Westphalia I saw large heaths which were still more barren than those of Jutland. The whole country has been subject to revolutions. It is a bottom of sand, which the rivers from the higher parts of Germany have formed, and to which they are constantly adding. In some parts the sea adds a quantity of mud, and in others entirely demolishes the barriers opposed to it, so that the inhabitants have constantly to contend with the water and frogs. The rivers overflow every year, and lay the country for many miles under water. The inundations of the Weser are particularly terrible. When they happen, the cities and villages are as it were in the midst of a sea, and seem to form so many islands. The consequences of this are agues, colds, and fevers, which would commit vast ravages amongst the poor people, were it not that custom renders them hardy, and that they are in a habit of warming their insides well with brandy. To a stranger, however, the country must be extremely unwholesome in winter and spring. The inhabitants are all through of the snail order, yellow skinned, soft fleshed, and full of wrinkles. Their small round figures are very striking when you compare them to the tall long Germans of the southern parts. You hardly ever see rosy cheeks among the men of the country, and but very seldom among the women. They live here as in Denmark, sailor-like, upon shell-fish,

(which they render very palatable) fish, fruits, and brandy, of which last the wives of the common people take large bumpers. Of the fine fruits and excellent vegetables which the other Germans, particularly the Suabians and inhabitants about the Rhine, are so fond of, they know nothing. The people are stupid, naturally melancholy, and generally speaking dirty; they are not, however, particularly in the Hanoverian country, so ferocious and ill-natured as the Danes. Many of the farmers here are very rich. The facility with which they dispose of their crops, the great fertility of their marshes, their fisheries, the great extent of land they possess amongst the heaths (which may always be used for pastures) and the government, which is ever very gentle, secure them advantages which the inhabitants of many countries in which nature has poured out all her abundance, do not enjoy. In many parts of Westphalia I saw no small villages, but the whole country belonged to some great landlords, whose estates reached many miles in circumference. There are, however, likewise some very small farmers. Those particularly who dwell on this side the Weser, about Bremen and Delmenhorst, appear in general not to be in very good circumstances. In many places they have their cattle in their houses; and I have been twice forced to rest upon a straw bed amongst the cows, which is indeed an accident that is sure to happen to a knight-errant of my complexion, as soon as he goes a step out of the great roads. In the small villages there are no inns, and a man is forced to put up with the small farmers, who have nothing to set before him but brandy or potatoes, or some salted bacon, and brown bread made of bran. I cannot conceive how our troops did to exist in this country during the last Silesian war.

Bremen is a very rich city, containing about five and twenty thousand inhabitants. It drives a very large trade for iron, flax, hemp, and linen, with France, England, Spain and Portugal, and in return takes back other provisions, with which it supplies Westphalia and the countries about Hanover. It also gets a great deal by its fisheries; the trade for blubber with the South of Germany is very considerable. Stiff and sullen as the inhabitants of the country are in general, you meet with some very sociable and conversable people amongst them.

Embsay is by no means so fine a place as Bremen. The king of Prussia has taken an everlasting dislike to the inhabitants of this city, who, to say the truth, when taken in the lump, are not a very amiable people. They are very remarkable for their laziness and insensibility. It was a great while before the good endeavours of the king to turn this people to commerce and ship-building were attended with any success. The East India Company, which he had established at a great expence in this city, was ruined within a few years of its erection, and certain republican prejudices, which the burghers of this city affected, rendered all the king's other efforts for a time ineffectual. At length the activity and wisdom of the government, attended with some fortunate circumstances, got the better of the impediments to that extension of commerce for which the city is particularly well situated. The herring fishery, which the king took every step in his power to encourage, brings in large sums of money every year. The American war assisted the king's designs very much, and the trade of the place now begins to be very flourishing. Embsay imports many Westphalian linens to the south countries, and provides a part of Westphalia with spices and wines. They have also a considerable trade in cheese. Their harbour is extremely good.

The dutchies of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, which the king of Denmark, at the desire of the Russian court, exchanged for a part of Holstein, with a prince of Gottorp, now make a very good principality, which contains seventy-five thousand people, and

yields every year about four hundred thousand Rhenish guilders.* It is from all these countries, but particularly from Friesland, that they procure the strong fine coach-horses who trot so proudly over the pavement of many Italian cities, and are sometimes, though seldom, met with in France. The court of Petersburg buys up several of these horses to mount its heavy cavalry, who look very formidable on this terrible cattle. The Dutch cuirassiers are supplied from Holstein, and in truth the horses of that country are preferable to those of Friesland and Oldenburg for this service, as with the same strength they connect more alacrity and life.

Hanover, consider it in what light you will, is a very fine city. The number of its inhabitants is about twenty thousand. There are very good societies here, to which the officers contribute not a little. The nobility is as polished and refined in its manners as that of any other German city. The country, which hereabouts begins to be more elevated, is not quite so ugly as the deeper country round the Weser. Prince Frederick, the king's second son, resides here at present, and makes a particular circle of the inhabitants very happy. He is bishop of Osnaburg, which principality produces him, yearly, a revenue of one hundred and eighty thousand Rhenish florins. Having come to this very early in life, and his indulgent father having given up to him, when he comes of age, all the province of the bishopric, without any deduction whatever, he will have an income of three millions of florins, or three hundred thousand pounds. They wish and hope here, that in process of time he will be declared governor of his father's possessions in this country, and reside constantly. His great income will make this a considerable advantage to the city in point of interest, and his wonderful education gives the whole country hopes of a wise and gentle administration.

Though some parts of the electorate of Hanover are very fertile, yet, upon the whole, it is the most miserable part of all Germany. It is about seven hundred German miles in circumference, but hardly contains seven hundred thousand inhabitants; nay, some think this is going too far, for though they have numbered one hundred thousand houses, our commissaries in the last war, who numbered the people, could not make more of them than five hundred thousand souls in all the Hanoverian dominions. But put them at seven hundred thousand, still you will find no other country of the like extent in all Germany, which does not contain more than one thousand souls for every square mile. The difference betwixt Hanover and Suabia, Saxony, Austria, Bohemia, and the other parts of Germany, is still more considerable; for each of these states has two thousand five hundred souls for every square mile, and some of them much more. The cause of the slender population is almost entirely owing to nature. The country abounds in sand-heaths, which it is almost impossible to cultivate. Almost the whole country between Hamburg and this place is a deep sand. The difference in point of riches is still more considerable. The whole revenues of Hanover amount only to four hundred and eighty thousand guilders; of which the mines in the Harts alone contribute one hundred thousand. The country belonging to the elector of Saxony, which is very little larger, brings in nearly as much again.

The government of this country is gentle. The great offices of state are held by active and enlightened patriots. Nothing is known here of extorting money from the poor. Little of the money of this country goes to London; but almost the whole is spent in the improvement of the country. The army, which consumes the greatest part of it, is large, and consists of twenty thousand men. They are the best fed of all the German troops, but are not near so well disciplined as either the Prussian or Austrian

* Forty thousand pound.

armies. This, however, is the softest of all the German governments, and there is a spirit of liberty throughout, which is a strong contrast to what you meet with in other parts of the country. I had hardly been three days here when I made an excursion to Brunswick. Germany has few princes of whom it has so much right to be proud, as of this. I was with a kind of enthusiasm that I looked upon one of the first heroes of Germany, though he had become such at our expence. The reigning duke is one of the first generals of the Prussian army. He is a consummate statesman, and the favourite of the king of Prussia. I need only mention prince Ferdinand to you, to convince you how glad I must have been to see him. He is only known to you as a terrible enemy; but his good heart, his extended understanding, his active zeal for the interest of mankind as far as his sphere reaches, and his affability towards every man, would soon make you forget that he was your enemy, if you knew him better.

Brunswick is the rendezvous of the German free-masons, at the head of whom the prince is. Most of the protestant princes in Germany are members of this numerous order. It is not long since the system of the German lodges has been fixed, and that they have acquired a kind of consistency. Germany in general is much indebted to this order, as it is certainly owing to masonry that many of its princes have become much more affable and gentle in their manners than they were before.

Four princes of this illustrious house fought in the last Silesian war, for the honour and freedom of Germany. The youngest of them, only seventeen years of age, died covered with wounds, under a heap of Hussars, who had been the witnesses of his valour, and whom he comforted to his latest breath. Probably you may not know that this is the elder branch of the house of Brunswick, and that the king of Great Britain descends from a younger son. Brunswick is a very handsome city. It carries on a very thriving trade, and has a great number of manufactures. The number of inhabitants, amongst whom you meet with exceeding good company, consists of at least twenty-four thousand. The whole income of the present duke is estimated at one million three hundred thousand Rhenish florins, or one hundred and thirty thousand pounds.

LETTER LIX.

Cassel.

THAT ideal beauty, my dearest brother, which dances before the eyes of our artists, though it so often vanishes under their pencils, was certainly never taken from Germany. All the human figures you meet with between this place and the Northern and Eastern Seas, are so far from possessing it, that there are no lines of it to be discovered amongst them.

You would in vain look for a girl's body resembling the Grecian model. There are, it is true, faces enough with very soft strokes in them, but they all want the Greek profile and spirit. Nor has the fine white flesh the firmness inseparable from a truly fine form.

In the lower parts of the Elbe and Weser, you see indeed some snowy bosoms, and some lily and rosy cheeks, but they soon vanish when the girls have once passed their bloom, and the whole is so flat and lifeless, that you cannot give it the name of a fine form. Even amongst the Saxons, the fairest creatures, under the sun who are not Grecians, you seldom meet with a face which has any appearance of ideal beauty; and yet these are in the north, what the women of Florence are in the south, and far exceed all their country women in life and spirit.

The men of the north are equally destitute of ideal beauty. Winckelman, himself, thinks that better models for the study of male beauty are to be met with in Naples and

Sicily, than amongst his countrymen the Saxons, though they are, without any comparison, the handsomest of the northern nations.

It is well known that no German will attempt to vie with the inhabitants of the southern countries in point of beauty; but when you tell a German that the inhabitants of the south are stronger and more durably built than those of the north, they look upon this as a great paradox; and yet strength is the principal point of manly beauty. Have you ever seen a Sicilian wrestle with an Hanoverian or Westphalian? I consider wrestling as the greatest proof of strength. I also believe that you would not find in all the north a porter like the Genoese or Neapolitan carrier, that is, a man able to carry four hundred pounds weight for a considerable way. Nor do I think that if both were put into the same circumstances, as much could be done with German troops as with Spanish ones. We are not now to consider that in the present days the latter are so much excelled in discipline; for in Charles the Fifth's time they were both alike. But the German troops in Spain and Italy served only once; and few of the armies which the emperors carried into Italy with them ever came home. On the contrary, the Spaniards under Charles the Fifth fought many battles with great reputation on the Rhine, as well as in Holland, the climate of which is so different from their own; they shewed more valour, and bore more fatigues than the inhabitants themselves, who must have been subdued had it not been that they were assisted by external circumstances, and that the prince of Orange's spirit did more than all the Mynheers put together.

The national pride of the Germans has led them to give themselves a pre-eminence over the southern nations, which history, nature and appearances equally give the lie to. They imagine that understanding, courage, activity, strength, and liberty, are the natural appendages of their thick and foggy air; and that the south is the natural habitation of stupidity, indolence, cowardice, and tyranny. On the contrary, consider what is deposed by history, appearances, and nature. History teaches us that light is come into the world from the south; appearances teach us that the Spaniards and Italians are much more frugal in eating and drinking, and probably too in the enjoyments of love, than the Germans, amongst whom we include the Danes, the Swedes, the Russians, and the Poles: and nature teaches us that bodily and mental beauty are commonly to be found where the great Creator of the bodies of men has appointed the finest forms and the greatest strength. Let us examine this position a little more fully: compare the standings of men, as they are more and more removed from the happy air of Greece, Asia Minor, and Italy, till you come to the North Pole, and you will find that nature does not suffer the inhabitants of the coast of Barbary, the Arabs, the people of the coast of Guinea, and the Abyssinians, to sink into the same degree of indolence and cowardice as the Greenlanders, the Samoyedes, and the Laplanders. What astonishing proofs do the negroes give us of bodily strength, courage, and coolness of intrepidity; a sure sign that the warm and genial air of the south, raises human nature, and that the bitter and cold blasts of the north depress it.

But perhaps you will tell me that at present the inhabitants of the north excel those of the south. I allow it; but it proves nothing more than that religion, manners, and government have more influence over men than climate. But these very manners, customs, and arts of government, which in the present century give the north such an advantage over the south, came originally from the south. What are our republics more than copies of the Greek and Roman? Crippled as our legislation is, in comparison of those of Carthage, Egypt, Rome, and Athens, it is only what we have been able to gather out of the ruins of those states. Have the Prussian tactics any thing better in them than the Macedonian phalanx was? Can any one be surprised that the

people who dwelt near the Elbe and Weser, should have overcome Varus, when we see that the North Americans, by nature the most cowardly, and at the breaking out of the war the most undisciplined people upon earth, are able, by the advantages of their woods, rivers, pools, and the extent of their uncultivated country, to oppose all the force Great Britain can bring against them? And yet the climate of North America is not so adverse to the English, as that of the south of Germany must have been to the Romans; nor was Germany at that time nearly so well cultivated as North America now is? Let a man conceive Varus's army on the river St. Lawrence, lake Superior, the lake of the Illinois, and the upper regions of the Mississippi, and still he will have no true idea of their situation in Germany. They were far from possessing the facilities of providing for the exigencies of war, which they would have had in North America. Germany was at that time an uninterrupted wood; its rivers were not confined within a standing bed, but in several places formed immense morasses, too many and too visible marks of which still remain.

The inhabitants of Germany, who afterwards subdued the south, were no doubt indebted for this advantage to the wars which the Romans had before waged against them, just as the Turks and North Americans have become good soldiers by their wars with the Russians and Britons. What think you if any body had told the Scipios that some time or other the conquerors of Rome should come out of the Hercynian forests? would they have attributed any thing to the climate? No, they would have answered that the manners, constitution, and armies of Rome must first be changed; and that was the case.

But what became of these northern conquerors when the luxury of the inhabitants of the south had subdued their natures, and made them vassals to them? Were they not like the overflowings of their own rivers, which thaw after a long frost, and lay waste the fields far and near with ice and sand? All the conquerors of the south, enlightened and erected; whereas all the conquerors of the north, darkened and pulled down? This was the case both before and after the Roman æra. The Babylonians and Egyptians, supposing the accounts of the expeditions of the latter to be true, were benevolent conquerors like the Greeks and Macedonians. But what were the Scythians? The Arabs spread arts, sciences, and humanity, wherever they extended their power. But what darkness ensued when the northern Turks had extended the bounds of their empire? It is a striking instance of the bodily weakness of the northern nations, that they always become enervated as soon as they have been some time in the south, which they never could cope with long; whereas no history informs us of the climate of the north ever having been fatal to the strength and activity of the Romans. How did Cæsar's troops hold out in Gaul, Brittany, and Holland? How did the Romans behave under the emperors on the Rhine, the Danube, and the neighbourhood of the Elbe and Weser? You tell us it is the climate which prevents the northern people from being hardy in the south. But were the Romans effeminate when their forefathers eat oatmeal pap? Were the Spartans or Macedonians effeminate? The generality of the Spaniards and Italians of this day, are by no means a weak people. It is not therefore the climate alone which makes the difference. It is rather the weak nervous system of the northern nations which renders them unable to bear the contrast of the hot days and cold nights, which braces up the strong-built natives; nor can they support the change made in their way of life. The great bodies of the Dutch, Danes, and Poles, are bare lumps of flesh and bones, the former of which is disgustingly flabby. On the other hand, the lighter Italians, as well as the darker Spaniards, are more sinewy, and more muscular, which is the true character of bodily strength. Nor are the minds of the northern nations less weak than their bodies. A proof of it is, their never having been able to establish lasting empires

in their southern conquests. Their kingdoms were a bare accident of fortune, and they never had felicity of genius enough to form plans or knit the social band. How differently did the nations of the south, particularly the Romans, manage their conquests? just as if they were still a fresh people, and had known nothing of sciences or arts!

In general nature displays far different vigour, a far more magnificent spirit of creation in the south, than what she does in the northern provinces. What riches, and variety, and strength, is in the vegetable kingdoms of the south? The shrub which furnishes the balsam of Mecca, and the plants from Ceylon and the Molucca islands, shame the unfruitfulness of the earth near the poles; and the vigour of nature seems evidently to decrease in proportion as we recede from the equator. Our savoury fruits have all come to us from the south; and the better tasted and more spirited they are, the less able are they to bear the north. The nobler fruits, just like the generous wines, which gladden and make strong the heart of man, cannot take root in the north. In the same manner in the mineral kingdom, nature shews herself more venerable in the south, than she does in the north. And in the animal world! How very different are the beasts of the south to those of the north! Why then should not nature, which weaves every thing else more strongly in a warm climate, also weave man more strongly there? It is true, indeed, that understanding and morals are no exclusive property of any strip of land. They depend on laws, customs, education, and government; which may, and often do render the artificial man superior to the natural one. But the natural understanding awakes sooner from its sleep in a warm country, than it does in a cold one. Under a warm sun abstract ideas are much quicker formed. The senses are much clearer here; and the understanding depends on the quickness of the senses. Imagination, which is so connected with all the operations of the sun, has more force in Sicily than in Iceland. The first force of the impressions made by the senses, gives the powers of the mind an alacrity in the southern countries, which is the true character of genius, and which the inhabitants of the north cannot reach by any cold abstractions which they may arrive at, from their manners, customs, or government. Nor are the fine moral feelings so independant of the fine sensual ones, as some philosophers, who know little of human nature, are willing to imagine. The Germans, who charge the French, Italians, and all the southern nations, with indolence, slavery, and debasement of mind, forget that the Siberians and Kamtschatdales, amidst their almost eternal ices and snows, are, according to the accounts of all travellers, the most cowardly, most sensual, most debased, and most enslaved people upon earth. Nor can the glow of liberty be so thoroughly stifled in Italy as it is in several northern countries, which appear the seat of despotism; nay, the governments of France and Spain themselves, are not so despotic as many Germans please themselves in believing them to be. The clear and dry air of the south elevates the soul just as it gives tone to the nerves. All the persons who have breathed a fine western air in the mountains, speak of feelings which they knew not in the plains. So the air of the south of Europe is as different from that of the north, as the air of the Swiss Alps is different from that of the plains. As a proof of this, the hectic English go to Nismes, Nice, Pisa, and Naples, to repair their shattered constitutions.

But it is true, after all, that the inhabitants of the Elbe and Weser, though thus abandoned by nature, exceed the Sicilians and Neapolitans as much in strength of mind, as they are outdone by them in bodily strength and beauty. It is true; and what then? The liberal citizen of the world admires the omnipotence of government, which is able to raise men so far above their natural situation, or to sink them so deep below it; but he does not therefore allow himself to contract illiberal prejudices against any nation. He congratulates the northern nations upon their having made themselves what they are, and rejoices that they are every day becoming greater and greater; but he does not

forget that the people of the south were sooner great, and that the arts of cultivation, and light of all kinds came from them.

You will easily perceive, from the nature of these speculations, that they were made in the post-waggon. My company consisted of a swine of an Oldenburgh dealer in horses, a clodpole Bremen broker, and a pretty female piece of flesh, mere dead flesh, lying before me on the straw. There was not a word spoke all the way from Göttingen here; so that if the *dulcis et alta quies* had not been now and then interrupted by coughing, sneezing, belching, and the like, I should not have known that I had company with me.

At Göttingen I visited several professors, to whom I cannot refuse my utmost veneration, but who were all so convinced of the cultivation of Germany, and so sore set against us Southlanders, that I did not know how to reconcile it with their knowledge of mankind. All these gentlemen spoke to me of the political and literary situation of their own country with a veneration which often bordered on the ridiculous. This arises partly from national pride, partly from partiality to their own country, and partly from true rank Charlatanism. These gentlemen look upon our government as the quintessence of despotism, our academies as hospitals for fools, our soldiers as women, and our writers, to whom however, as appears from their writings, they are so much indebted, as *petit maitres*. In a word, they consider the south as the kingdom of darkness and tyranny, and allow more sense and knowledge of things, to the Danes, Swedes, and Russians, than to the most respectable people in the south. It was this absurdity which gave rise to my speculations in the post waggon, which were however much interrupted by strong jolts. Amongst other persons I visited here was professor Schlosser, whom I found unjust towards us, out of mere party motives. Possibly there are few historians in the world who know so many historical facts as this gentleman does. I found a most unexpected and extraordinary fund of knowledge of modern history about him. He possesses an infinite number of living languages. His humour, which is somewhat too sharp and satirical, does not always make him amiable as a private man, but often produces very good effects as a writer. What he is most distinguished by is his journal. It is published under the name of *Political Letters*, and is one of the most generally spread about in Germany, and other neighbouring countries, though Mr. Linguet has thought proper to call it *peu connu*. It is not like the English, Dutch, and French journals, which consist mostly of declamation, and reflections, which are commonly founded on false facts and false reasoning. Schlosser's journal contains for the most part only records, to which he sometimes adds short notes, always interesting, and sometimes very severe, but for the collection of which future historians will be obliged to him. False facts sometimes slip in, but these are generally rectified in the course of time; and upon the whole, there is no work from which a man may gather the present state of politics, particularly those of one part of Germany, so well as from this. It contains numerous lists of the population and income of many German states, and also of their agriculture and industry. As Mr. Schlosser is particularly bent on hunting down the follies and sultanism of German princes, together with absurdities, barbarity, and monkism, he is not wanting in interesting anecdotes, which often give occasion to still more interesting explanations. This journal may indeed be considered as one of the surest bars against the tyranny of the lesser princes of Germany: and it is certainly known that it has produced great effects in several courts. Persons of the first rank, and often princes themselves, send the author papers. The plan of this journal is as advantageous to the editor as it is to the public. It supports itself by the contributions of strangers, and is not odious by any selfish or party remarks of the editors; all works of knowledge are accessible to the

author, and the lesser princes who have any shame left are compelled to stand in fear of the strong censor who publicly exposes their shame. Mr. Schlosser makes use of all the freedom which the place of his residence allows him; and he often gives very interesting accounts of other countries besides Germany in his journal. The reputation of the work encreases every day more and more, and he may be assured that he will soon be universally read in his native country. In my opinion, a single number of this work has more merit than all Linguet's Annals put together, at least it contains more truth. This journal marks the learned character of the Germans extremely well. In the German historians and politicians there appears no marks of the acute observation, the piercing conjecture, and the elegant portraitures of men and manners, which distinguish the English historians and politicians. Every thing with them is made up of dry matter of fact, which they endeavour to establish so as to set it above the power of attack. The genuine lover of truth, who loves it for itself, and does not desire a particle of wit to be spent in its support, had rather read a dry list of population in Schlosser's letters, than all the pompous declamations of the English travellers and politicians, who are often brought to shame by a few cyphers they read in this book. In every part of literature the Germans distinguish themselves from other nations in the same way.

Gottingen is a pretty little city, containing about eighty thousand souls; the territory about it is pleasanter, and produces more than that of any other part of Hanover I have seen. It subsists entirely by the university, which is one of the best I have seen. There are Russian, Danish, Swedish, and English,* as well as German students in it. The students here are about eight hundred, and the professors, including the dancing and fencing masters, are about sixty.

The king of Great Britain spares no expence to bring these higher sort of schools into repute. The library, which is kept up at his expence, and is always encreasing, is as numerous as it is well disposed. The physical apparatus, astronomical instruments, the collection of natural history, the chirurgical instruments, the botanical garden, every thing, in a word, bespeaks royal care.

The way, in the Protestant universities, of going through all the sciences in half-yearly courses, which displeased Mr. Pilati so much, has my full approbation. Though it may be calculated for the advantage of the pockets of the professors, the scholars lose nothing by it. No sciences are thoroughly learned at any university. All that can be done, and that is done, is to give the student the elements of them, to let him have a notion of the parts of the building, and shew him the easiest way of coming at it. It depends upon him afterwards to travel the whole of the road. If the young man lays his foundation right, the half-year's course is as profitable to him as it is to the master. It spares his time and money. When a young man comes here, they commonly lay a Programma before him, in which all the arts are disposed according to their natural order, and likewise according to their connection with each other. In consequence of this it happens not unfrequently, that a student attends six or seven courses in a day. What then? you will tell me he will only be confined by the variety of knowledge. I believe not. The generality of young men will not be at the pains of digging deep for themselves. Lectures make a deeper impression on the mind than the silent meditation of a closet. We must likewise consider that the professors are able to give the marrow and result of the whole.

* The English have, I am informed, been lately almost banished; at least the professors do not desire the company of young men so totally lost to what ought to be the glory of young men, as they for the most part are.

I do not approve of the lectures being paid for by the students. It is true, that it tends to keep up the spirit and emulation of the professors; but their independence of the students, were it otherwise, would in my opinion be attended with much more beneficial consequences. All that can lessen the reverence of the scholar towards the master ought to be avoided with the greatest caution. The students are, it is true, for the most part, well educated young men; but still they are too young to know how to esteem a man of merit according to his real abilities. Too much reverence for him that teaches seldom does any harm to him that is to be taught. In short, cabals, conspiracies, with a number of inferior artifices, to which good men sometimes condescend for the sake of a few guilders, but which lessen them in the eyes of the students, are the consequence of this part of the plan.

When Mr. Pilati says that the Germans treat all the sciences only in a compendious way, he shews himself quite ignorant of the method adopted by the public professors, at least by those of this place. Almost every professor composes a plan of his lectures, which serves his hearers for a syllabus of what they are to be taught. You cannot properly call this a compend of science, in the sense you affix to this name, when you give it to Bossuet's Introduction to Universal History. It is neither more nor less than an account of the method which every man for himself purposes to use in teaching his scholars a science. Another object, with those who make the most of their industry, is to lend or sell this manuscript for a few louis d'ors. It is true indeed, that some have taken so much pains with these syllabuses, that they may pass for compendia; but it does not follow from thence that the literati of Germany, who are not, it must be remembered, all protestants, treat all the sciences compendiously. Some of these syllabuses, which have gone beyond their original design, and are become compendia, are master-pieces of more value than several works in folio; and, taken in general, are an evident sign that the university of Gottingen possesses several most valuable men. Upon the whole, the thorough freedom of opinion which is established here, the absence of the notions and absurd systems which keep other universities in bondage, together with an enlightened and gentle administration, secure advantages to these schools which are hardly to be found in any other.

Cassel is not only a very handsome, but in some respects a magnificent city. It contains about thirty-two thousand inhabitants. This is one of the cities of Germany which, as well as several others, the Hugunots have caused to flourish at our expence. They have established several considerable manufactures in it, one amongst others of hats, which are not at all inferior to those made at Lyons in fineness and strength, and are held in equal estimation.

The number of the subjects of the landgrave, I have been assured, is three hundred and thirty thousand. His income amounts to two millions two hundred and twenty thousand Rhenish florins (about two hundred and twenty thousand pounds.) Add to this, the country of Hanau, which contains one hundred thousand men, and brings in something above five hundred thousand florins, or fifty thousand pounds; still the possessions of this house are not so good as those of a dutchy of Wirtemberg.

This country is the most military of all Germany. The peasants are not only always disciplined, but always ready to march any where through the wide world. The sending the Hessian troops to North America, cannot be considered as a hardship in itself, considering the intimate connection of this country with Great Britain; but the connection itself is a very unprofitable one for this country. The English subsidies can never make amends for the loss which the treaty has hitherto brought on both prince and people. The country was stripped of all its young men after the last Silesian war, and

scarcely had it begun to bloom again when they were sent to America. At least twenty thousand Hessians, of whom one half will never come home, are gone to that part of the world. The country has therefore lost a sixth of its most useful inhabitants, by the tea-burning business at Boston. The taxes are very considerable, as you will see if you compare the population and taxes of this country with those of the dutchy of Wirtemberg, whom nature has put in possession of far greater advantages than she has done the Hessians. Though the landgrave has remitted his subjects a part of the taxes for as long a time as the war shall last, they desert in great numbers, and go into Hungary, Poland, and Turkey.

The military constitution of this country has, on several occasions, been as useful to the German empire in general, as it has been prejudicial to the people themselves. So early as the reformation, the Hessians contributed exceedingly towards maintaining the freedom of the empire; and the Silesian war would not have ended nearly so well for England, or the king of Prussia, if sixteen or eighteen thousand brave Hessians had not stood the brunt of our troops.

LETTER LX.

Wurtzburgh.

YOU will see, if you take up a map of Germany, that I have been true to my promise; and that I have gone through the holy Roman empire cross-ways and long-ways, through wood and through thicket, by dale and by vale; in a word, like a true light errant.

The Hessians, my dear brother, take them in general are deformed to a degree. The women are the ugliest creatures I have ever seen. Their dress is horrid. Most of them are clad in black, and wear their petticoats so high, that you can see no shape, only the ugly thick leg as high as the knee, is most conspicuous. The men in some degree make up in strength what is wanting in beauty. Upon the whole, though not a large, they are a stout strong-built people. Here and there you see a giant-like figure; but they all have large bodies and feet. Most of them are white; and their hair is crisp. Their way of living is savage. Their best food is potatoes and brandy; which last they give even to their children.

The people are much the same in the Fuldese. The whole tract of country from Cassel to the borders of Franconia, is rough and wild. The people are like the country, which abounds in woods and hills.

The present prince of Fulda is a man of taste, who lives well, and loves expence. He is extremely tolerant, and no friend to the popish hierarchy. He calls the pope his brother. He is, without doubt, the richest abbot in the Catholic world. The number of his subjects, whom he governs with great gentleness, and extremely well, amounts to seven hundred thousand; and he has an income of three hundred thousand Rhenish guilders.* He has founded several useful establishments for educations, and allows his ecclesiastics a freedom in speaking and writing, which distinguishes them from those of the other parts of Germany. During my abode at Vienna, it was there looked upon as a very heroic degree of courage in some profane literati, to declare that the council was above the pope. At Fulda I read these, and much more bold things, in works which are at least of twelve years standing. The palace of Fulda is a very pretty building; and I met with much better company here than I expected.

* 30,000*l*.

Wurtzburg is upon the whole a very fine city. It is situated in a large plain, very fruitful in vines, and watered by the Main. The prince's palace is one of the finest buildings I have hitherto seen in Germany. There obtains amongst the inhabitants, who are sixteen thousand in number, an alacrity, a love for the pleasures of the senses, and a freedom of intercourse between the two sexes, which you do not find in any protestant city of the same size; and which bespeaks the great affluence and ease of the country very strongly.

I was struck here, as in Fulda, with the tolerant spirit and knowledge of the priesthood, who are far beyond their brethren of Austria and Bavaria. As these qualities are commonly united to good manners and good conversation, the ton of literati, into whose society I fell on my first arrival here, did not surprise me. I saw in short that some favourable exceptions to the general character are to be met with in the Catholic parts of Germany, as well as unfavourable ones in the Protestant parts. It must be owned that the former are far less common than the other. Not that you are to think the sun in his meridian even here. I was speaking yesterday to a priest about the execution of the witches, with which this government has been so often and so justly reproached. At first he appeared as if he did not understand me. At length he told me, with a confidential air, that the most intelligent persons were not satisfied with the grounds of trial, as several learned divines had determined, that the woman who had been burned for a witch, might have been *obsessa* as well as *circumscissa*, by the devil. I do not know whether you enter into the sense of this nice distinction. It is as much as to say, that the devil was not absolutely in the circumference of her body; but that Satan, in order to play her into the hands of justice, made the miracles seem to come from her belly, and blinded the spectators at her cost. I was astonished at hearing this expression from a man who possesses so much knowledge in his own science; but he was not one of the great wits of the place: and after all, if this theological distinction should in future save a witch from the stake, on the ground, that it is impossible to distinguish whether she be *obsessa* or *circumscissa*, the nonsense will have had its use.

The present governor is a very intelligent man. He understands both men and things, and is one of the few German bishops who have only their own merit to thank for their good fortune and promotion. He is of an old but not very rich family, of the name of Van Erthal; and is brother to the elector of Mentz. His knowledge and activity recommended him to the imperial court, who gave him the conspicuous place of imperial commissary at the diet of Ratisbon; there he distinguished himself so much, that the imperial court gave him this bishopric in commendam.

Wurtzburg alone is one of the richest bishoprics in the country; the diocese contains about one hundred and ninety thousand inhabitants, and the revenue is eight hundred thousand Rhenish florins, or eighty thousand pounds; but besides this, the bishop holds the bishopric of Bamberg, which is one of the fattest benefices of the empire, and brings in about seven hundred thousand guilders, or seventy thousand pounds. Both these countries are in some of the best land in Germany. They abound plentifully in the necessaries of life. Wurtzburg gains a great deal by its wines, which are carried as far as Sweden. They praised the Stein wine to me very much. I tasted it, but found it very fiery and burning on the tongue. It is very full of tartar, and raises thirst.

Agriculture seems to be well understood in this country; but in their manufactures they are a great way behind, not only the northern parts of Germany, but their neighbours the Fuldans. These make a great number of very fine damasks; with

which, as well as the plainer linens, they drive a good trade. The Wurtzburghers have no employment equally profitable. Besides this, as in winter time the Fuldans employ themselves in spinning and weaving, they are infinitely better off in their wild country, than the people of Wurtzburg in their paradise. The bishop, indeed, of the last place has a fine manufacture of looking-glasses and china; but they are the only good manufactures of the place. The present bishop gives himself a great deal of trouble to inspire his subjects with a taste for the arts. * * * * *

In order to give this letter its proper length, previous to my sealing it, I made an excursion into Franconia, which is the least of all the circles. But the game I have taken in this chase is so very little, as to be hardly worth the postage you will have to pay for it.

Bamberg is a pretty, large, handsome, lively city, containing near twenty thousand inhabitants. What is most remarkable in it is the gardening, which in no part of Germany is so flourishing as it is here. Several hundred gardeners carry on a considerable trade as far as Holland, with small pickled gerkins, a prodigious number of liquorice roots, onions which are looked upon as the best in Germany, and other things. They also supply the neighbourhood round with pot-herbs, very good apples, and cauliflowers. Their good strong beer is likewise carried as far as the Rhine. The common people here believe that there is no liquorice any where else in the world, and that this was planted here and given to this city as an exclusive possession for ever, by the holy Cunigunda, who lies buried in the cathedral, with her husband Henry the Second. As I am upon the miracles of this holy pair, I cannot forbear communicating to you another anecdote concerning them, which I have learned here; and I do it the more willingly, because holy legends are the only things worth mentioning from hence. Possibly it may be known to you that Henry the Second, the founder of this bishopric, was, notwithstanding his sanctity, extremely jealous of this Cunigunda; so that in conformity to the customs of the times, he determined to have the ordeal proof of her chastity. After she had walked over the red hot plough-shares unhurt, he of course embraced his spouse, and begged her pardon for the suspicions he had entertained. It happened that some time before, vying with each other in affection towards this foundation, they had had two new bells put up in the cathedral. After the ordeal proof was over, they used to walk together every day in the court about the cathedral at the time of chiming the bells. Henry's consort was one day so mortified at finding that his bell had a better tone than her's, that in order to give her a proof of his hearty confidence and love, the emperor took a golden ring from his finger, and threw it up into the air, when it clung round the bell so as to deaden the sound; which continues dull to this day. This piece of gallantry is almost too fine for the tenth and eleventh centuries; but the old cathedrals of Bamberg and Wurtzburg would furnish each of them a numerous, and not a very uninteresting collection of tales of knight errantry, legends, and stories of apparitions. The abundance of such tales is a sure proof that the people are idle, and have not a sufficient number of useful employments to take up their thoughts and conversations. Psalm-singing, to which the common people amongst the reformed have recourse whenever they are tired, has not, it is true, that colouring of imagination which marks the amusements of the Catholics in Germany; but it is more adapted to the notions of the common people, and gives them no false and dangerous opinions. I cannot here pass over an anecdote of a spirit from Wurtzburg. I was assured, that even to this day, from eleven to twelve at night, the watch cannot be set in a certain street, on account of a very dangerous man walking through it at this time, who carries his body under his right arm.

Notwithstanding the excellence of the soil, the people of the bishoprics of Wurtzburg and Bamberg are upon the whole extremely poor. This does not arise so much from a neglect of agriculture, as from a want of frugality. It is however impossible that agriculture should employ all the people of so populous a country. It is no doubt owing to both education and custom, that we see so many beggars in a country where nature has shewn herself so liberal. The government of the spiritual princes in Germany, which I have hitherto seen, is much more gentle than those of most of the temporal princes; and the abuse cast upon them, is upon the whole very unjust. It requires many ages to make a dissipated and luxurious people frugal and industrious. The relaxed manners of the Roman Catholics in Germany are in a great measure owing to the false notions inculcated into them by their teachers. Schlosser tells us in his journal, that a Roman Catholic priest was accused of heresy by one bishop and two universities, for teaching "that self-love was the principle of all human actions; that a neglect of the earthly advantages which time and opportunity offer to men, was a philosophical sin; and that it was unlawful to do another a kindness, by which we might considerably suffer ourselves." These excessive notions of liberality and contempt for temporal things, are the true reasons why the Roman Catholic Germans in general are, as Mr. Pilati has observed, better hearted than the Protestant ones. The number of beggars are themselves a proof of it; for if they did not find so many givers, they would soon learn to work. It would, however, be much better if there were no beggars, and the people were made a little more frugal. For the same reason it is that you find many more charitable foundations of all sorts amongst the Catholics than amongst the Protestants, though the former are so poor. The Julius hospital, at Wurtzburg, is richer than all the foundations of the sort in the king of Prussia's dominions put together; but all these foundations are a new encouragement to luxury.

The mendicant orders of friars find their account in their doctrines of free gifts, and contempt of the things of this world (which they themselves carefully gather;) and they are also the principal defenders of them. Exclusive of the masses for souls, which, taken altogether, do not amount to a great deal, the Catholic secular priests do not get much by the liberality of the people.

The benefices in the cathedrals of Wurtzburg and Bamberg are looked upon as the best in Germany. In good years each is worth 3500 guilders;* but you seldom meet with a priest who has no more than one of them. Several of them have four or five prebends in as many cathedrals, and receive from 8 to 10 or 12,000 guilders per year. The prelates of those foundations receive from 20 to 30,000 florins a year. The whole trouble of a German canon consists in his being obliged to residence in his cathedral for a month in the year. No other qualification is required of him but to be able to read Latin, and prove himself descended from a good family on the mother's side.

In a certain episcopal city in Germany, there is this proverb, "that prebends make themselves." In general you see them hovering round the ladies.

I am assured that every canon of Wurtzburg, at his first entry into the chapter, receives a stroke with a switch from each of his colleagues. This extraordinary inauguration is contrived with a view of preventing any prince, who of course cannot submit to such a ceremony, from desiring to be of the chapter.

* About 350l.

Nuremberg is an ugly town, which grows every day more deserted. At the end of the fifteenth century this town contained above fifty thousand male inhabitants, who were not above one-fourth of the whole; whereas the whole population now hardly amounts to a sixth part of the number. In the course of the last years eleven hundred men have died every year. Many hundred houses stand quite empty, and the others are tenanted only by single families. The inhabitants are still a very industrious people; and it is a very pretty sight to see the little children employed in making the various toys, for the manufacture of which this place is so distinguished in Europe.

I am surprised to find so many German writers laughing at these productions of the Nurembergers, and making a proverb of their industry. Is not the great exportation of these commodities a sufficient justification of the mode in which these people employ their time? But these reproaches are the more unjust because Nuremberg has long produced artists who vie with the best English ones, in making mathematical and physical instruments. You meet no where, out of England, with such good manufactures in steel, iron, and copper, as you do here. Will any man then say he has a right to blame these people, because, amidst their more important business, they find useful and profitable employments for their wives and children? Nuremberg is far superior to Augsburg in the arts.

The great cause of the ruin of this town is the aristocracy. I could not have believed, had not respectable citizens of Nuremberg told it me, the ill treatment which they receive from twenty or thirty families, in whose hands the government is. From time to time every citizen must have an inventory of his effects taken, and I do not know for what reason, give a third or fourth part of them to the regency. Exclusive of the evil of these numberless gifts, it is extremely bad policy in a commercial state, to compel the merchant to inform every one of the profit of his trade. These patricians have likewise a number of families in their interest, amongst whom they divide the employments of the state, which are very considerable. All this renders it not surprising to find that the rich citizens leave the city, and endeavour to emancipate themselves by taking refuge in the Austrian or Prussian territories.

The morals of the Nurembergers are better and purer than those of any other German city. The magistrate is particularly anxious to put a stop to fornication. I do not exaggerate, but relate a real fact when I assure you, that the young men of the city underwent a physical visitation by some of the members of the magistracy attended by physicians. There is a very characteristic print of this business, in which the deputies are represented in their business with their spectacles upon their noses.

Nuremberg has a more considerable territory belonging to it than any other imperial city. The number of its subjects in the country is estimated at four hundred thousand. These the regency does not govern in so arbitrary a manner as it does the inhabitants of the city; or if it does, this does not prevent the country from being very well cultivated, though there is a great deal of sand about it. I have not beheld prettier villages any where than there is here. Every thing bespeaks a great degree of opulence in the farmers, who, as well as the town's people, remain faithful to their old dress.

The margraviates of Anspach and Bareith, exhibit, in point of industry, a strong contrast to the industry of the bishoprics of Wurtzburg and Bamberg. Nature has not nearly been so liberal to them; and yet the inhabitants of those countries, though loaded with much greater taxes, are in much better circumstances than those of the former. The cities of Erlan, Anspach, Schwabach, and some others, have some very good manufactures. The present Margrave, who is the last branch of a house which

promises no new ones, is a very clever and amiable man. The well known Mademoiselle N—— is his companion; a proof, at least, of his good taste. His income amounts to sixteen hundred thousand Rhenish florins, or one hundred and sixty thousand pounds. His peasants are somewhat discontented with him for having sold their children to the English. There were, indeed, great discontents amongst the troops that were to go to America; but the margrave was not affected by them. He seems determined to make as much of that country as he can, upon the principle that after his death it is to fall into other hands.

The remainder of Franconia is composed of a number of small principalities. The people here in general suffer very great oppression. Those are particularly miserable whose masters reside in the great courts; for, by this means, they are not only deprived of the spending of great sums amongst them, but are subjected to the tyranny of despotic servants, who are always worse than the masters, and choose to have their share of the plunder. The locum tenens of a well known dutchy in Franconia, hardly keeps his place more than seven or eight years, in which short time he commonly saves enough to be no longer a servant. This will, no doubt, make you think of the servants of the English East-India company, who are called nabobs at their return; which they, literally speaking, are, at the expence of the Indians. It is, thanks to standing armies that the people of this country are as quiet as they are under their nabobs. In the famous rebellion which broke out in 1425, and has been so well described by Gothe, in his *Goss of Berlichingen*, they treated the princes, dukes, and other great persons, in a very strange manner. A number of these Russians having made themselves masters of some castles belonging to the marquisses of Hohenloe, put collars round their necks, and cried out under their nose, "now are we masters of Hohenloe, and ye are nothing?" It was very impolitic in the imperial cities of Franconia, Suabia, and the circles of the Rhine, to be accessory at that time in subduing the peasants. At present the oppression of the prince falls as heavily upon them as it does on their own subjects; a thing they might have foreseen, as these princes were already so powerful, by means of their standing armies, that the salvation of the cities would have been to make a common cause with the peasants against them, as without the assistance then afforded by these cities, the insurgents would not have been subdued; for the now so weak cities of Halle, Bopfinger, Duncelspuhl, Nordlingen, &c. were at that time more formidable to the rebellious peasants, than the greatest princes; but they have now no longer any such fortunate opportunity to expect.

LETTER LXI.

Francfort.

I CAME hither through the Spessart, which is the thickest forest I have met with in the common road. In the space of twenty-seven miles, I saw only a single village and an hunting box. The rest was almost entirely wood and hill. Notwithstanding all this, the road is a very wonderful one; and the elector of Mentz, to whom the greatest part of the country belongs, keeps it very clear from robbers. For twenty years past there have hardly been two instances of any person having been attacked in these frightful forests; and at present they are so secure, that you may travel through them in the night without any apprehensions. At Aschaffenburg, a pretty German town, there are always thirty hussars, who travel through the Spessart at stated times, in order to prevent the possibility of an accident. If all the princes of Germany were to make use of their forces for these purposes, there would be no cause to complain of their military

establishments, or the tyrannical manner in which their husbandmen are treated. The beauty and salubrity of its situation, encouraged me to make an excursion as far as Aschaffenburg. At some distance north and eastward, you see the Spessart, which forms a half circle round this city, and protects it from the high winds. The country about this city is uncommonly fruitful. It is famous for producing a great number of apple-trees, with the fruit of which they make a cyder, which only a connoisseur can distinguish from true wine. It is often exported to the north as a Rhenish. I tasted some of it that was seven years old; it had a great deal of fire, but costs twenty-four kreutzers the bottle, a price for which you may have very good wine.

The government encourages the people to make as much as possible of the advantage of their situation. They have planted mulberry-trees, and have made some very good experiments on silk-worms. On the banks of the Main, near the city, there is a fine alley, which runs through a very extended plain. You meet here with a curious memorial of the sixteenth century. An old German knight, as big as the life, and armed at all points, is kneeling before a crucifix, at the bottom of which he has deposited his helmet. The whole has the appearance of an immense pyramid, of which the cross forms the head, and the knight and his appurtenances the lower parts. The work is extremely good, and altogether exhibits a very striking appearance to the beholder.

Francfort is a fine large city. There is no town in Germany which has larger or more magnificent inns than those of this place. Excepting Hamburg, this is the only imperial city which keeps up all its pristine splendour. Whilst Nuremburg, Augsburg, and several others about it, are going to decay, it continues to thrive and to improve. The outsides of the houses are very splendid, and the style of the architecture shews that the inhabitants know how to lay out their money with taste. There are about thirty inhabitants in the place who are worth a million of livres; and you may name above thirty Calvinistic houses, who have thirty thousand guilders. The number of very rich Catholics and Lutherans, is not less: so that in all there may be about two hundred houses who have incomes of one hundred thousand guilders,* and above. There is a high appearance of affluence throughout. The furniture of their houses, their gardens, equipage, dress, and female ornaments, every thing, in short, bespeaks a state above the ordinary citizen, and which approaches the extreme of magnificence.

The trade of Francfort is extremely hurtful to Germany. According to the accounts given me by a very understanding merchant of this place, the exports of German commodities by this channel hardly amount to a tenth of the imports from France, Holland, Italy, and other countries. The former consist of iron and other rough or worked metals (which are exported mostly into France and Holland) of wine, linen, and other insignificant articles. The latter, on the contrary, are made up of all kinds of spices, female ornaments, handkerchiefs, silks, and in short, all the expensive articles of luxury furnished by Italy, France, and Holland. In a word, Francfort is the great canal by which the gold of the empire runs out. The loss which this place brings on the countries about the upper parts of the Rhine, Danube, and Main, may be judged of by the value of the louis d'ors. As all the payment of this place to France and Holland, must be made in this coin, they are commonly worth twelve kreutzers more here than in the other parts of Germany, the country about the Lower Rhine only excepted, which drives the same kind of unpatriotic trade. The older people of this place, as well as in Bavaria, Franconia, and Suabia, remember the times, when, after the operations of Lewis XIV, our louis and crown pieces were the coin the most commonly to be met

* 10,000l.

with in the country. But now they are very seldom found in the ordinary course of trade. Very few of them were recoined, as the mint cannot cope with the high agio given by the merchants in the course of exchange. They are, however, sent in heaps to Holland, and twenty kreutzer for every louis d'or is paid above the market price.

There are some woollen, carpet, and cotton manufactures here, and in the country round. These belong in part to the merchants of the place, but are most of them only rented by them, and a great part of the woollen manufactures of Hanau, are sold by third hands here. Upon the whole, the entire trade of this place is a mere Jewish business, which employs very few hands profitably, and is in a great measure supported by the internal consumption. The greatest merchants of this place are not ashamed of being brokers; and a great number of traders, with revenues of from forty to fifty or sixty thousand guilders, do only commission business; whereas, if they had more activity, and the true spirit of industry, they might make use of their money to more advantage in manufactures.

The situation of the place secures it the perpetual enjoyment of the advantages which have made it so rich. It lies in the midst of the best part of Germany, in a country, the natural wealth of which is favourable to luxury, and which is broken into so many small states, that there is no cause to fear the prohibition of foreign wares. It has not, like Dantzick, which carries on the same kind of trade, but is now nearly ruined by Prussia and Poland, powerful and enlightened neighbours to cope with, who are attentive to lose no advantages that may be procured to their own subjects.

Francfort contains thirty-four thousand inhabitants, including the strangers constantly resident. Those who come for the fair are generally estimated at some thousands. Amongst these, there were at last spring fair fifty princes. As the way to the principal high roads of Germany lies through this place, all the persons of consequence who go to the baths and watering places, commonly take Francfort in their way to them. This occasions a concourse of good company; and the apparatus of the fair, together with the liberty of living which prevails at these times, form together an interesting spectacle. The German nobility come here from many causes, such as payments and sales of many kinds to make, the neighbourhood of powerful courts, and various other reasons.

The government, which was formerly very rigid, has now somewhat relaxed, and endeavours to make the stay of strangers as agreeable to them as can be. During the fair, there are play-houses, concerts, a Vaux-hall, fine walks, public dancing-booths, and women of the town in abundance. A village in this neighbourhood called Bornheim, is famous all over Germany for its brothels.

Excepting at the time of the fair, strangers, who are generally here in great numbers, are but ill treated. As Francfort is one of the few imperial cities who have freed themselves from the tyranny of the excise system, the magistrates, who have lost considerably by losing it, endeavour to make themselves amends by making strangers feel the weight of their privileges. For instance, the innkeepers will not allow a stranger to take up his quarters at a private house, even though he eats at his inn. The little jealousy incident to smaller states, but which you would not expect to meet with in a city so conspicuous as this is for its ton, sometimes also plays strangers scurvy tricks. A few years since, two mistresses of a German prince, with large revenues, settled here, and spent large sums of money. After a time they were banished the city by the magistrates, under pretence that they led dissipated and idle lives; but the true reason was, that the ladies of the place, who could not afford to spend as much money as they did, grew jealous of them.

The ever increasing luxury of the Germans, particularly of those who inhabit the countries round this place, the habit the German noblesse are under of coming hither to make a figure, the increasing care of the magistrate to procure strangers every kind of pleasure, the admirable roads which lead hither from every part of Germany, and the excellent inns, are the reasons why this fair is of late years more and more frequented. It is now visited by French and English, who meet here with every article of luxury they can desire.

In general the inhabitants of this place are rather stiff in their carriage. There is, however, some excellent company to be met with amongst them. Amongst the patri- cians there are several very respectable persons of good nobility who have no share in the magistracy.

Francfort has ever supplied, and still continues to supply Germany with some of its first-rate literati; and you meet here with well informed men in every branch of the arts and sciences. The only thing which stands in the way of liberty of thought, and refinement of manners, and also affects trade and industry considerably, is the inquisi- torial state of the Lutheran clergy, who are here the principal church. The reformed, who, in proportion of their numbers, are without a doubt the richest part of the inhabi- tants, have not yet been able, with all their pains, to obtain the liberty of worshipping God publicly; though the Catholics, whose religion differs much more than theirs, from that of the established church, have more chapels than any other sect, and the Jews have a public and very considerable synagogue.

The number of Jews settled here is about six thousand. There are some who are worth a million, and vie with the Christians in every article of expence. Their industry is not to be conceived. They are pimps, language-masters, fencing-masters, dancing- masters, writing and arithmetic masters, and their daughters are at the service of the uncircumcised. Those who go into their streets, are in danger of being pressed to death by them. They fall upon strangers by dozens, and compel them to buy their wares. It is very difficult for a man to disentangle himself from them without the help of a good stick; and they call to strangers from the distance of three or four hundred paces. The houses of their well-encompassed streets are filled to the very roofs with inhabitants. In seven of them, which hardly occupied a space of fifty yards, and were burned down some years since, there were twelve hundred persons. On the other hand, there is often only one family in the houses belonging to the rich. This is the sign of an incredible afflu- ence, for house-rent is dearer in these streets, than in any part of London, Paris, or any other great city. There is a law which forbids the Jews to live any where out of their streets; but the magistrate winks at the breaking of it, and only renews it from time to time to extort money from those who choose to live elsewhere.

The celebrated colleges here are a wonderful institution. These consist of associa- tions of people of the same rank, who assemble on a certain day. There are colleges of nobility, of artists of all kinds, of booksellers, of doctors of law and physic; and, in short, of all orders. It is not difficult for a stranger to be introduced to these, and the advantage he derives by it, of being acquainted in an hour with the most reputable peo- ple of his own rank, is incredible.

The government of this city is of a mixed kind, and very intricate. The contest be- tween the aristocracy and democracy is warmer here than in any other city in Germany. Hardly a year passes but the burghers begin a new law-suit with the council, or the council with the burghers. The consequence is, that as law-suits carried before the imperial court are of very long duration, the law-suits of the city of Francfort against itself, already amount to some dozens. I have it from good authority, that the state

has laid out 30,000 rix-dollars, in the last twenty years, annually, in expences for law-suits carried on betwixt its own citizens. And as the spirit of pettyfogging and litigiousness is no where higher than it is here, Francfort is likewise engaged in perpetual disputes with the princes, dukes, and marquisses round it, much to the advantage of the lawyers of Vienna and Wesslar. The costs of these, during the above-mentioned period, have amounted to 20,000 rix-dollars annually; so that when we come to cast up state expences, we may lay this single article at 50,000 rix-dollars. The annual revenue of the state is about 600,000 guilders, or 30,000*l*. which are mostly raised from the excise and customs. The contributions of the burghers, which are a kind of tax, are very numerous. They are laid on according to the true principles of a commercial commonwealth. They are divided into two portions, viz. the large tax of 50 guilders, and the smaller, of 25 guilders per annum. Every burgher has the liberty of paying to the large or small fund, and consequently taxes himself. If I mistake not, an income of 30,000 guilders subjects a man to pay the higher tax; but the magistracy of this place has not, like those of Nurenberg, the right, so contrary to the true spirit of trade, of taking an inventory of the circumstances of a merchant. This leaves the merchants at liberty to value their estates over or under the line of limitation; and it is evidently the interest of every merchant to pass for a man of an estate of more than 30,000 guilders, and contribute to the large tax. The class of inhabitants to which all the reformed, and likewise a large part of the Catholics belong, have greater taxes to pay. The latter may, by favour of the magistracy, arrive at the rights of burgesses, but not take part in the government. The former are entirely excluded from the power of becoming burgesses.

LETTER LXII.

Mentz.

THE country between this place and Francfort, particularly that in the neighbourhood of Mentz, is one of the richest I have hitherto seen, and the road is the best and handsomest I have met with in Germany. Till within three miles of Francfort, it is in a straight line, raised, paved, and guarded on both sides with high stones, which secure the foot-passengers from waggons and horses. The only defect in this road is, that it is too narrow in the middle for two waggons to pass. All the roads through the domain of the city of Francfort are built in the same magnificent style, so that it is estimated that every three miles has cost the city above 60,000 guilders, or 6000*l*. The chaussee in the one-and-twenty miles belonging to Mentz, is not raised in so expensive a style as that of Francfort, but it is broader; it is planted with trees on both sides all the way, and very well kept. Here and there you meet with noble alleys of walnut and other fruit-trees, the villages at the end of which exhibit beautiful perspectives. There is hardly a road in Germany more frequented than this; the place of post-master of Hattersheim, a place midway between the two cities, is the best of any of the territories of the imperial free cities. In the territory of Mentz, each horse pays two-pence chaussee money at every post, and each of the three posts bring in 6000 guilders. At least seventy-two thousand horses pass this road every year, besides a great number of horses belonging to private persons, not taken into the account. There likewise go every day between the two cities two large vessels, which are constantly filled with men and merchandise. I met with waggons on this road, which, at a distance, looked like large houses. They were drawn by sixteen or eighteen horses, and, as the waggoners assured

me, carried loads of one hundred and forty or one hundred and fifty hundred weight. They generally go from Francfort to Strasburg.

We came through the pretty little city of Hochst, which is situated very pleasantly and wholesomely, on an elevation six miles from Francfort. I should not have made mention of this place, but to set right a mistake into which Mr. Moore has fallen; in doing which I shall have occasion to lay before you a very remarkable instance of the political mismanagement of two different governments.

Near this little town you see a magnificent country-house, the architecture of which is not very good. The builder is an Italian of the name of Bolongaro, who, without a penny of original fortune, has found means to acquire, entirely by his own industry, a capital of from a million to a million and a half of guilders. He made his fortune entirely by the snuff which bears his name, which is still extremely liked throughout all Germany. This man was ranked in the class of inhabitants; I do not know exactly whether he was desirous to leave the city, or whether the government of Francfort had occasion to tax him afresh as an out-burgher; be that as it may, he was called upon to lay an account of his circumstances before the regency. He offered an immense sum of money if they would take his word for the sum total, without descending into particulars; but nothing would satisfy them but an inventory, which they insisted on with all the obstinacy and harshness of a small state. It so happens that there is a compact subsisting between the states of Mentz and Francfort, by which the burghesses of the one are allowed to migrate to the other, without let or molestation. Bolongaro determined to seize the opportunity to revenge himself of a government who had treated him so ill. He accordingly built at Hochst, and became a subject of Mentz, which saved him from the necessity of laying an inventory of his estate before the magistracy of Francfort, and enabled him to go there as often as he pleased, without leaving a kreutzer* behind him. Mr. Moore says that the immense palace which he has built at Hochst, stands quite empty; but we shall easily conceive how much business is carried on there, if we consider that Mr. Bolongaro now pays at least 8000 guilders less to the customs at Francfort than he did before, when his whole business was done in that city. He has also contrived that great part of the consignments sent from Bremen, Hamburgh, and the several parts of Hesse and Hanover into Suabia, Alsatia, and Switzerland, should go through Hochst instead of going through Francfort as they did before. The legislature of Mentz has much facilitated this by building him a crane on the Maine, before his palace.

Mr. Bolongaro has carried his revenge still farther. He took Mr. Beggiora, one of the acutest and most intelligent of his countrymen, out of one of the best houses of Francfort, and entered into partnership with him for establishing a commerce in drugs, the most capital branch of trade in Francfort, at Hochst. The bare firm of Mr. Bolongaro was of unspeakable service to this trade, and soon repaid him, with interest, the sums he had advanced; but besides this, the partner enjoyed the exemption of customs which Bolongaro had obtained from the regency of Mentz, for twenty years. The consequence was, that this new branch of trade was opened to so much advantage, as soon to put 160,000 guilders, or 16,000*l.* into Mr. Bolongaro's pocket. All this shews that the regency of Francfort committed a great offence against the prosperity of the country, by the persecution of Mr. Bolongaro; and that Mr. Moore, who doubtless saw Bolongaro's building in company with the Francfortians, and through their eyes, would not have found it so empty if he had seen it with his own.

* A farthing.

The regency of Mentz were not, however, guilty of a less fault in their adoption of Mr. Bolongaro, than that of Francfort in their persecution of him. The possessors of millions are not always beneficial inhabitants to a small state; on the contrary, a couple of dozen of weavers' looms, which support an industrious man in a creditable manner, are at all times of more value than ever so many palaces of this Bolongaro kind. The court of Mentz has paid very dearly for the honour of having this rich man for its subject, by entering into contracts very advantageous to him, but much otherwise to the state. Mr. Bolongaro engaged to spend a certain sum, I believe 20,000 guilders,* every year, during twenty years, in building at Hochst. For this the government of Mentz granted him an exemption of all customs for twenty years, an illimited freedom of trade, as much stone as he chose to take from the ruins of an old castle, and four horses free from taxes for his own use. The exemption of customs alone, and the liberty to leave Francfort, are more than an equivalent for the promised buildings of twenty years; but even these last he has contrived to turn entirely to his own advantage. He had made the regency of Mentz believe, in his boasting and magnificent manner, that in the course of the twenty years, he would build them a superb new town, which he proposed to call Emmerickstadt, in honour of the dead elector; but all he did was to build some houses adjoining to his palace, which no doubt Mr. Moore took for the wings of it. It is certain that Mr. Bolongaro scarce expended half the yearly sum he had covenanted to do; and that for many years the whole town of Emmerickstadt, from whence he dated his letters to all the world, was occupied by his own compting-house only.

Still, however, might the regency of Mentz have been excusable for laying out so much in the acquisition of this rich citizen, had some part of his money at least been devoted to the employment of useful hands, or some part of his substance spent for the benefit of the state; but excepting a few plaisterers and carpenters, no subject of Mentz has seen a penny of Mr. Bolongaro's money. Almost all his tobacco is prepared out of the country, and even the greatest part of it exported from Francfort, where his principal warehouses and magazines still are. He only removed that part of his trade to Hochst, which he could not carry on so well at Francfort, and availed himself of the privileges of a citizen of Mentz, to hurt the former city, without being of the least use to the latter: nay, it is still free for him or his heirs to leave Hochst whenever they please, and make it up with Francfort. In the mean time he has built himself a palace for the summer in the cheapest manner, and surrounded it with common houses, the rents of which will richly pay him for the sums he has laid out upon them.

This, however, was only a political error in the regency of Mentz; but the universal liberty of trade granted to Mr. Bolongaro is an unpardonable offence, both against morals and politics. This man, who originally was lower than the dirt in the streets, became a miracle of popular insolence. There are examples of his niggardliness, which almost surpass all conception, and they are the more strong from being a singular contrast to the brutal and offensive magnificence that is peculiar to him. The pride of doing mischief, has led him to make his fellow-citizens feel the weight of his money in every transaction by which a penny is to be got. There were eight or nine retail merchants in the little town of Hochst, who contrived to live honourably, and carry on a small trade. Mr. Bolongaro could not rest contented with the great advantage his own commerce enjoyed from the exclusive privilege given him, but he must make use of it, if not to the total ruin, to the manifest oppression of these poor people. He therefore opened a druggist's shop for the sale of his goods in the retail way. The regency of

* 2000l.

Mentz, though acting upon much better principles than any other of the ecclesiastical states of Germany, had still not sense enough to see that eight middling and decent trades people are a greater acquisition to a country than one very rich one, even when the capital of the latter is a thousand times greater than that of the former.

Mr. Bolongaro's abject spirit carried him still farther. He wanted a monopoly of all the most important articles of commerce, and to obtain it, offered the regency a large sum; but this the present prince would not accept.

To fill up the measure of his crimes, Bolongaro brought a complaint against the fishermen of the place, for having hurt some tree or statue in his garden, and insisted on their being deprived of the privilege of fishing in the river Nid, which runs under the wall of his garden into the Maine. This too the regency was weak and wicked enough to grant: thus robbing of their bread a number of poor families, in order to serve a wretch, whose character I cannot better sum up, than by telling you he gave an old friend, who had met with misfortunes, and was come a great way in hopes of receiving assistance from this prosperous countryman of his, a single four sous piece,* and that the worst he could pick out of his purse.

I should not have detained you thus long with this trifling incident, but to shew how fondly the small states of Germany purchase the power of doing each other harm; for there is no doubt but the desire of hurting Francfort was the true cause that led the regency of Mentz to give this ridiculous protection.

I visited the china manufacture at Höchst; it is not hitherto in very brilliant circumstances; it is divided into shares, the possessors of which are not men calculated to do what is best for the whole: they are, however, hard at work upon plans to improve it. Amongst other people engaged in them, I visited Mr. Melchior, who is certainly one of the greatest statuaries now existing, and has an unspeakable love for his art. There are but few great works of his, though what he has done in this way is inimitable; but he is without a rival in small models, and it is to his labours that this porcelaine manufactory owes its celebrity.

The villages and farms which we met with on the way to Francfort hither, would pass for towns in Bavaria, or the north of Germany. They all bespeak a high state of opulence in the inhabitants. The beggars one occasionally sees, are a consequence of the way of thinking of the German Catholics, and the opinions of their governors, which I mentioned in speaking of Wurtzburg. A peasant is in general extremely happy throughout the whole country. He is almost every where a freeman, and oppressed with no hard taxes. A little more care to provide employments for the hands that could be spared from agriculture, with a little more attention to education, in order to inspire the people with a greater disgust to begging, would make this government almost perfect. In the neighbouring country of Darmstadt, which I likewise visited from Francfort, the peasant is by no means so rich as the inhabitant of the territory of Mentz, for nature has not been so liberal to him, and he is loaded with more taxes; but he is cleaner and more active; nor will you see so many beggars in the streets of Darmstadt.

Till within six miles of Mentz, the inhabitants live chiefly on their agriculture. The earth yields uncommon returns, and the corn of this country is imported far and wide on the Rhine. There are also large quantities of fruits and greens of all kinds; excellent asparagus and cabbage are the food of the most common people: nor is there a place in Germany where the people are so fond of them, or have a greater supply of provisions of this kind. Great ship-loads of their cabbages, as well raw as pickled, are

* Two-pence.

carried down the Lower Rhine, as far as Holland. The little city of Croneburg, situated on an eminence six miles off the main road, drives a trade with Holland to the amount of 8000 guilders a year for apples, cyder, and chesnuts, of which last it has large groves. All the villages of the country lie in orchards of trees, and command large fields of corn below. These numerous orchards make the country look a little poor, though it is as well cultivated as any other part of Germany. In the strip of land which lies betwixt Francfort, Mentz, and the nearest hills to the north of Mentz, containing a space of about twelve miles long, and six broad, they reckon eight little cities, five large market towns, and about eighty villages, few of which contain less than sixty families.

At Wickeard, a place which is six miles from Mentz, the nature of the country entirely changes; an arm of the large mountain called Wetteraw, extends itself here to the banks of the Maine, and forms a couple of large hills, on the one of which, Wickeard, and on the other, Hocheim is situated. The southern and western sides of the former produce an excellent wine. The eastern side of the second yields admirable corn; and the parts of it exposed to the south and west, afford the most delicious wine, without comparison, of all Germany. The little village of Hocheim, from whence the English give all kinds of Rhenish wine the name of Hock, contains about three hundred families. A prettier village I have not seen. It belongs to the chapter of Mentz, the dean of which enjoys the revenue of it; in a good year he makes from 12 to 15,000 guilders of his wine. He and the Augustines of Mentz and Francfort, have the exclusive enjoyment of the best Hocheimer wine, of which, in good years, a piece, consisting of one hundred measures, sells for from 900 to 1000 guilders from the press. This is certainly one of the dearest wines in the world. Having a desire to taste it on the spot, we were obliged to pay a rix dollar; it was, however, of the best vintage in this century, to wit, that of 1766. Nor should we have had it, but for an advocate of Mentz, to whom the hostess meant to shew favour. This was the first German wine I had met with which was entirely without any sour taste: it was quite a perfume to the tongue; whereas the other wine of Hocheim, let it be as good as it may, is not quite clear of vinegar; though for this also, if it has any age, you are forced to pay a guilder and a half. The whole way from Hocheim to Mentz, was the most beautiful of the whole journey during three miles. It lay along the slope of the hill, covered with vineyards, which are shaded from the road by beautiful fruit-trees. This descent commands a beautiful prospect, over a small, but uncommonly rich country, terminated by the conflux of the Rhine and Maine. The fine wine does not grow on this side of the hill, but on the other. From hence you descend into a vale, watered by a little rivulet, where corn-fields, meadows, and orchards, form the prettiest prospect imaginable. At the left, through an orchard of fruit-trees, you see the beautiful village of Kostheim. The way then winds through the orchards and vineyards of the large village of Cassel, which appears directly opposite to Mentz, at the end of a fine alley leading to the banks of the Rhine.

As soon as you arrive at the bridge of boats across the Rhine, you are struck with one of the most magnificent spectacles that it is possible for human imagination to conceive. The proud stream which has now swallowed up the Maine, and is fourteen hundred feet broad, comes out of a plain which extends as far as the horizon; but at Mentz large hills come athwart its course, and compel it, after forming some islands, to change the northern direction, which it has kept from Switzerland hither, for a western one. It is these hills, on the slopes of which you behold several habitations, which form that celebrated amphitheatre called the Rhinegau, the throne of the German Bacchus. The Rhine still keeps the beautiful green so much admired in Switzerland; and even at some

distance below this city, the difference of its waters and those of the muddy Maine, is easily to be discerned. Directly before your eyes you have the city of Mentz, which presents itself with a majesty not to be described. The numberless boats which deck its banks, as well as the numerous and magnificent towers of its churches, are reflected by the clear stream. The length of the city towards the Rhine, including the fortifications, is at least a mile and a half. Amidst the large and something dark mass of old buildings, you see now and then a few new ones strike out, which form a pleasing contrast. Both the houses towards the Rhine, and those at the two ends of the city, are here and there ornamented with a rich green. In a word, the situation of Dresden, magnificent as it is, is hardly to be compared with that of Mentz.

When you come into the city the beauty of the prospect is much changed. The streets are dark, narrow, and not very clean. But before I say any thing more of Mentz, I must give you an account of some excursions I made from Francfort into the neighbouring cities.

I took a ride to Darmstadt, which is a small but lovely place. At Francfort they had described the people to me as stiff, but I found the circle in which I lived, and which consisted of some counsellors and officers, uncommonly affable, genteel, and easy. Indeed were it in my power, I wish for no better company to make me relish life than that I met with at Darmstadt; nor do I know a place where I should pitch my tent so willingly, if it depended upon myself to fix the place of my abode. You are in the midst of several large cities, not far distant from each other. The company is such as you can only meet with in large cities. The air is good; the provisions cheap; and you have it always in your power to unite the city and country life. Add to this, that the popularity of the court, the delicate English garden open to every body, the magnificent parade, the number of agreeable women, and the hunting parties, which are to be made at no great expence, render it a most desirable habitation.

The talents of the reigning prince are altogether of the military kind. He resides little at Darmstadt; but the hereditary prince, who is constantly there, is one of the most agreeable and best men in the world. He knows nothing of the hauteur which encompasses so many other German princes, and banishes strangers from them. The income of this court is estimated to amount to 1,150,000 Rhenish guilders, or about 115,000 pounds; a great part, however, of this, is appropriated to the payment of the principal or interest of old debts. This is the situation of all the German courts.

This part of the territory of Darmstadt, which lies betwixt the Rhine, the Maine, the Bergstrasse, and the Odenwald, is the most considerable of them in extent, but by no means the best; it is made up chiefly of sandy plains and thick forests, the best part of which is the Black Wood. Some districts on the Bergstrasse and the Odenwald are uncommonly fruitful; but in general the possessions of this house, which lay in the Wetterau, are much richer than this part of the marquisate of Casseneln-Bogen. Notwithstanding this, there is a great degree of opulence amongst the peasants; their industry, and the activity and wisdom of the government, making up for what nature has refused them. The villages in this country have an uncommonly neat and gay aspect. The corn afforded by these sandy plains, the quantity of wood, and the large quantity of garden stuff, together with the other produce of their agriculture, bring considerable sums to the country. The little hamlet of Gerau sells from 4 to 5000 guilders worth of cabbage, which is looked upon as the best in this country, every year. The asparagus of Darmstadt are famous all over Germany for their beauty and size: at several places they likewise make a wine, which is very tolerable.

The peasants of this country are a very strong and handsome race of men, well boned and well sinewed. Better or more active troops than the three Darmstadt regiments of infantry, are not to be seen in Germany; the Prussian troops themselves not excepted. They consist of about six thousand men. The regiment of them quartered at Pirmasenz is visited and admired by our officers from Stratzburg, Landau, Fort Lewis, and other places. It is indeed a pattern of discipline, œconomy, and good behaviour. The wonderful military talents of the prince of Darmstadt give the greatest expectations of the regiment called formerly the Royal Baviere, which he commanded in our army. The prince is commonly much blamed for his military turn; but his troops are really no detriment to the country; it is incredible how little they cost; and as they have frequent furloughs granted, agriculture suffers nothing from them: they are, in fact, only a well-disciplined and well-regulated militia. Nor is the military education without its advantages in other respects; one immediately sees, upon looking at these peasants, that they have seen service; for the natural consequences of it, a peculiar degree of order, cleanliness, and activity, distinguish them from their neighbours. Nor are these troops commodities for the market, like those of many other German princes. The English dealer, general Fawcett, offered a much higher price for them than what he gave the landgrave of Hesse; but he met with a flat denial, though his money would have been of great service for the payment of old debts.

In my way from Aschaffenburg to Francfort, I came through Hanau. The country belonging to the prince of that name produces a great deal of corn, wood, wine, and salt, which may bring in about 50,000 Rhenish guilders, or about 5000 pounds yearly. Hanau is a very pretty and well-peopled city, in which there are several manufactures, particularly of woollen stuffs. The reigning prince is the most amiable man I have yet met with amongst the German potentates. Every stranger who has either rank, merit, or knowledge, to distinguish him, is secure of a good reception at his court. I am acquainted with no person of that high rank, who lets a stranger feel his elevation so little as this sovereign does. He can so thoroughly divest himself of his station, that I know few persons who equal him either in the choice or enjoyment of the pleasures of society. His brother is as amiable as himself: they are both zealous free-masons. He is blamed, as well as the prince of Darmstadt, on account of the number of his troops; but as he is heir of Cassel, the government of which is entirely military, this reproach is of little consequence.

Francfort commands a most beautiful country on all sides. The villages and hamlets of this country would pass for towns in other places. In all Bavaria there is not a city, excepting Munich only, which can vie with the hamlet of Hoffenbach, three miles distant from Francfort, either in beauty, population, or riches.

I made an excursion, with a gentleman of Francfort, to Homberg von der Hohe, the residence of a prince of the house of Hesse, who takes his name from this little town. The territory of this prince consists only of a few small villages, in one of which there is a very rich colony of Huguenots. The proper name of this is Fredericksdorf, but in the whole country they call it Walschdorf. This arises from our being called Welches in this country; a name which in Bavaria and Austria is commonly given to the Italians. There are good manufactures here, particularly of various woollen stuffs. The court is like the city, exceedingly small; but strangers are made very welcome. The princess, who is a sister to the late grand dutchess of Russia, the dutchess of Weimar, and the Margravine of Baden, is one of the most respectable women I have ever seen. The education of these four princesses does the utmost honour to all Germany, as well as to their respectable mother, whose magnificent grave,

in the park of Darmstadt, is a lasting memorial of her uncorrupt taste and noble way of thinking. The prince of Homberg is also a well educated man; so that this court, small as it is, was one of those I admired most in all Germany. The whole of its income does not amount to more than 100,000 rix dollars, or 10,000*l*.

The country betwixt Francfort, Homberg, Cronberg, and Rodelheim, is thick set with villages and hamlets, which form the prettiest inland picture imaginable. You seldom meet with a pleasanter landscape than from the view at Oberursel, a large hamlet in the territory of Mentz, which lies between Cronberg and Homberg. The noise of some iron and copper hammers has an exceeding good effect.

We met with an adventure in this country, which I shall all my life long recollect with the greatest pleasure. Behind Cronberg the mountain called Altkoniger, or the old king, raises its bare head high above the ridge of hills, which protect the fine plain along the side of the Maine, between Francfort and Mentz, from the rude north wind. They tell many strange stories of this hill, and of an old ruinous castle which stands on it. We ascended him with some difficulty, but at the top met with a spectacle which will never go out of my remembrance. Directly to the south you overlook a plain thirty-three miles broad, which is terminated by the summits of the Odenwalde and the Spessart. Here you may discern all the villages, hamlets, and towns, which lie between Francfort and the Maine; together with a great part of the country of Darmstadt. The eastern view is closed by the Spessart, which is fifty-one miles distant. The whole country of Aschaffenburg, along the Maine, along the Necker, and as far as the Donnersberg in the Upper Palatinate, lay like a map under our feet. These extensive prospects are common enough in many countries, but you seldom find them so thickly sprinkled with the smiling habitations of men. Behind you to the northward, and on both sides to the west and north-east, you overlook partly barren, or well wooded mountains, and partly the most agreeable mixture of soft hills and plains that can be conceived. Directly against the west the row of mountains form the finest amphitheatre that can be conceived. The finest sight, however, was that which we saw the next morning. There is a spot on this mountain very favourable for seeing the rising sun. In order to enjoy this spectacle we had provided ourselves with pelisses, to guard against the cold, but were obliged to make a fire of wood in the night, though after one of the warmest days in August. The rise of the morning, however, fully overpaid us for the toils of the night. Never did I feel my own existence, or that of the being which animates all nature, more fully than at the instant in which the first ray of the morn gilded the tops of the Spessart and Odenwalde; both which at a distance appeared to be islands of fire. As far as this hill all was thick darkness; but this eastern view appeared like an illuminated island swimming on the black ocean of night. The morning spreading wider and wider shewed us the most beautiful landscape in miniature that we had ever seen. We beheld villages afar off in the shade, which one ray of the morning sun broke through and dispelled the darkness of. By degrees we saw the separation of the hills, with their several breaks and windings. Every thing looked as it does when you see a fine and well-illuminated landscape through a perspective-glass. A pressure never before experienced took possession of my breast on beholding this scene. But the first break of the sun himself surpassed all the beauties of the day-break. The grandeur, variety, and magnificence of this appearance, is above all description. The plain seventy-five miles long, and forty-two miles broad, which lies betwixt the Spessart, the Donnersberg, the western part of the Odenwalde, and our hills, was overspread with large streaks of light, which contrasted in the strongest manner with the thickness of the shades. We beheld the top of the Donnersberg gilded over, whilst deep darkness brooded at his feet

and all over the Rhine beneath. We ourselves were in light, but the plains and villages beneath us were in a kind of half darkness, only broken by the reflection of the light from our hills. The elevated parts of the immense plains, which lay before us, broke through the darkness with a cheerfulness, which brought them half as near again to us, and produced the most agreeable deception. Now a spire emerged from the gloom, then the summit of a hill covered with wood, then a whole village with its trees seemed to swim on the earth; here lay a corn-field in light, by which it seemed, if I may use the expression, as it were, parted and raised up from the country round. The Maine, which hitherto had appeared like a dark stripe of the prospect, began likewise to be illuminated with silver; and the Rhine was soon brought nearer to our eyes in the same manner. But I feel that I am attempting to describe a scene above all description; and, for the describing of which I have no talents. In brief, I have often seen the sun rise, but never so magnificently as upon the Alt-König. It is indeed most likely that a man may go through many countries, without meeting with so favourable a spot as this is for such an object.

LETTER LXIII.

Mentz.

TRAVELLERS, who do not care for the trouble of moving far from their head quarters, carry away no very favourable impression of this town with them. The best part of it is that in which there are hardly any inns, or any thoroughfares. The inn of the Three Crowns, which is far the best in the place, and indeed an excellent one, is in the very worst situation imaginable. From hence you may wander over the greatest part of the town, without meeting with any thing but a heap of black houses, many of which threaten to fall into the narrow streets. It was owing to these causes that I had heard such very different accounts of this town before I came into it; some describing it as a sink, and others as one of the best towns in Germany. A few days ago I met with a countryman of ours, an adventurer, who, finding his account in being here like several other gentlemen of his class, would have stood me out that it was the only handsome town in Germany. As the good gentleman had seen nothing but Cologne, Treves, and a part of Westphalia, the only answer that I could make him was, that Germany was very large.

The northern part of the city, in which the archbishop resides, is full of very regular buildings. Here are three regular streets, called the Blerchen, which run parallel to each other from the banks of the Rhine to six hundred yards within the city, and are cut almost regularly by very pretty cross streets. The archbishop's palace has a most commanding view of these streets, the Rhine, and the Rhinegau. There are also some good buildings in the old part of the city. The market of beasts is extremely well worth seeing; and you here and there meet with other agreeable spots. The market in the middle of the town, though not regular, is one of the prettiest places I have met with in Germany.

The cathedral is well worthy notice. It is an immense large old Gothic building, the spire of which was struck with lightning seventeen years ago, and entirely laid in ashes. As it was made of a forest of wood, it burned fourteen hours before it was entirely consumed. To prevent these accidents for the future, the Chapter had the present one built to the same height in stone; an undertaking which cost them 40,000 guilders, or 4000*l*. It is a great pity that it is overloaded with small ornaments, and a still greater, that this wonderful edifice is so choked up with shops and houses, as to

be hardly more than half visible. As, however, houses and shops are very dear in this part of the town, one cannot be very angry with the chapter for choosing rather to make the most of its ground, than to shew off the church to the best advantage. The rent of a shop and a single room to live in is 150 guilders, or 15*l.* per annum in this part of the town.

You will hardly find another church in Germany of the height and length of this cathedral. The inside of it is decorated with several magnificent monuments of princes and other great personages. Amongst the rest, I admired the monument of a prelate belonging to this cathedral, whose name was Dahlberg. It was made by the statuary Melchior, whom I mentioned to you in my last letter. The prelate, as large as the life, is lying on a coffin, upon which there is a pyramid, which a Trinity is carrying into the clouds. The work is very fine, but it would have been much finer if the sculptor had been suffered to follow his own ideas. There is likewise a fine piece of statuary in the upper choir; it represents a count of Lamberg, who commanded the imperial troops, which drove our forces out of the territory of Mentz at the beginning of this century, and was killed by the side of an elector palatine, during the action, by a musket ball; he is lifting up the top of his coffin with his right hand, and holds the commander's staff with his left: this has an exceeding good effect. This church contains several other monuments well worth seeing. The treasury is very superior to that of Dresden, which has been so much spoken of.

Besides the cathedral, the city of Mentz contains several other churches in the modern style, very well worth seeing. St. Peter's, and the Jesuits church, though both too much loaded with ornament, are among this number. The church of the Augustines, of which the inhabitants of Mentz are so proud, is a master-piece of bad taste; but that of Ignatius, though little is said about it, would be a model of the antique, if here, likewise, there had not been too much ornament lavished. Upon the whole, the palaces of the noblesse want that noble simplicity, which alone constitutes true beauty and magnificence.

In another century the externals of the city will be quite changed. The late prince built a great deal, and the present has a taste for the same sort of expence. The monks and governors of hospitals also have been forced to rebuild their houses; so that when a few more streets are made broader and straighter, the whole will have no bad appearance. The inhabitants, who, together with the garrison, amount to thirty thousand, are a good kind of people, who, like all the Catholics of Germany, make great account of a good table. Their faces are interesting, and they are not deficient either in wit or activity. In a few generations more their minds will be as cultivated as those of their Protestant brethren, as the government has distinguished itself, for the sixteen or eighteen years past, by excellent establishments for education. As things now are, there is no Catholic state in Germany which contains so many deep thinking, and truly learned men as this does. Under the last government the liberty both of thinking and writing was carried almost as far as it could go: and though various considerations, such as connections with the late empress, apprehensions of the priesthood, family motives, and other causes, have made it somewhat less in the present times; still however philosophy makes its way. In the mean time conviction is not wanting, and the theory is as perfect as can be desired. The archbishop himself, like his brother the bishop of Wurtzburg, is a man whom the knowledge of men and things have raised to the possession of many great places: they were his merits alone that engaged the emperor to recommend him upon the vacancy of this see. You meet with very well-informed men amongst his

counsellors and ministers, one of whom is equal to the task of governing a much greater country than the electorate of Mentz.

It was probably out of respect for the imperial court, at which the archbishop was some time minister of Mentz, that he introduced several innovations here not a little detrimental to the welfare of the state. He is one of the great imitators of the empress's establishments for the preservation of chastity. He has also established it as a maxim in his consistory, to compel the man who has seduced a woman to marry her, in order to prevent the bad consequences of whoredom and fornication. Pity that the enlightened prelate does not see the bad consequences which must arise from such associations. They shewed me young men here, who had become husbands in this way. A loss of all true love, fidelity, the unfruitfulness of the marriage bed, adultery, and the most scandalous corruptions of every kind, must ensue from such regulations. Formerly the same laws were established at Naples; but experience soon taught that wise legislature, that they were detrimental; and the whores were left to their fate. The emperor has likewise repealed them at Vienna; nor will it be long before all the world is convinced that every physical interposition in matters of bare morality must be prejudicial. It is said, indeed, that laws of this kind prevent the murder of bastard children; but those who argue thus do not consider that the coolness they introduce between the married pairs, and the other disorders they give rise to, occasion murders by the dozens. It is indeed too cruel to make the whole happiness of a young man's life depend upon the seduction of an hour.

There are few cities in Germany, besides Vienna, which contain so rich and numerous a nobility as this does: there are some houses here, which have estates of one hundred thousand guilders, or ten thousand pounds a year. The counts of Bassenheim, Schonborn, Stadion, Ingelheim, Elz, Ostein, and Walderdorf, and the lords of Dahlberg, Breitenbach, with some others, have incomes of from thirty to one hundred thousand guilders. Sixteen or eighteen houses have from fifteen to thirty thousand guilders, an annual revenue. The nobility of this place are some of the oldest and most untainted in Germany. The fat canonries, and the hopes of some time or other producing an elector, make them so careful to preserve themselves pure. How profitable it is for a family to see one of its branches on the archiepiscopal throne, you may gather from hence. The late elector, who was not the best economist in the world, and had but little Nepotism about him, contrived to leave his family 900,000 guilders, of which, however, they have only the enjoyment, as it returns to the states after their death. His ancestor, a lord of Ostein, left behind him four millions of Rhenish guilders.

There are, amongst the nobility of this place, many persons of extraordinary merit, who join uncommon knowledge to all the duties of active life. Upon the whole, they are far superior to the greater part of the German nobility. Their education, however, is still too stiff. The first minister of the court was refused admittance into their assemblies, for not being sufficiently noble; and they think they degrade themselves by keeping company with bourgeois. They all speak a miserable French jargon, and are ashamed of their mother-tongue; so that of course they know nothing of the literature of their own country, though extremely conversant in every trifle which comes from our presses. Their tables, dresses, and equipages, are all in the high Parisian ton; but if the poor barons did but know what wretched figures they cut at Paris, and how poor an opinion is entertained of them here, notwithstanding the compliments they are loaded with for the sake of the *louis d'ors*, they would wish the dresses and equipages, *a la Parisienne*, at the devil. Some few of them, indeed, as the lord of Dahlberg, the stadtholder of Erfurth, baron Groschlag, baron van der Leyen, and a few more, have brought some-

thing home from Paris, besides the patois of our fish-women, and the cut of our clothes; but the number of these improved men is too small upon the whole not to make it advisable to prevent the present nobility from coming into our country, where, for the most part, they only expose their native land, and leave their healths and fortunes behind them. I am acquainted with some young men of fashion, who, from being bred at home, are constant subjects of derision to the foreign educated nobility, by whom they are treated as cockneys; but they remain in possession of their plump and red cheeks; and though they may not figure in a circle, or make a good bow, or stand upon one leg, they have good sound understandings, and know how to have a proper regard for the peasant and mechanic. The apparent contrast betwixt these persons and the barons is a stronger argument against the modern education, than any other I could make use of.

The clergy of this place are the richest in Germany. A canonry brings in 3,500 Rhenish guilders in a moderate year. The canonry of the provost is, without comparison, the richest in Germany: it brings him in 40,000 guilders a year. Each of the deanries is worth 2,600 guilders. The income of the chapter all together amounts to 300,000 guilders. Though it is forbidden by the canons of the church for any one to have more than a single prebend, there is not an ecclesiastic in this place but what has three or four; so that there is hardly a man amongst them, who has not at least 8000 guilders a year. The last provost, a count of Elts, had prebends enough to procure him an income of 75,000 guilders. Exclusive of the cathedral, there are several other choirs, in which the canonries bring in from twelve to fifteen hundred guilders a year. To give you an idea of the riches of the monasteries of this place, I will only tell you, that at the destruction of the Jesuits, their wine, which was reckoned to sell extremely cheap, produced 120,000 rix dollars. A little while ago, the elector abolished one Carthusian convent, and two nunneries, in the holy cellars of which there was found wine for at least 500,000 rix dollars.

Notwithstanding this great wealth, there is not a more regular clergy in all Germany than that of this place. There is no diocese, in which the regulations made by the council of Trent have been more strictly adhered to, than they have here; the archbishops having made a particular point of it, both at the time of the reformation, and ever since. One thing which greatly contributes to keep up discipline is the not suffering any priest to remain in the country, who has not fixed and stated duties, and a revenue annexed to them. Most of the irregularities in Bavaria, Austria, and other countries, arise from abbess, who are obliged to subsist by their daily industry, and any masses which they can pick up. These creatures are entirely unknown here. The theological tenets of this court are also much purer than those of any other ecclesiastical prince in Germany. I was pleased to see the Bible in the hands of so many common people, especially in the country. I was told that the reading of it was not forbidden in any part of the diocese, only persons were enjoined not to read it through, without the advice of their confessors. For a long time superstition has been hunted through its utmost recesses; and though it is not quite possible to get entirely clear of pilgrimages, and wonder-working images, you will meet with no priest bold enough to exorcise, or to preach such nonsense as we hear in the pulpits of other German churches. It is singular enough that Bellarmin's book on the Hierarchy was forbid by public proclamation, so long as eighteen years ago. The late elector did a great deal towards cleansing the Holy Sheepcote: but he fell under the herculean labour; which, however, the present elector pursues, though with somewhat a more moderate zeal. The former was terrible to the monks, but his attention to them rendered him a little too careless of the secular priests,

who under his administration rather passed the bounds of a decent liberty, and assumed too gallant an air. What think you, for instance, of a priest appealing in his public lectures to Voltaire on Toleration, and other such books? or of such authors as Bayle, and Helvetius, being common in the hands of students in logic? and this, which made it singularly ridiculous, at a time when the Jesuits were still disputing with all their eagerness on the infallibility of the pope, and the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary? The present elector extends his fatherly care to the regulars, as well as the seculars, and has brought them to a regularity, which does himself, as well as them, great honour.

It is impossible to give you an idea of the veneration in which the late prelate is deservedly held. From the conviction that without a good education, all projects of improvement and alteration are only palliatives, which do not touch the main sore; this archbishop gave 30,000 guilders a year out of his own privy purse towards the erection of schools and other foundations for the education of youth. The present archbishop, who found the foundation of schools for the common people laid to his hands, continues to build upon it with some deviation from the old plan; but he directs his chief attention to the improvement of the education of the higher orders, and the extension of arts and sciences. With this view he has given the ground, on which the three monasteries which he has pulled down stood, to the University, which by this means has raised its heretofore rather small income to 100,000 guilders. As this prelate is entirely free from any temptation to Nepotism, he has it in his power to do more for the muses than any other German prince.

The anecdote related in Mr. Pilati's travels of a Swiss officer, who could find no inns to receive his servants on account of their religion, does not accord with the spirit which at present, at least, generally obtains here. I was in several inns, the masters of which when once they knew that I was a protestant, offered me meat of their own accord. It is probable that the officer had not made the grand tour of all the inns; for things are here much as they are in other places: in one street they read legends, and in another converse with Locke and Newton. Whoever attempts to judge of Paris by the inhabitants of the Porcheron; or of Berlin, from those who had well nigh raised a rebellion on account of a psalm book; or of Hamburg, from the carrot women, headed by Pastor Gosse; will be sure to be mistaken.

Though the trade of this place has been constantly on the increase for these eighteen or twenty years past, yet it is by no means what it ought to be, from the situation, and other advantages. The persons here, who call themselves merchants, and who make any considerable figure, are in fact only brokers, who procure their livelihood at the expence of the country or territory round, or who act for the merchants of Francfort. You will judge of the wretched state things are in, when I assure you, that 'tis difficult to procure a bill of exchange of 30,000 guilders. A few toy-shops, five or six druggists, and four or five manufacturers of tobacco, are all that can possibly be called traders. There is not a banker in the whole town; and yet this country enjoys the staple privilege, and commands, by means of the Maine, Necker, and Rhine, all the exports and imports of Alsatia, the Palatinate, Franconia, and a part of Suabia and Hesse, as far as the Netherlands. The port too is constantly filled with ships, but few of them contain any merchandise belonging to the inhabitants of the place. Religious principles are the true cause of this evil. When the Huguenots were driven out of France, a great number of them were desirous of settling here. They offered the elector to build a city just above Mentz (at the conflux of the Rhine and Maine, between Cassel and Costheim) to fortify it at their own expence; to keep a constant garrison there, and, besides all this, to pay a large annual sum to the state, provided only they might be allowed

the freedom of their religion, and a participation of the rights of the citizens of Mentz. The archbishop of that time did not choose that heresy should build her nest so near him; but the last has often been heard to express a wish that a similar offer were to be made to him; and the present would most joyfully comply with it. But such opportunities are but seldom found; and the times in which it was customary to drive out Huguenots are gone by.

The pride and extravagance of the nobility are another hindrance to trade. They and the ecclesiastics are possessed of the largest capitals, which are entirely employed in the internal consumption. Whilst the merchant of Francfort has a place amongst the magistrates of his country; those of this place meet only with the profoundest contempt from the gentry, who will not suffer them to associate with them. Instead of catching as they do all the little airs of the London and Parisian noblesse, they would do much better to learn of them the art of doubling their revenues by commercial industry.

I have already told you that the faces of the inhabitants of this city and the country round it are interesting. The peasants are besides very strongly built, and are distinguishable, by their ruddy fresh complexions, from the inhabitants of Bavaria, and the northern parts of Germany, who generally have very sallow complexions; but I was not pleased with the set of the bones any where along the Mayne, or even in part of Hesse. Those of the inhabitants of this country are particularly displeasing. The knees are all either bent in like a taylor's, or stand out straight like a stick. You hardly ever meet with a clever well-limbed person. This is owing to the senseless and absurd fashion, which still prevails here, of swaddling clothes. I could not but be extremely angry with the mothers, who dressed up their children thus, like pieces of wood, and suffered them to lay in this unnatural posture all day long. There cannot be a doubt but this constraint must have its effect on the soul, which in the first years is so closely united to the body. You must not expect to meet here with any of the Germans described by Tacitus: black and brown hair is much more common than white. The inhabitants of the neighbouring country of Darmstadt more nearly resemble the old inhabitants.

An attentive observer easily discovers by the external appearance of the inhabitants, what natives of Germany have had strangers mixt amongst them, and what countries have been entirely occupied by foreign colonies. No doubt but that the black and brown hair of the inhabitants of this place is derived from the Romans, who had a station here.

LETTER LXIV.

Mentz.

AFTER the pope, there is no doubt but the archbishop of this place is the most considerable and richest prelate in the Christian world. The see is indebted for its increase of riches to St. Boniface, who may be called, with great justice, the apostle of the Germans. It was this man, an Englishman by birth, who in the time of Charlemagne, baptised Witikind, and the other brave Saxons, who had so long resisted baptism with their swords, and spread the empire of the vicar of Jesus Christ as far as the northern and eastern seas. He it was who introduced the Roman liturgy into Germany, and made the savage inhabitants abstain from eating horse's flesh. But he raised the papal power to a higher pitch than it had been raised in any other country in Christendom. According to the testimony of Aventinus, several bishops reproached Boniface with having diminished their dignity, by the new oath of homage he introduced, and with having introduced superstition and irreligion in company with the splendid cere-

monies of the Romish church. But whoever considers the state of the Saxons at that time, will see that the enforcing the papal supremacy was the only efficacious means that could be made use of for raising a laity, and a clergy if possible still more barbarous than they (as they could literally neither write nor read) from their savage slumbers. Had it been only the connecting together of the German ecclesiastics, by means of the papal hierarchy, and the bringing them acquainted with other European nations; this alone would have been a signal service done them. Be this however as it may, the vicar of Christ repaid the services of his apostles with overflowing measure. All the new-founded bishoprics in the north of Germany were made subject to the see of Mentz, which Boniface had chosen for his residence.

The provinces, the most considerable in the whole papal dominions, all Swabia, Franconia, Bohemia, and almost all Saxony, with a part of Switzerland, Bavaria, and the Upper Rhine, belong to this diocese. Though the reformation, and revenge of the kings of Bohemia, have lessened it one third, it still contains the archbishopric of Sprengel and eleven bishoprics, most of which are the most considerable in Germany, as Wurtzburgh, Paderborn, Hildesheim, Augsburg, &c.

It could not fail but that as the vicar of Jesus Christ extended his jurisdiction to temporal affairs, his ambassadors (for so Boniface called himself, and so the council of Trent calls all bishops) should likewise make their fortune in the matters of this world, a thing the more likely to happen, as the ecclesiastics of that time were evidently superior to the laity in science, and also the greatest politicians of their day. Spiritual and temporal affairs were indeed so interwoven, that the most eminent German bishop would of course be the most powerful elector. The same thing happened in Britain, Poland, and in other countries, in which the constitutions were all aristocratical. The landgraves of Hesse, the Palatines, nay even the emperor himself thought it no disgrace to pay allegiance to the archbishop of Mentz. When the building of the papal monarchy was completed by Gregory VII, the archbishops of Mentz became powerful enough to be at the head of the empire. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, they were so eminent, as to be able to make emperors without any foreign assistance; and it was to one of them that the house of Hapsburgh was indebted for its first elevation.

Since the boundaries of the two powers have been more accurately ascertained, and the temporal has so much got the better of the spiritual, the power and influence of the archbishops of this place have of course been much reduced; still, however, they are possessed of very important prerogatives, which they might exert with much more efficacy than they do, were it not that various circumstances have rendered them too dependant on the emperors. They are still the speakers in the Electoral College, have the appointment of the diets under the emperors, and may order a re-examination of the proceedings of the imperial courts. These high privileges are, however, too much subject to the controul of the house of Austria; nor are their spiritual powers any longer what they once were. Their suffragan bishops have taken it into their heads that all bishops are alike as to power, and that the title of archbishop only entitles its possessor to the first place amongst brothers who are equal; it is true indeed that now and then appeals are received from the consistory of some suffragans to that of our vicar general, but they generally end in a further appeal to Rome; and the metropolitan dignity commonly loses as much by them as it gets.

The temporals, however, which are still annexed to this chair, make him who sits in it rich amends for the diminution of his spiritual and political splendour. Though he does not absolutely possess the largest, yet he certainly has the richest and most peopled domain of any ecclesiastical potentate in Germany. The country, it is true, does not

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contain more than one hundred and twenty-five German miles square; whereas the archbishopric of Salzburg contains two hundred and forty; but then Salzburg has only two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants; whereas Mentz has three hundred and twenty thousand. The natural riches of the territory of Mentz, and its advantageous situation, make a subject of Mentz much richer than one of Salzburg, the greatest part of which is only inhabited by herdsmen. In the territory of Mentz there are forty cities; in that of Salzburg only seven.

The tax on vessels which go down the Rhine of itself produces 60,000 guilders, or 6000*l.* a year, which is nearly as much as all the mines of Salzburg put together, excepting only the salt mine at Halle. The tax on wine, here and in the country round, produces the court above 100,000 guilders, or 10,000*l.* a year, in which sum we do not reckon the customs of the countries which lie at a greater distance. Upon the whole, the income of the present archbishop may be valued at 1,700,000 guilders, or 170,000*l.* At least I know for a certainty, that in the last years of the late archbishop, they brought in 1,800,000 guilders; and though the present elector gave up to his subjects two out of fifteen or sixteen poll taxes, which they were bound to pay; these do not amount to above 100,000 guilders; and he has much improved several other sources of revenue.

If the lands of the elector lay all together, they would produce a sufficiency of corn and all the prime necessities of life; but as several parts of them lie wide asunder, the people are compelled to purchase a great deal from foreigners. The capital itself, as well as the adjacent Rhinegau, depends on the Palatinate for its corn, notwithstanding the great abundance of that and every other species of grain in its own possessions in the Wetterau. The noblest production of the elector's territory on the Rhine is the wine, which is almost the only true Rhenish. Connoisseurs, indeed, allow the wines of Neirstein, Bacharach, and a very few other places out of this country to be true Rhenish. But they do not give this name to the wines of the Palatinate, of Bardon, and of Alsatia.

There is a great deal of wine made in the countries which lie on the south and west of the Rhine, at Laubenheim, Bodenheim, Budesheim, and Bingen; but the true Rhenish, that which inspires so many who are and so many who are not poets, comes only from the Rhinegau, which lies on the northern banks of the Rhine.

A few days ago, I went with a company from this place on a party of pleasure to the Rhinegau, and was present at one of the prettiest village festivities I have ever beheld. Our vessel had a much better appearance than the common smacks you meet with in Germany, and was very like a small Dutch boat. As soon as we had passed the winding which the proud Rhine makes to the westward, about three miles below Mentz, we had a prospect before us which is seldom beheld in any country except Switzerland. The Rhine grows astonishingly wide, and forms a kind of sea, near a mile broad, in which you see several well wooded little islands at your right. The Rhinegau forms an amphitheatre, the beauties of which are beyond all description. At Walluff, the very high hills come nearly down to the river side; from thence they recede again into the country, forming a kind of half circle, the other end of which is fifteen miles off at Rudesheim on the banks of the Rhine. The banks of the river, the hills which form the circles, and the slopes of the great mountain, are thick sown with villages and hamlets. The white appearance of the buildings, and the fine blue slated roofs of the houses playing amidst the various green of the landscape, have an admirable effect. In the space of every mile as you sail down the river, you meet with a village which, in any other place, would pass for a town. Many of the villages contain from three to four hundred fa-

milies; and there are thirty-six of them in a space of fifteen miles long, and six miles broad, which is the width of this beautiful amphitheatre. The declivities of all the hills and mountains are planted thick with vineyards and fruit-trees, and the thick wooded tops of the hills cast a gloomy horror over the otherwise cheerful landscape. Every now and then, a row of rugged hills runs directly down to the shore, and domineer majestically over the lesser hills under them. On one of these great mountains, just about the middle of the Rhinegau, you meet with Johannis-Berg, a village, which produces some of the best Rhenish. Before this village is a pretty little rising, and near the banks of the river there is a very fine old castle, which gives unspeakable majesty to the whole landscape. Indeed, in every village, you meet with some or other large building, which contributes very much to the decoration of the whole.

This country is indebted for its riches to this semicircular hill, which protects it from the cold winds of the east and north, at the same time that it leaves room enough for the sun to exercise his benign influences. The groves and higher slopes of the hills make excellent pastures, and produce large quantities of dung, which, in a country of this sort, is of inestimable value.

The bank of the Rhine, opposite to the Rhinegau; is exceedingly barren, and heightens the beauty of the prospect on the other side by the contrast it exhibits; on this side you hardly meet above three or four villages, and these are far distant from each other. The great interval between them is occupied by heaths and meadows, only here and there a thick bush affords some shade, and a few corn-fields among the villages enliven the gloomy landscape. The back ground of this country is the most picturesque part of it. It is formed by a narrow gullet of mountains, which diminish in perspective between Rudesheim and Bingen. Perpendicular mountains and rocks hang over the Rhine in this place, and seem to make it the dominion of eternal night. At a distance, the Rhine seems to come out of this landscape, through a hole under ground; and it appears to run tediously, in order to enjoy its course through a pleasant country the longer. Amidst the darkness which covers this back ground, the celebrated Mouse tower seems to swim upon the river. In a word, there is not any thing in this whole tract, that does not contribute something to the beauty and magnificence of the whole; or if I may be permitted the expression, to make the paradise more welcome. As you sail along the Rhine, between Mentz and Bingen, the banks of the river form an oval amphitheatre, which makes one of the richest and most picturesque landscapes to be seen in Europe.

The night was far advanced when we came to Geysenheim; before we landed, we had another prospect not often seen; we could discover almost the whole coast of the Rhinegau, which appeared one continued row of cities; the lights in the several villages made them look like a great illuminated city, and the reflection on the glassy Rhine was extremely beautiful.

The day after our arrival we went to Rudesheim, where we had been invited by an ecclesiastic of Mentz. We found our host with a numerous company, some of whom were protestants. After dinner he carried us in procession to his great saloon, from whence we had a most superb view of the here very wide Rhine, and the village of Bingen. The whole of the preparations seemed to announce a splendid festival, the nature and character of which appeared a riddle to me. On a sudden the doors of the saloon were opened, and there came forth in festive order a band of musicians, followed by two pretty girls, well dressed, who brought in a large bunch of grapes, on a table covered with a fine cloth. The sides of the table were ornamented with flowers. They put the bunch of grapes in the middle of the saloon, on a kind of throne which was raised on a table; and I now discovered that our host was celebrating the festival of the

first ripe bunch of grapes in his vineyard ; a custom, it seems, most religiously observed by all the rich inhabitants of this country. This feast was the more acceptable, as it happened that the grapes had this year ripened uncommonly late. After the altar of Bacchus was erected, our host made a short but excellent speech, suited to the nature of the festivity ; and then we danced round the grape. Never in my life, brother, have I danced with such pleasure as I did here. The remembrance of these joyous moments still possesses and transports me. Were I to form a commonwealth, festivals of this sort should be the only ones seen in it. Can there, indeed, be a more sacred or more respectable holiday, than that in which we joyfully thank the Creator for the benefits he has bestowed upon us ? Nor was our pleasure diminished by this not turning out the only ripe bunch of grapes in the vineyard of our host ; for though on a nearer investigation we found more, we contended for the honour of the grape round which we had danced and sung, with more heat than if it had been an oriental pearl of the same size.

Rudesheim is a rich village, which contains about two thousand five hundred inhabitants. The wine of this place is looked upon as without comparison the best of the Rhinegau, and consequently of all Germany. I found it much more fiery than that of Hochheim ; but for pleasantness of taste there is no comparison betwixt them. The best Rudesheim, like the best Hochheimer, sells upon the spot for three guilders the bottle. You can have no tolerable wine here for one guilder, nor any very good for two ; at least I should prefer the worst Burgundy I ever tasted to any Rudesheimer I met with either here or at Mentz for these prices. Indeed, the wine of our spiritual host was far better than any we could get at the inn. It stands to reason, that the same vintage furnishes grapes of very different degrees of goodness ; but besides this, it is in the Rhinegau as every where else. The best wines are generally sent abroad by the poor and middling inhabitant, and the worst kept for internal consumption ; for the expence of the carriage being the same in both cases, strangers had much rather pay a double price for the good than have the bad. It is only rich people, such as our host was, who can afford to keep the produce of their land for their own drinking. Upon this principle, I have eaten much better Swiss cheeses out of Switzerland than in it, and have drank much better Rhenish in the inns of the northern parts of Germany, than in the country where the wine grows. The position of the country also contributes to render the wine dearer than it would otherwise be. As the best wine grows in its more northern parts the easy transport by the Rhine to Holland, and all parts of the world, raises its price above its real value.

The place where the flower of the Rudesheim wine grows is precisely the neck of the land formed by the winding of the Rhine to the north, after it has run to the westward from Mentz hither. This neck, which is a rock almost perpendicular, enjoys the first rays of the rising, and the last of the setting sun. It is divided into small low terraces, which are carried up to the utmost top of the hill like steep stairs ; these are guarded by small walls and earthen mounds, which are often washed away by the rain. The first vine was brought hither from France, and they still call the best grape the Orleans. They plant the vine stocks very low, scarce ever more than four or five feet high. This way of planting the vine is favourable to the production of a great deal of wine, but not to its goodness, as the phlegmatic and harsh parts of it would certainly evaporate more, if the sap was refined through higher and more numerous canals. This is undoubtedly the reason why every kind of Rhenish has something in it that is harsh, sour, and watery. The harvest of the best vineyards, which are the lower ones, in the above-mentioned neck of land, is often bought before hand, at the advanced price of some du-

cats, by Dutch and other merchants. It must be a very rich stock to yield above four measures of wine. You may easily imagine, that the cultivation of vineyards must be very expensive in this country, as the dung, which is extremely dear, must be carried up to the top of the mountains on the peasants' shoulders.

In our return through Geysenheim, I visited the magnificent palace of a count of Ostein, the richest gentleman in Mentz, who has laid out several millions he inherited from his cousin, a former elector, in life annuities in the Dutch funds. The house, which is in the modern taste, pleased me much: but what delighted me most, was, the half French and half English garden. Behind Greysenheim, the count has struck out some alleys through a wood, in which there are also some wildernesses. The great alley leads through a winding walk to the top of that rock at the foot of which the best Rudesheim wine grows. At the top of this rock the count has built a terrace, surrounded by a rail, commanding one of the finest prospects I have ever seen. You look down upon the vine hills cut into terraces, and see the Rhine, which, rolling through the threatening hills which block it up, here begins to be encompassed in deep night. This view down to the river is most terrific. The partly covered and partly naked rocks, which encompass the river, make you think it is forcing its way through a subterraneous cavern. The rock, on which you stand, stretches itself to the opposite shore, where another abrupt mountain stands like an immense pillar. The meeting together of these two great mountains occasions a fall in the Rhine, the dead noise of which has a wonderful effect in the landscape. On the Rudesheimer side, and near the shore you look directly down upon from the terrace, there has been a passage cut through the hard rocks, big enough for the largest ships to sail through; this is called the Bingenloch. The rock, which occasions the fall of the Rhine, juts out wonderfully above the water in the midst of the stream, and forms an island partly naked and partly covered with briars, on which the celebrated Mouse tower stands. If you look up the Rhine, you have a view of the best part of the smiling Rhinegau, and the whole opposite shore. Varied and beautiful as this part of the prospect is, it is still exceeded by what you see on looking straight before you from the terrace; you have here a view into a narrow gulf, through which the river Nahe, which fills its bottom, communicates with the Rhine. On the fore ground, where the Nahe joins with the Rhine, you have, to the right, the well wooded colossal mountain, to which the Rudesheimer rock joins itself under water. On the neck of land to the left, you have the city of Bingen at the foot of another mountain, the tops of which are crowned by an old castle. The gullet itself, which is near two miles long, is waste and dark; only the red slate of a mountain in it has a singular effect, when opposed to the woods, which appear every where to the right, and to the mountains on the left, which are partly naked and mean, and partly planted with vineyards. In the middle of the gullet there is a stone bridge over the Nahe, which still bears the name of Drusus's bridge, from Drusus Germanicus its builder, and extremely raises the picturesque view of the whole. At the end of the gullet stands a mill, not less picturesque than the bridge. Such is the fore ground; and the back ground is still more beautiful. The gullet, which contains the Nahe, is like a glass, through which you look down upon the most laughing landscape. The clear light, the distant blue of the hills and mountains, some beautiful villages, soft woods, and the vine hills around all these, indicate that the country behind this black sluice is an open one, and most richly ornamented: this is a prospect the like to which I had never yet seen.

The city of Bingen, which, together with the toll on the Rhine, worth about 30,000 guilders, belongs to the chapter of Mentz, is extremely beautiful, and contains about

four thousand five hundred inhabitants. A great part of the corn, which is carried into the Rhinegau from the neighbouring palatinate, comes through this place; which on the other hand supplies the palatinate with drugs, and various foreign commodities. This traffic alone would make the place very lively; but besides this it has very fruitful vineyards. The hill, at the foot of which it lies, and one side of which is made by the gullet, through which the Nahe runs into the Rhine, forms another steep rock behind this gullet parallel to the Rhine, and the golden Rudesheimer mountain; it therefore enjoys the same sun as this does, which makes the Budesheimer wine that grows on it little inferior to the Rudesheimer.

After I had enjoyed this uncommonly beautiful prospect during a few days, I spent a few more in the villages of the Rhinegau: here too I received ocular demonstration that the cultivators of vineyards are not the happiest of men. The inhabitants of these regions are some of them extremely rich, and some extremely poor; the happy middle state is not for countries, the chief product of which is wine: for besides, that the cultivation of the vineyard is infinitely more troublesome and expensive than agriculture, it is subjected to revolutions, which in an instant reduce the holder of land to the condition of a day labourer. It is a great misfortune for this country, that though restrained by law, the nobility are, through connivance of the elector, allowed to purchase as much land as they please. The peasant generally begins by running in debt for his vineyard; so that if it does not turn out well, he is reduced to day labour, and the rich man extends his possessions to the great detriment of the country. There are several peasants here who, having incomes of 30, 50, or 100,000 guilders a year, have laid aside the peasant, and assumed the wine merchant; but splendid as their situation is, it does not compensate, in the eyes of the humane man, for the sight of so many poor people with which the villages swarm. In order to render a country of this kind prosperous, the state should appropriate a fund to the purpose of maintaining the peasant in bad years, and giving him the assistance which his necessities, and his want of ready money, may from time to time make convenient.

The inhabitants of the Rhinegau are a handsome and uncommonly strong race of men. You see at the very first aspect that their wine gives them merry hearts and sound bodies. They have a great deal of natural wit, and a vivacity and jocoseness which distinguishes them very much from their neighbours. You need only compare them with some of these, to be convinced that the drinker of wine excels the drinker of beer and water, both in body and mind, and that the inhabitant of the south is much stouter than he who lives in the north; for though the wine drinker may not have quite as much flesh as he who drinks only beer, he has better blood, and can bear much more work. Tacitus had already observed this in his treatise *De moribus Germanorum*. "The large and corpulent bodies of the Germans (says he) have a great appearance, but are not made to last." At that time almost all the Germans drank only water; but the mere drinking of wine has effected a revolution in several parts of Germany, which makes the present inhabitants of these countries very different from those described by Tacitus. Black and brown hair is much commoner here than the white which made the Germans so famous in old Rome.

You will easily imagine that the monks fare particularly well in so rich a country. We made a visit to the prelate of Erbach. I cannot find adequate words to discover the poverty of this cloister. These lordly monks, for so in every respect they are, have an excellent hunt, rooms magnificently furnished, billiard tables, half a dozen beautiful singing women, and a stupendous wine cellar, the well ranged batteries of which made

me shudder. A monk, who saw my astonishment at the number of the casks, assured me, that without the benign influence which flowed from them, it would be totally impossible for the cloisters to subsist in so damp a situation.

I was not surprised at the hospitality of these monks, as I had met with many scenes of the kind before, nor do I envy these worldly fathers the good lot they have met with on this earth; but I am not quite so well satisfied with the pains which some of them take to keep the people in ignorance and superstition. I was particularly displeased with the pilgrimage to a wood near Geysenheim, where the capuchins work miracles in abundance. The very name of the place affords room for scandal and blasphemy. It is called the Need of God. According to the legend, a small wooden image of the Redeemer was, by the carelessness or ignorance of a farmer, stuck in the hollow of a tree, where it remained for a long time, crying out, Need of God! Need of God! till at last some peasants in the neighbourhood came and removed the cause of the piteous cry. Since this time it has performed numberless miracles, which it is possible help the capuchins out of their necessities.

LETTER LXV.

Mentz.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great reduction, made by the archbishop of this place of his civil list, it still remains by much too immoderate and expensive. He has his ministers, his counsellors of state, and eighty or ninety privy counsellors of various denominations. The expence of this establishment is very disproportionate to the revenue of the state. This is owing to the large number of poor nobility, who can only accept of employments of this kind. Ignorance of the true principles of government are the causes of this evil. The consequences are, that a great number of persons, who might be usefully employed, live in idleness.

Even the military establishment of the country appears to me more calculated for the purpose of feeding a hungry nobility, than for real use. At the accession of the present elector, though the whole army only consisted of two thousand two hundred men, there were six generals. The regular establishment paid for and supported by the country is eight thousand men; but though there are only two thousand kept up, the money expended for their support, particularly that given to numberless useless officers, might be made use of more for the benefit of the country. The army of the archbishop consists of a German guard of fifty men and twenty-five horses, a Swiss guard, a squadron of hussars of one hundred and thirty men (the most useful troops, as they purge the land of robbers and murderers) a corps of artillery of one hundred and four men, three regiments of infantry of six hundred men each, and some companies belonging to the armies of Franconia and the Upper Palatinate.

Of the fortifications of Mentz, we may say much the same as of the army. Were they, indeed, improved and kept up as they ought to be, they would vie with Luxemburgh, and be the most powerful of all the barriers against France. It is true that the nature of the ground does not allow of a regular plan; but for single parts, I have seen no place of the same capabilities, where greater advantages have been taken of the ground for the erection of the several works. The beauty, as well as size of them, is indeed an object of great wonder; but though the circle of the Upper Rhine, and even the empire in general, has laid out great sums on the building these fortifications, parts of them are not finished, and parts of them are ready to fall to pieces. Their extent, indeed, would require a great army to man. But this, as well as the maintaining and

keeping them up, is evidently beyond the power of this court, or indeed of the whole circle of the Upper Rhine united. They are, therefore, also to be looked upon as one of the things, which serve more for magnificence than real use.

Whilst the greater courts of Germany are endeavouring to simplify their several systems as much as possible, and to introduce into their several administrations, a strong and efficacious spirit of œconomy; the dissipation, pomp, and love of outside shew of the lesser ones, is beyond all bounds, and almost surpasses all belief. These courts very much resemble the expensive puppet-show theatre of prince Esterazi, which I described to you in a former letter; the orchestra is fine, the scenes beautiful, and the poets and machinery delectable; but the actors are only puppets, deficient in what constitutes true greatness. These petty princes want to make up for it, by shining in little things, an affectation which would only deserve ridicule, if it were not for the oppression of the subject. As things are circumstanced, it is much too serious a matter for a friend of human nature to make merry with. This reproach, however, does not so much affect the present archbishop, who, as far as circumstances allow him, is perhaps the only prelate who endeavours to render his court and state expences more useful than ostentatious, as it does the neighbouring palatinate, through which I took a fortnight's ramble.

When I was at Munich, and saw there the useless heap of court attendants, eunuchs, dancers, singers, gardens, and generals, I placed a great part of them to the account of the last elector, and imagined the present had been unwilling to make any alterations, not to render himself odious, which was the more to be avoided, as the acquisition of Bavaria had made his circumstances very good; but how surprised was I, at my arrival at Manheim, to find the same taste for magnificence, pleasure, and idle expence. Would you believe, brother, that the court of Manheim, the revenue of which is not above 3,200,000 Rhenish guilders, lays out 200,000 of them annually on its opera and music? Would you believe that the keeping up the Schwessingen gardens, scarce inferior to those of Versailles, is an annual expence of 40,000? and that the castles of Manheim and Schwessingen cost 60,000 guilders a year? that the hunt costs 80,000, and the stables 100,000 guilders? that this court has eleven regiments, with a general to each, which all together do not make above five thousand five hundred men? notwithstanding the boasts of the servants of the court, who, at the time of the dispute between their master, the counts of Leinungen, and the city of Achin, spoke of forty thousand men to be sent against the emperor, who threatened them with an execution, and fifteen thousand more ready to march against the city of Achin. I have already told you, when speaking of Munich, that to make the puppet theatre complete, the two or three ships on the Rhine have a lord high admiral to them.

It is true indeed that the good elector is in a great measure innocent of their excessive waste. His servants bring him in false estimates of his greatness, and flatter his weakness, in order to divide the plunder between themselves.

The Palatinate is called the paradise of Germany. You will judge of its fruitfulness, when I tell you that, exclusive of a great deal of wheat sold in the territories of Mentz and Treves, and exported into Switzerland, it supplies France every year with three thousand combs of grain. A comb is a measure of one hundred and seventy pounds. Besides corn, they abound in wine and tobacco. But what gives the greatest idea of the prosperity of the country, is a list of the taxes, which was shewed me by a collector. I do not believe there is a single article, the air only which the people breathe excepted, which is not to be found amongst them. Some contributions, such as those for the canal of Frankenthorn, dams on the Rhine, &c. which ought naturally to have

ceased, when the necessities they were meant to serve (if indeed such a useless and superfluous canal can be called a necessity) have been turned into perpetual imposts. The most wonderful thing of all, however, for a politician, are the customs of the Palatinate. Merely with a view of raising these, the custom-houses have been so increased, that almost every place in the high road has some particular custom payable in it, and all the goods which pass through it are likewise taxable. Prejudicial as this establishment is, even to the internal police of the country, as in consequence of it a village is often three times more remote from the dwelling-place of its bailiff than it ought to be, if nature and the good of the subjects were more consulted than the benefit of the elector and his servants; yet is every spark of patriotism so extinguished in this country, that there is no expectation of a change for the better ever being brought about. In many places on the road, the only mark of the custom-house is the great stick, which enforces payment. The poor people, who export the commodities of the country, are often compelled to go three miles out of the road to pay the tax. In short the only difference betwixt the practice of the ancient German nobility, who, even so low down as the times of the emperor Maximilian, used to rob the merchant on the road, or compel passage-money from him; and the present system of taxation in the Palatinate is, that the old nobility did that at the hazard of their heads, which the government of the Palatinate does without danger, and without consciousness of doing wrong.

In order to give you a still better idea of the œconomy of this country, you must know that there is a monopoly established for the furnishing of all the wood burnt, not only in the city of Mannheim, but for some miles round. This is not such a monopoly as that established at Berlin, which you know rather helps the peasant to sell his wood, than otherwise. Here a natural son of the elector, raised by him to the dignity of count, having entered into an argeement with the projector, procured the patent which has enabled him to live magnificently at the expence of the country.

The administration of this country is such, that it is really disgusting to me to pick out specimens of it to lay before you. Every thing that you have ever heard of the separate government of priests, mistresses, bastards, parvenus, projectors, eunuchs, bankrupts, and the like, exists in the Palatinate at one and the same time. I have spoken with several ministers, who made no mystery of having bought their places. Indeed there are more instances than one of places having been put up at public auction, in the antichambers of the mistresses. One natural consequence of this is, the flagrant oppressions of the little governors or custom-house officers, who are so many Turkish bashaws; and are feared in their respective districts as the executioners of the vengeance of heaven. I had the honour to dine with one of these bashaws. The company was large and splendid. He and his numerous family abounded in rings, watches, lace, and every appendage of the most extravagant luxury; we had twenty-four dishes at dinner, and amongst the rest young peacocks. The desert was of a piece with the rest, and every thing in the highest ton. Besides this, the man had a snug stable, magnificent carriage, and hounds, and yet his salary was not more than 2000 guilders, or 200*l.* a year. How he could keep up such an establishment on such a revenue, would be, no doubt, easily learned from the poor peasants under him, if we could obtain their confidence. With the rich peasants, a bashaw of this kind is naturally upon good terms. I was shewn a man, who, though he had been publicly banished from another part of the empire, for his infamous conduct, had, notwithstanding, by following the turnings and windings of this place, raised himself to a place, from whence he was enabled to look down upon his enemies with contempt. There is, indeed, no part of Germany,

in which adventurers of all sorts are so sure to make their fortunes as they are here. Provided they take care to put part of the booty into the electoral chest, they are sure to live unmolested. The lotto of Genoa, which, though decorated with a smooth and splendid name, is in fact no more than a Pharaoh table, at which the state endeavours to cheat its subjects, thrives in no German soil so well as in this. It harmonized too well with the rest of the system of finance, not to be readily and eagerly adopted. I have seen lottery-office proposals published with the elector's privilege, and decorated with his arms, in which it is said, that a lottery is the shortest, safest, and most becoming way for a man to make his fortune. Now, every body knows, that what advantage there is in a game of this kind is only for the rich, and that he who buys his thirty-twos and sixty-fourths is sure to be undone. What must we think then of a court, which uses every trick and paltry artifice to entice its subjects to play a game, by which they are sure to lose, and it must gain at least 100 per cent? It is true, indeed, that there is such a lottery in every court in Germany; but at none are such mean tricks as these made use of to induce the subjects to play.

These oppressions, however, great as they seem, are still nothing in comparison of what the Protestants have to suffer from the court. According to repeated treaties, the established religion of the country should be the reformed; but notwithstanding this, the Catholics have found means to grow powerful enough, not only to be at the head of every thing themselves, but to persecute the Protestants in the most infamous manner. For this purpose they have received villains of every kind into their villages, to increase the number of Catholics; they have dispossessed the Protestants of all places and posts whatever; they have treated them with every kind of indignity; nay, even in the courts of justice, the most scandalous and infamous partialities have taken place. And yet, so are human affairs conducted, amidst this outrageous tyranny, and whilst the emigrations to America have been such, that the English know no other name for a German than that of Palatine, this court has met with authors, both in and out of the country, to extol the wisdom of its councils: nay, would you think it! although half the subjects of the country are driven out of it, and the rest so oppressed that they hardly know how to live in it, there is a college for teaching the several branches of political œconomy subsisting at Lautern, and projectors innumerable are sent to Frankenthal to establish manufactures!

That, notwithstanding the repeated and multifarious vexations they are exposed to, the farmers of this country are still enabled to hold up their heads, is, no doubt, owing to the frequent emigrations. These keep the price of land low, and enable the half who remain (for above half are driven out) to subsist with a tolerable degree of comfort.

Notwithstanding all the reputation which the manufactures of the Palatinate have gained, there is more shew than substance about them. All those of Frankenthal put together are not equal to single ones which might be named in Austria, in Switzerland, at Berlin, and in several other countries. Excepting only the china manufactory, there is not a single one which employs a hundred men, or has a capital of 100,000 guilders. But here they call a place where three men and a few boys are making wafers, a wafer manufactory. In this sense, every taylor and shoemaker's shop may pass for a manufactory. And yet they do not know how to prepare the produce of the country for the internal consumption of it. The tobacco which grows in the Palatinate is carried into Holland to be made, and brought back again for consumption. Another proof of the wisdom of this government is, the difficulties it places in the way of the exports of its own subjects. The city of Mentz, I have told you, subsists entirely by bread made

in the palatinate. Would you think that the court of Manheim, which, like all the other petty courts of Germany, is ever ready to quarrel with its neighbours, notwithstanding every treaty and seeming appearance of amity between them, wanted to force the inhabitants of Mentz to come and buy their food in the palatinate? Before this, the farmers carried it to the city market; but the court of Manheim established weekly markets at Oppenheim, and other places near the frontiers of Mentz. No doubt, it would have been an advantage to the palatines, had strangers brought the money to their markets, and the elector might have set his own prices on his commodity, provided that Mentz and the Rhinegau had been so entirely dependant upon him as not to have the possibility of a supply by any other means; but as soon as the people of Mentz saw themselves compelled to pay more than they did before, they opened an immediate trade with the rich corn countries of the Wetterau, about Usingen and Friedberg; the consequence of which was, that the palatines became the dupes of the caprices of their masters, and were compelled to carry their commodity into France and Switzerland, with far more trouble and far less profit. As, however, none of the projects of this court have any consistency, the markets of Mentz have, within these few years past, been visited again. The customs are no small hindrance to exportation.

Manheim is a very regularly built pretty little city, containing about twenty-five thousand inhabitants, of which, since the court resides at Munich, it has lost about two thousand. The Manheimers very much want the elector to reside with them, and leave Bavaria, which is at least fifty times as large as the palatinate, to be governed by a deputy. They cannot yet understand what it is their prince sees in Munich to give it the preference. Indeed they are so conscious of the beauty of their own city, that they laugh in the face of any one who tells them there are finer places in the world than Manheim; which, after all, it is doing too much honour to, to call it a miniature of Turin or Berlin, and other towns. Indeed, if you except the dull regularity of it, Munich is a much finer city than Manheim, which has nothing worth seeing in it but the castle, and church of the Jesuits. Every thing else that is called fine here is so little and artificial, as to inspire a knowing eye only with disgust. But the Manheimers are altogether the proudest people on earth. They have so great an idea of the power and riches of their country, as not to scruple to rank their prince with the greatest monarchs in the world. They assure you, with very serious faces, that if they had not been the friends of peace, and averse to the shedding of human blood, it would have been easy for them to have taken possession of Bavaria by force, notwithstanding all the pretensions of the house of Austria. These ridiculous airs, no doubt, have arisen from their being surrounded by lesser states, and their elector being the first of the smaller princes: but their universal motto in every thing is, "Much bustle for little business." The love of pleasure, too, is so universal here, that a taylor's wife looks upon it as disgraceful to be faithful to her husband. This dissipation, and the love of dress, has a very striking aspect, when contrasted with the deep poverty that obtains throughout. The women of this place are remarkably handsome, agreeable, and pleasing.

The government of the palatinate is one of the most arbitrary in Germany. There are no states, and the privileges of the communities are the jest of the court. But here, more than in any other place in the world, you may be convinced that the most despotic prince in the world is the most limited. The elector depends on his lowest servants, and is the dupe of all who surround him. Every subordinate minister is a despot in the same manner, as far as the sphere of his power extends; so that when a sovereign has not spirit enough to look into the details of government, or at least to rebuke his ministers, he is sure to find there is a conspiracy against him and the country, whilst there is no

body left to tell him the truth, or say a word for the good cause. It is impossible for the elector to lay the first stone of a building, without being cheated in the most scandalous manner.

LETTER LXVI.

Cologne.

IF God vouchsafes me life, brother, I will once more sail from Mentz hither; for never in my life had I a pleasanter voyage. The sail on the Danube is fine, but that on the Rhine far surpasses it; and indeed I know nothing to compare with this last, but the sail on the lakes of Geneva or Zurich. My company was agreeable, and the vessel a far different kind of a thing from the miserable rafter on the Danube: it had a mast and sails, the deck had rails round it, and there were windows and other furniture in the cabin.

After having lost sight of the magnificent and laughing Rhinegau, we were carried through a narrow valley, entirely occupied by the Rhine, which opens under Bingen. The contrast was extremely striking. The hills, which hang perpendicularly over the Rhine, are sometimes covered with various greens, sometimes with naked stones, and now and then with blue or white slates: their appearance, their slope, the different and various culture which you see every now and then upon them, together with the windings of the Rhine, change the prospect almost every moment. Notwithstanding the disadvantageous situation of it, the banks of this vale are much more peopled, and much better cultivated, than any part of the Danube whatever. You have a village almost every three miles, and every hill is crowned with a castle, formerly the habitation of some German knight. The most picturesque fancy can point nothing more romantic, than the situation of these cities and villages. We had a Scotchman with us, who had come over-land from the East Indies. The man was like a madman. He found something like Scotland in every place we admired; but on my asking him what there was in his own country like the vineyards which we saw, he swore that, as to these, their uniformity and dull regularity made them an unpleasing sight; and obliged him to refresh his eyes with a sight of the impending hills. I answered him only by bringing him a glass of red Asmannshauser wine, which he found very drinkable.

The finest spots in this romantic country are those about Bacharach and Kaub (which lie directly opposite each other on different sides of the river) and those about St. Goar and Coblenz. The situation of Bacharach is like the place itself, dark and tremendously beautiful. The hill, at the front of which the little town lies, hangs directly perpendicularly over it, and is in part covered with vineyards, which produce one of the best Rhenish wines. The situation of Kaub is more open and more gay, and from the circumstance of the houses being painted of a light white upon a deep green, contrasts very pleasingly with the wonderful black of Bacharach. In the midst of the Rhine, betwixt the two cities, on a rock which hardly rises above the surface of the water, stands a high, thick, solid tower, called the Palatine. This, which, as well as the two towns, belongs to the elector, is generally looked upon by the common people as the original seat of the family. You can conceive nothing more singular or striking in a landscape than the situation of this tower, when viewed from a certain distance.

The country about St. Goar is quite of a different kind. On the banks of the Rhine, on the right, and on one of the perpendicular hills, which are distinguished by their majestic appearance, there stands an old castle which they still keep up. The left shore, on which the city stands, is still more perpendicular, but it is cultivated with singular in-

dustry. The vines are planted as at Rudesheim, on a number of small ascendant terraces, which rise to a great height. The space betwixt the rock and the stream is so narrow, that the inhabitants are sometimes compelled to build in the rock itself. Just above the city there rises majestically a fort called Rheinfels, which gave its name to a branch of the house of Hesse Cassel; but since the death of the possessor, has fallen, with the country belonging to it, to the head of that house. The town itself is very lively, and far the best betwixt Bingen and Coblenz. The inhabitants appear to be a very active race of men. A little above the city, the short windings of the constrained Rhine form a whirlpool, known by the name of St. Goar's bank. Though no remarkably bad accidents ever happen here, we were witnesses to one, which shews that it has not its name for nothing, as the whirlpool on the Danube has. A large vessel from Cologne happened to be going down the river with us. It had taken on board an old experienced pilot, who, in the dangerous places, stood very deep in the river. The horses pulled very strong: on a sudden, the pilot was so entirely borne down by the stream, that the vessel lay in a minute on the other bank of the river, though this was a hundred and fifty paces distant from the place it was going down. By great good luck there was a wherry betwixt it and the rock on which it struck, which prevented it from receiving great damage. It was, however, obliged to be hoven off.

About a mile above Coblenz, several old castles and little towns, situated at the top and bottom of these woods and hills, form very pleasing views. At length you behold the little town of Lahnstein, at the back of which there is a rough, tall mountain. Near the town, a gullet, through which the river Lahn runs into the Rhine, forms a very pleasing perspective. The valley is still so narrow as to be wholly occupied by the Rhine. As you approach towards Coblenz, it begins to widen to the left. At a distance you see a magnificent convent of Carthusians; on a great hill, straight before you, the city; and to the right, the steep rock crowned by the fort of Ehrenbreitstein. At the foot of the hill is the majestic castle inhabited by the prince, and several magnificent buildings. The whole has an effect not to be described.

Coblenz is a very pretty, though somewhat dead town, which contains about twelve thousand inhabitants. The present master, a Saxon prince, and brother-in-law to the emperor, continues true to the old system. He is exemplarily good, and I believe that it is his goodness, much more than any political views, which makes him so attached to the papal system of church government. In a voyage he lately made to Augsburg, he carried his veneration for the pope so far, as to throw himself on his knees before him in the public church. There also exists a letter of his to his brother-in-law, in which he reproaches him, in very severe terms, for his intended project of reform. These remonstrances were not, however, well received: the emperor looked upon the holy father in a very different light from the good archbishop. The latter, however, is upon the whole an excellent prince; nor does his piety, as that of princes sometimes does, degenerate into indolence and weakness.

This ecclesiastic owes his advancement entirely to the emperor. He was first recommended by him to the chapter of Luttich, who refused the recommendation with great harshness. The chapters of Mentz, Wurtzburgh, and Luttich, are the only ones in Germany who endeavour to preserve their freedom of election. Upon the refusal of Luttich, the emperor tried Treves, who made less difficulty. As elector, he has at least 400,000, and as bishop of Augsburg near 200,000 guilders. Besides this, he is coadjutor of Ellwangen, where, in time, he may expect at least 8000 guilders more. Three such pieces of preferment would almost make me think with Bellarmine: "Only

make me pope (said a Roman patrician to one who wanted to convert him) and I will be a Christian !!"

The country betwixt Coblentz and Cologne is very fine and very well peopled. There is a beautiful town near the latter. Newvied is quite new, regularly built, and full of industry. The inhabitants enjoy not only a perfect freedom of religion, but an exemption from taxes, very seldom to be met with in Germany. The place is more particularly distinguished as the residence of a colony of Moravians. Just over against it, on the opposite bank of the Rhine, lies the old town of Andernach, which, though not so handsome as Newvied, is extremely full of life. Bonn, the residence of the elector of Cologne, is the largest and handsomest town betwixt Coblentz and Cologne. It contains twelve thousand inhabitants. Till you come within two or three miles of Cologne, the banks of the Rhine have still hills, only the chains of hills are softer than betwixt Coblentz and Mentz, and they are now and then broken by small plains; but here the hills terminate to the right with seven large pyramids, called the seven hills. These form a fine amphitheatre, and on one of them there is an old castle. From hence to the German ocean there are no more remarkable hills. Here likewise end the dominions of the German Bacchus.

The whole strip of land from here to Mentz, is one of the richest and best peopled in all Germany. In this course of eighteen German miles, they reckon twenty cities, which lie on the banks of the Rhine, and were most of them known to the Romans. There still remain signs enough to prove, that these were some of the first countries broke up. Neither morasses nor heaths interrupt the agriculture, which is carried on with great industry, from the banks of the river to a great distance up the country. Whilst many castles and cities, built in other parts of Germany, in the times of Charlemagne and his successors, particularly under Henry the First, have been destroyed, those which were built in this country not only remain, but several fresh ones have been added to them.

It is certainly true, that the natural fruitfulness of the country, and the facility of exportation by the Rhine, contributes in a great degree to this; but it is also owing to the nature of the government. In the three ecclesiastical electorates, they know nothing of the heavy taxes under which the subjects of the temporal princes so heavily groan. They have raised the customs very little. No species of slavery is known here. There is no need of heavy taxes to portion out princesses. They have no overgrown armies, nor do they sell the sons of their farmers to foreign powers, nor have they taken any part in the civil or foreign disturbances of Germany. From all this it follows, that though they do not encourage arts and manufactures so much as they might do, agriculture has been carried to a height amongst them, which it has not reached in any other part of Germany. So true it is, that nature will do of herself all that laws and acts of parliament can produce, as soon as you remove the impediments that stand in the way.

The forest of ships in the port, and the numerous church steeples, give Cologne a very magnificent appearance at a distance; but it all vanishes as soon as you set foot within the gates. The streets and the inhabitants are alike dark and ugly. I had scarce made my entry, when I met with an event, which gave me no very high idea of the police of the place. On my landing from the vessel, they sent a soldier with me to the inn, to search my baggage; but we were hardly alone, when he told me how old he was; what a trouble it would be for him to go to the inn, and in short offered to let me go where I pleased, provided I would give him a few stivers. This I easily complied with;

I had hardly got rid of him, when a troop of beggars assailed me, and followed me quite to the inn. Here I met with another specimen of the manners. The hostess was bargaining with a dirty monk to say mass for her. He asked 14 stivers, and she would give him only 12. At length, when they had struck their bargain, and the priest was gone his way, there came another, who had overheard all that had passed, and offered the hostess, if she would be off, to say mass for ten stivers. By the next post you shall hear more from this city, which has an extraordinary appearance throughout.

LETTER LXVII.

Cologne.

COLOGNE, brother, is in every respect the ugliest town in all Germany; there is not a single building worth seeing within its walls, which are nine miles in circumference: most of the houses are falling to the ground; a great part of them stand quite empty; and as to the population, I cannot give you a better idea of it, than by assuring you, upon my honour, that my landlord, an officer of the city, with whom I have taken up my abode for two months, pays only 50 guilders a year for a very handsome, large house, with a court, stables, and a large garden, in one of the best streets in the city. Round the walls, which enclose the whole domain of the state, there are some hundred farm houses, which produce all the greens, together with as much butter, cheese, and milk, as is used in the city. In many streets there is dung laying before the houses on each side. Many are so empty, that you may walk in them for an hour, without seeing a single human creature. The great square or place, however, would, from its size and beautiful rows of lime trees in it, be one of the most magnificent in the world, if it was not darkened by the half-fallen buildings about it.

A third part of the inhabitants are privileged beggars, who form here a regular corporation: this is no satire, as you may think it, but the sober truth; they sit upon rows of stools placed in every church, and take precedence according to their seniority: when the eldest dies his next neighbour takes his place. The old people, who belong to the fraternity, consider a place upon these stools as a provision for a son, or marriage portion for a daughter. Many of them have stools belonging to them in several churches, which they visit alternately, on the days of the most brilliant festivals, and divide amongst their heirs when they die. On the few days of the year on which there are no festivals they disperse about the city, and molest the passengers, with an insolence and rudeness not to be conceived.

Another third of the inhabitants are ecclesiastics. There are thirty-nine nunneries in this place, above twenty convents for men, and more than twelve hospitals; besides these, the place is crowded with a motley race of men, which are called abbes; but these are not as they are with us, the powdered smirking ecclesiastical beaux, who make parties with the ladies, and attend at their levees; but rough dirty clowns, besmeared all over with tobacco, who play for pence with the peasants in public ale-houses; or, after having said mass in the morning, run of errands, clean shoes, or are porters for the rest of the day. I have never seen the church in so contemptible a state as it is here. There are several ecclesiastics who do not themselves know what they are. I am acquainted with a canon who makes 2000 guilders a year of his stall; but has assured me himself that he has never said mass, nor seen his church, for a twelvemonth. I met another of them in a coffee-house, kept by a young woman, whom he loved, but who was likewise courted by a merchant's clerk. The rivals having en-

gaged in a game of billiards, from words proceeded to blows, until the prebend was laid fairly under the table. When we had with some difficulty made piece, the clerk went his way, and now there followed another extraordinary scene. The canon had a pretty young man with him, whom he had lodged and boarded for some time. He took it so ill that this toad-eater had not taken his part, that after reproaching him with the favours he had conferred on him, he renounced his friendship before us all. The part of our abbes is played here by these regular canons, the Antonites, and the priests of the order of Malta. You see them about the ladies in all the great houses. As to the nuns, there are four of them big with child at present, and six are immured, for not having understood the art of not being with child. In the first days of my abode here, the son of a gentleman, to whom I was recommended, took me with him to a nunnery to visit his sister. We found her with another friend in the sick room, where they are allowed to receive visits. In the first quarter of an hour of the visit, I discovered that my friend was not come to see his sister, and that her friend's disorder was not very dangerous. I found the sister agreeable enough, not to be tired with her, whilst the brother was entertained by the friend. The next week the sister was ill, and the friend attended her to the hospital; she gratefully returned the favour the week after, and I soon found that, let me stay here as long as I pleased, we should have visits to make every week, till the whole circle of diseases had been gone through by the nuns.

The want of proper government is the cause of the illimited freedom, which is enjoyed by the ecclesiastics of this place. They live in the greatest anarchy: for though they are properly subject to the controul of the archbishop of Cologne, the magistracy of the place is jealous of the archbishop's power, and will suffer none of his orders relating to discipline to be carried into execution. Thus between the contention of the two powers, poor discipline goes to the ground.

The last third of the inhabitants consists of some patrician families, and of the merchants and mechanics, on whom the other two parts live. Upon the whole, Cologne, is at least a century behind the rest of Germany, Bavaria itself not accepted. Bigotry, illmanners, clownishness, slothfulness, are visible every where; and the speech, dress, furniture of the houses, every thing in short is so different from what is seen in the rest of Germany, that you conceive yourself in the middle of a colony of strangers. I do not mean to say there are no exceptions, for I have been in some houses, the masters of which are distinguished for their taste and elegant manner of living; but the exceptions are indeed very few.

It is owing to the government of the country that this city is so far behind the other states of Germany. Together with the hatred of innovation common to all republics, and usual impatience and weakness of the magistrate, the absurd corporation system prevails here with more force than in any other of the free imperial cities. I will only give you one instance, by which you will see how impossible it is for this town ever to go on improving as the rest of Germany has done. A few years since there settled here a baker from the Palatinate, who, from the circumstance of the other bakers baking such bread as only an inhabitant of Cologne could eat, soon drove a thriving trade. Jealousy of his good fortune soon brought his brethren of the company to his house, and they pulled down his oven. The affair was carried into a court of justice. On the day it was to be determined, not only the company of bakers, but the other companies of barbers, taylors, shoemakers, &c. assembled round the court-house, and swore they would put an end to the magistrates and magistracy together, if, by their licentious decree, they allowed any man to bake better bread than the other gentlemen of the

corps. The magistracy knew its men, who on a former occasion had hustled some of them in the church-yard; and admonished by the precedent, they made this spirited decree:—"That whereas the audacious baker had taken upon him to bake bread, such as the rest of the corporation did not bake, he should build up his oven again at his own expence, and, for the future, be cautious only to bake such bread as the town had been wont to feed upon."

The obstinacy with which the several corporations of the place defend their privileges, the rudeness of the common people, which some love to decorate with the name of liberty, and the immoderate and unrestrained licentiousness which obtains universally, render Cologne very deserving of the name of Little London, by which some of its inhabitants love to distinguish it. Like the great London, it is remarkable for the pride of the common people, and the insolence with which they treat strangers. Having behaved rather impertinently to their neighbours, the elector of Cologne, and the elector Palatine, an attempt was made to reform them in the most effectual way, by cutting off their provisions. The magistracy immediately dispatched messengers to the emperor, to acquaint him that they were upon the point of being starved to death; and in the mean time the burghers rubbed up their old swords, and assembling in crowds in the alehouses, and other public places of the city, denounced death and vengeance on the elector. The emperor, out of pity, had the interdict taken off; and ever since, the populace have exclaimed, "We have brought the elector to reason: he was apprised of our intended march, and has acted very wisely in not allowing matters to come to extremities!" Precisely in the style of the canaille of London.

A governing burgomaster of Cologne (there are six of them, two of which govern every year) holds nearly the same state as the lord mayor of London. He wears a Roman toga, half black, half purple, a large Spanish hat, Spanish breeches, waistcoat, &c. He has also his lictors, who carry the fasces before him, when he appears in his public character. In the last war, one of our regiments desired to march through the city; but it was opposed, on pretence that the king of Prussia was their liege lord, in his capacity of duke of Cleves, and count of the mark; and they told the colonel, who desired to have the gate opened to him, that they were determined to observe a strict neutrality. It was in vain for him to remonstrate that he was conducting auxiliary troops to the service of the emperor, their sovereign lord. The gates were kept shut, and nothing less than the pleasure of having their houses burned about their ears would content the mob of the place. However, when the canon was planted, and ready to fire, the council thought better of it, and, to the great mortification of the populace, determined to permit the passage. The commandant, as soon as he had got in, immediately made the best of his way to the hall, to remonstrate with the mayor, whom he found, in all the insignia of majesty, on his throne, encompassed with his lictors. As these, however, did not prevent a few remarks from being made, the magistrate immediately drew up, and ordering the lictors to raise the fasces, asked the colonel, "Whether he had a proper conception of the dignity of a Roman burgomaster? Or whether he knew that he represented the majesty of the Roman Cæsars, and had only opened the door to him out of good will?" The officer, who had drawn up his troops, with their bayonets fixed and firelocks primed, in the grand square, and was in full possession of the city, could not abstain from laughing; but as he already had the door in his hand, the only answer he made was, "You are not quite right in your head!"

The want of all police, a want which in this town constitutes the essence of liberty, brings hither from the Upper Rhine, Westphalia, the Imperial Netherlands, France, and Holland, vast numbers of people who choose to live incognito. There are very

good societies to be met with, made up of the better sort of these adventurers, numerous Prussian and imperial officers, the canons belonging to the foundations of the place, some patricians, and Protestant merchants. The brisk navigation, particularly of the Dutch, for which this is the staple, which they dare not pass by, the low price of all the necessaries of life, the neighbourhood of Bonn, the total absence of the insupportable court airs and insolence of the noblesse, which you meet with almost in every other city, the wholesomeness of the air, and the cheerfulness of the inhabitants of the neighbouring electorate and dutchy of Berg, renders this a very agreeable abode to those who wish to mix somewhat of the country with the city life, notwithstanding the disagreeable manners of the majority. This serves the philosophical observer for matter of perpetual remarks, which he cannot make so easily any where else. Indeed all the characters of middling life are here more strongly marked than in any other place I have ever been in.

These morose and heavy people are equally distinguished from the rest of Europe for their religious as well as for their political superstitions.

The republican pride gives a colouring to every thing done here, which cannot but highly interest a friend of humanity, were it only to make him laugh: which, you know was the use which Democritus of Abdera made of his fellow-citizens, to the no small advantage of his lungs.

The superstition of this little London surpasses every thing of the kind you can imagine. They are not contented here with single saints, but must have whole armies of them. A few days since I paid a visit to the church of St. Ursula, where she lays with her eleven thousand virgins. The walls and floor of the church are filled with coffins and bones. Though, as this holy princess lived in the time of the heptarchy, it will be somewhat difficult to conceive how she could get together eleven thousand virgins in her father's dominions; a man who should attempt here to subtract a single one from the number, would run a very great chance of being knocked on the head. Wonderful as this story is in itself, other wonders are brought in confirmation of it. Amongst the rest, there is a monument which has a small coffin enclosed in it, and on which the following words are written: "A natural child was buried in this church with the virgins; but, innocent as he was, they would not suffer him to mix his bones with theirs, but drove him out again, and there was a necessity of burying him above ground." If you are not thoroughly versed in the history of these ladies, you will be, perhaps, glad to hear that authors do not quite agree in their accounts of them. The Italian legendaries, a jealous race of curs, where foreign miracles are concerned, think there is a zero too much in the inscription; others, that the princess had a maid of honour called Undecimilla, who by some blundering monks was changed into eleven thousand. Here also lies interred in a church which bears his name, Saint Gereon, (not Geryon) with twelve hundred or twelve thousand (for they do not stand for a cypher here in reckoning up saints) of his soldiers. One of the three Hermans, who are the subjects of a wretched popular novel, also work wonders upon wonders here. Almost every one of the two hundred churches of this place has some male or female saint belonging to it, on which the monks and beggars live. What delighted me most in this way, were too wooden horses painted white, which are looking out of a window in an old building of the new square. The history of this monument was given me in the following terms: "A wealthy young woman was formerly buried from this house, with very rich ornaments, which the grave-digger having observed, he came in the night to rob the corpse; hardly had the coffin been opened, when the woman stood up, and seizing the lantern, which the astonished grave-digger dropped in his fright, walk-

ed directly home with it; she knocked at the door; the maid came to the window, and asked who was there. Your mistress, answered the other. The girl immediately ran with the message to her master, who not being perhaps pleased to hear that his wife was come back again, cried out, 'It is as impossible for it to be my wife, as for the two horses to come out of the stables, run up into the garrets, and look out of the window.' No sooner said than done; the two nags immediately trotted up stairs, and have remained at the window to this day." The poor man had no remedy but to take back his wife, who lived seven years with him after that, and wove a great quantity of linen, which, together with a set of paintings, exhibiting the whole story, is still to be seen in the neighbouring church. Unfortunately for the story, it is told with precisely the same circumstances in two other parts of Germany; only the Cologne, who are in every thing distinguished from the rest of the sons of men, have added the visible and perpetual monument of the two horses; but this city is very rich in fables of this kind.

It is not here as in the other dark parts of Germany, where small tales only serve for the amusement of the idle; no, no, the Cologne are in downright serious earnest; they consider their country as the special habitation of saints, and the earth itself as holy, and are equally ready to become martyrs for the truth of the propositions, or to make martyrs of any who doubt them.

Their bilious humour leads them to defend the whole with a degree of heat that almost turns their heads: whereas, in the other parts of Germany, there is something romantic in all the stories of the saints, which corresponds with the jovial turn of the people; so every thing of the sort told here is melancholy, cruel, or nonsensical, like the relations.

The priests of the place, especially the monks, carry no better stories than these with them into their pulpits; nay, some of my friends have assured me, that the whole morality of the confessors rests upon them: thus, if a young man comes to confess an affair of gallantry, he is immediately told, "that the devil having caught a young man and a young woman in bed together, wrung off the neck of the one, and plunged the other into a lake nine times hotter than burning pitch." Of all the sermons I heard here, the certain medium by which to judge of the morals of a people, there was only one, by a Carmelite, that was not flat nonsense.

A necessary consequence of all this is, that the manners are more corrupted here than in any other place under the sun. The churches themselves are made places of rendezvous, where every kind of licentiousness is in part agreed upon, and in part carried into effect.

The evening services of the monks are like the evening walks in the suburbs of Vienna, and every alehouse round the place teems with adultery and fornication. If you happen to go into them on a holiday, you will commonly find the visitors in such a state of drunkenness, as exactly reminds you of the old Germans and Scythians.

LETTER LXVIII.

Cologne.

HERETOFORE Cologne counted thirty thousand men bearing arms, and in the twelfth century it stood a siege against the whole empire united. Her commerce was so flourishing, that she was at the head of the Hans cities of the third order. Indeed, when we consider the many circumstances favourable to it, such as the situation on one of the most navigable rivers in the world, the shores of which are covered with inhabitants; the staple, the republican form of government, the admirable roads which con-

nect it with all Germany, and various other circumstances; the greatest wonder of all the wonders of this wonderful city is, how it can possibly have contrived to fall so low: at present it does not contain more than twenty-five thousand souls. Their manufactures are low. Save a single one of tobacco, a few insignificant laces, and the pins which are made by the wives and daughters of the poor people, all spirit of industry is effectually suppressed by monkery, and the dissolution of manners inseparable from it. Those who pass for merchants are only brokers and commissioners for those of Francfort, Nuremburg, Augsburgh, Strasburgh, Switzerland, and other countries. Excepting a few small bankers, there are hardly above ten or twelve houses, that have any thing like a solid commerce; the object of these are drugs, from the sale of which a great deal of money is annually brought into Germany: wine, wrought and unwrought iron from the mines of Nassau, which are the most famous for the production of this metal, after those of Styria and Carinthia; wood from the Upper Rhine, the Maine, and the Necker, and a few other less important articles. The greater part, too, of these very few merchants is made up of French and Italians, who far surpass the natives in understanding, industry, and frugality, and make up their fortunes on this never-failing capital. The most solid commerce of all is in the hands of some dozens of protestants, who can neither obtain the privileges of citizens, nor yet the liberty to serve God in their own way; they go to church at Muhlheim, a pretty town in the palatinate, at six miles distance. Besides the manufactures they are engaged in here, they have concerns in several others in the Prussian territory, and in the palatinate.

When a stranger objects to the people of Cologne, their intolerance towards the most useful part of the inhabitants of their city; when he compares the stupidity, barbarity, debauchery, and poverty of the citizens of the place, with the knowledge, industry, frugality, and riches of the foreigners, they are not at all affected with the justice of these remarks, but turn them to their own advantage in the following manner: "These heretics," say they, "are lost souls; their hearts are wrapt up in worldly possessions, which God vouchsafes them in order to render their damnation the greater. God has evidently reprobated the rich in his holy writ, and their riches are the faggots which in another world will be piled up to burn them!" With opinions like these, which the monks hold forth from every pulpit, it is not to be wondered at, if the third part of the inhabitants of the city are beggars.

The numerous ships which are always to be found in the ports of this city, exhibit the most disgraceful instance of the manners of the people. There is hardly a river in Europe which is navigated so high from its source as the Rhine is in this place; the quay, which is above a mile long, is almost always filled with ships; but the goods on board, which, according to the laws of the staple, should be loaded only on ships belonging to Cologne or Mentz, almost all belong to foreign merchants; of these the Dutch ships are most considerable; they are distinguished by the kind of magnificence and cleanliness peculiar to this people: they are at least one-third longer than our common merchant ships of two masts, and carry from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty tons; they are drawn by horses, and can also occasionally use their sails at the same time; nor, in proportion to their freight, do they want above half the number of horses which are used in the navigation of the Danube from the Ulm to Vienna. The proprietors of these (for a river) immense vessels commonly live on board, even when they are at Amsterdam or Rotterdam; to which last city, unfavourable as their vessels are for a sea navigation, on account of their length, small height and breadth, they often sail through the Texel when the wind is favourable. As long as they lie in this port, they treat their friends with all kinds of foreign wines, and a variety of re-

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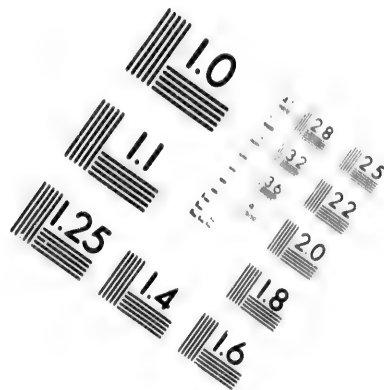
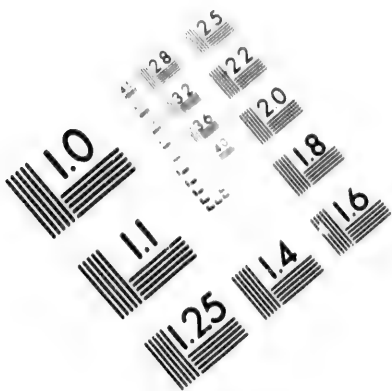
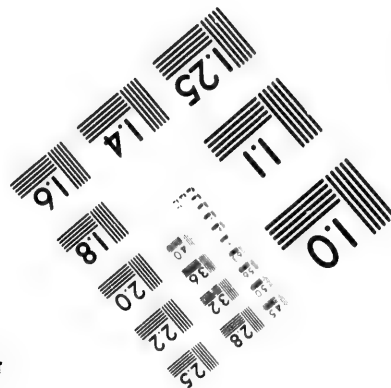
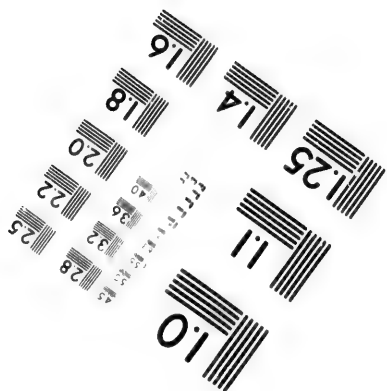
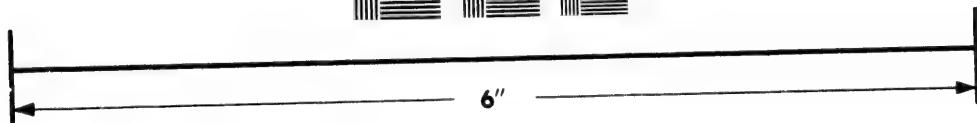
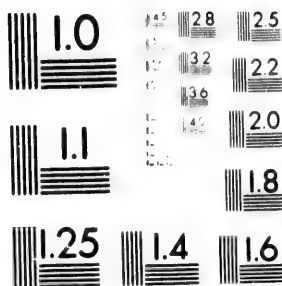


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freshments, after the Dutch manner. I have had many a jolly party in such vessels, where we have danced down the night. The ships of this place, and those from Mentz, which take goods in here for the Upper Rhine, are much smaller than the Dutch ones. Many of these, however, are large enough to load one hundred and twenty tons, or as much as a common two-mast ship. All these ships are built of oak, and according to the principles of ships which go to sea, only with this difference, that their length is greater in proportion to their depth or breadth.

Nothing displays the constitution of the German empire in a better light, than the navigation of the Rhine. Every prince, so far as his domain on the banks reaches, considers the ships that go by as the vessels of foreigners, and loads them, without distinction, with almost intolerable taxes. They do not in the least consider, whether the commodities which pass by are the produce of Germany or other countries, and whether the empire will gain or lose by them. On the contrary, some of the articles exported from Germany, such as wine, wood, &c. have greater taxes laid upon them, in proportion to their intrinsic value, than any foreign ware. Flourishing as the banks of the Rhine now are, they would be still much richer if they belonged only to one master, and were governed according to the principles of a sound policy; as things now are, the exports of the country are visibly cramped by the numerous custom-house duties, so as to make it almost incredible how navigation can be so great as it is.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as Germany was approaching near to the anarchy in which it in fact still continues, the princes of the Rhine, particularly the ecclesiastical ones, either by force or flattery, compelled the emperor to give them so many customs as to make every city a custom-house: originally all the customs belonged to the emperors; but their want of men, money, and other services compelled them to part with most of them to purchase friends. Whilst the anarchy lasted, every one took by force what was not given him by free will; and at the peace, they found means to preserve themselves in the possession of what they had stole. The emperor Albert had the idea of endeavouring to recover them, but he was not sufficiently powerful for the undertaking.

In the small district between Mentz and Coblenz, which, with the windings of the river, hardly make twenty-seven miles, you don't pay less than nine tolls. Between Holland and Coblenz there are at least sixteen. Every one of these seldom produces less than 25,000, and commonly 30,000 guilders a year. In this estimate I do not comprehend a number of articles which pay toll in specie, and make a part of the pay of the toll-gatherers. An old English writer has qualified these tolls of the German princes, which evidently contribute to the ruin of their country, with the name of an incomprehensible fury. It is, indeed, a very different method of proceeding from that of a government, which, instead of putting clogs on the exports of the commodities of the country, gives premiums for them. It likewise often happens, that the temporary revenge of the neighbouring princes, occasioned these unpatriotic tributes to be carried much higher than the settled estimate. When the elector Palatine made it difficult for the city of Mentz to export the corn of his country, the archbishop endeavoured to revenge himself by raising the toll of the grape of the Palatinate, the tobacco, and the other productions. On the other hand the elector palatine had reprisals made by his toll on the Lower Rhine, and revenged himself on the Mentz wines which were carried to Holland. Every species of chicanery, which hostile powers can use towards each other, was made use of on this occasion. The town of Treves possesses the staple privilege on the Moselle; there have been instances of this staple being moved from one place to another, in the same principality, in order to hurt the staples of Mentz and Co-

logne. The elector of Treves took it into his head to move his staple from Treves to Coblenz, where it was far more profitable to himself, but infinitely prejudicial to the navigation on the Rhine, and the exports from Holland. Fortunately the strong opposition he met with from the court of Vienna did not allow him to carry his project into execution. The eternal disputes between these princes has occasioned several congresses, in which our court has been forced to take a part, on account of Alsatia, which suffers infinitely by them. Every thing, however, that was agreed upon, only served for a new bone of contention; and they must be suffered to cuff each other, till some stronger power arise and cuff them all to pieces. A great revolution awaits these countries, when the archduke Maximilian is come to the government of Cologne, and Munster; a revolution by which, happen what may, it is hardly possible that the country should lose.

The present government of the archbishopric of Cologne, and the bishopric of Munster, is without a doubt, the most active, and most enlightened of all the ecclesiastical governments of Germany. The ministry of the court of Bonn is excellently composed; and the bishopric of Munster, besides the effect which their influence has on it, is happy in the patriotism of the several members who compose the assemblies of its states. The ecclesiastics of both the countries are a most striking contrast to those of the city of Cologne, for their great learning, and good manners. The cabinet of Bonn is singularly happy in the establishment of seminaries of education, the improvement of agriculture, and industry, and the extirpation of every species of monkery. The electorate of Cologne is worth about 1,000,000 of Rhenish guilders a year, or about 100,000 pounds, and that of Munster about 1,200,000 guilders. With these two great principalities, the archduke will also have the bishopric of Paderborne, worth about 600,000 guilders, or 6,000 pounds a year. Some persons are of opinion that even this will not be thought sufficient, but that the emperor has so managed his matters, with the chapter of Liege, that, forgetful of its ancient jealousies, it will likewise choose the archduke for its archbishop, on the death of its present incumbent. This bishopric brings in at least 1,200,000 guilders, the greatest part of which, however, like that of Munster, goes into the chest of the states, the lock and keys of which, the prince's fingers are not suffered to touch. The prince with his income as master of the Teutonic order, which amounts to at least 400,000 guilders, will have a revenue of 4,400,000 guilders, which will make him the most powerful ecclesiastical prince in Germany. The sense of this made the Prussian court, whose dominions in Westphalia will be in great jeopardy by this arrangement, make strong remonstrances at Bonn, and Munster against the nomination of a coadjutor, but they were without effect. No doubt, but this elevation of a prince of the house of Austria will be of fatal consequence to the balance of power of the empire. A branch of such a house, propped as it will be with all the power of the Low Countries, and situated amidst a number of small principalities, partly occupied by the creatures of this house, would not only be very formidable to the greatest part of the empire, but also, under peculiar circumstances to Holland itself. It would be able, especially if supported by some subsidies from Vienna, to keep on foot an army of 20,000 men, to which if the imperial troops in the Netherlands were to be joined, there would be an army of near 60,000 ready to spread terror and desolation far and near. In former times a bishop of Munster alone had it in his power to make Holland tremble.

LETTER LXIX.

Amsterdam.

I HAD intended to go from Cologne to Holland by the Rhine, and promised myself great pleasure from the journey, but the king of Prussia forbade the sport; he suffers nobody to go by water through the territory of Cleves, in order not to hurt his posts by land, which are formed. You are obliged to take the posts on the frontiers, or at least to pay certain taxes, if you have a carriage of your own. "This," said I to some sailors of Rotterdam who told me of it, "this," said I, "is against the law of nature, against the law of nations, against the law of hospitality, and against all the laws in the world." "We have known that," answered they, "long ago."

As being prevented from going by water, I determined to see as much of the country as was possible by land, and for this purpose partly on horseback, partly on foot, and partly in the carriages of the country, I wandered over the several parts of Westphalia belonging to the king of Prussia and the elector Palatine, entirely indifferent where the visit shall carry me, and following only the direction of my nose.

The reward however was well worth the trouble I took for it, for the degree of cultivation and riches far exceeded all ideas I had formed of them, and quite astonished me. All the cities and villages abounded in trades people. Muhlheim, Elberfeld, Solingen, Sorst, Ham, Duisburg, Meurs, Wesel, Cleve, and some other cities have capital manufactures in them. They make a great number of linens and woollens, supply almost all the country of the Upper Rhine, Suabia, and Franconia, with white threads: they have besides manufactures of handkerchiefs, silks, and cottons; they prepare steel and iron at Solingen, better than in any other part of Europe, England alone excepted. Their commerce extends all over the Netherlands, part of Franconia, and the whole empire.

This wonderful industry, united to the natural fertility of the country, renders this one of the richest, and most remarkable parts of Germany; a gentle administration, and a security against despotism, derived from the states of the country, contribute not a little to the happiness which obtains. The inhabitants are cheerful, hospitable, and well mannered; they may be quoted as a new instance to be added to the numberless ones I have already given, of the little influence which religion has over the civil condition of men, when not attended with other local circumstances. Though the protestants in this circle are far from being so enlightened, or so tolerant, as those of their persuasions in other countries, and though they are much more addicted to sensual enjoyments than their brethren of other places, they are, notwithstanding, the most industrious people, and the best subjects that can be found; nor does the bigotry of the Catholics hurt the manufacture and agriculture of the country, their education only directing it to such objects, as have no connection with manners, or civil society. Every thing therefore in my opinion depends upon the habits amidst the which men grow up. When once industry is habitual to a people, the most abject superstitions will have no influence on their temporal felicity; the priests themselves will render their sermons conformable to the manners of the country, nor will the monkish theorists themselves be able to overturn them. There are as many legends in this country, as in Cologne, nor are the people less fond of processions and pilgrimages, and yet they are infinitely more industrious, more frugal, and more wealthy than at Cologne. It is neither therefore the fault of the religion, or superstition, but of the government alone, that the people of Cologne are so debauched, and that the priests of the place openly recommend debauchery, as a loose education has made their religion prejudicial to them. The corporation system, which

more activity and cleverness would have made a blessing to the country, is become the curse of it. In a word, police, government, and executive justice are subject under a weak administration to the same abuses as government, nor is it the religion itself, but the abuses of it, which make it ever prejudicial to the state.

The upper part of Westphalia, which lies at a greater distance from the Rhine, is not so well cultivated, and by nature much less productive, than the country I am now speaking of: it is occupied by many heaths, and morasses, which for the most part produce only turf, and in the better places dyers wood. Some parts of the country, such as part of the dutchy of Minden, and marquise of Tecklenburgh, are remarkably well peopled, but this is compensated by the striking depopulation of some others; many parts for instance, of the bishoprics of Munster, Osnaburg, and Paderborn, the marquise of Beithlein, and some domains in the electorate of Hanover. With all this, this part of Westphalia is the proper country of hemp and flax, which are some of the richest products of this country. The greatest part of the hemp and flax, which is manufactured in the parts of Westphalia about the Rhine, Holland, the Austrian Netherlands, and the French Netherlands, comes from this part of the country. Besides this, there is a great part exported raw to England, Spain, Portugal, and America. Though these productions are found in great plenty in the other parts of Germany, particularly in the electorate of Hanover, the circle of Lower Saxony, Hesse, Waldeck, and Fulde, I question much, whether all the flax and hemp of the other parts of Germany, taken together, are equivalent to the quantity found here. According to the estimate of an intelligent friend of mine who lives at Munster, the annual exports of raw and spun flax and hemp, out of the single circle of Westphalia, amount to 5,000,000 of Rhenish guilders. I do not take into this account, the numerous manufactories of these materials, which are consumed in the parts of the circle of Westphalia, about the Rhine. All the flax and hemp, raw and worked, exported out of all Westphalia, taken together, must at least be estimated at 7,000,000 of guilders, or 700,000 pounds. The finest flax and hemp grows in the territory of Bielefeld and Keroost. It almost resembles silk.

When you go out of Westphalia, and enter the territory of Holland, it appears to you as going out of a pig-sty into a fine garden. The country round Nimeguen especially is a striking contrast to what you see in Westphalia. I shall say nothing to you of the magnificence, symmetry, and cleanliness of the Dutch cities, nor of the numerous and expensive canals, the sides of which are for the most part planted with fine rows of trees, nor of the numerous gardens. There are descriptions of all these things in abundance. This magnificence, however, and regularity is tiresome in the end. I at least cannot stand the tedious uniformity of this country and its inhabitants. All the cities, villages, roads, and canals, are so similar, that they appear copies of the self-same individual picture. The country indeed is only made to take a walk through; and, without business, no man of taste will stay in it long. With respect to real value also, it is only a frogged out beggar parading about in a rich gown which he has stolen. The Palatinate, which is not more than one-fifth of Holland, is of infinitely more natural value.

The inhabitants, likewise, taken in general, are only well dressed beggars; their riches do not belong to them, for they enjoy them not; they are only the guardians of their money. When you are invited to dinner by a man of middling rank, the magnificence of the dishes, the cleanliness of the room you dine in, and the expensiveness of the furniture, make you expect a princely meal; but when dishes are set on, you find no more, nor less, than you would have at the table of a good Westphalia peasant. All the merchants pass the whole week in their counting-houses, where they gorge themselves

with tea. They are so intent upon their business, and so entirely taken up with their speculations, that you may push their guts out almost without disturbing them. On Saturdays they go to their expensive gardens, where they spend the whole of the Sunday, and enjoy themselves just as they do in their counting-houses. I had occasion to visit one of them in his garden; he was taken up all the afternoon, in gathering sallad for his supper. Another shut himself up, and spent the whole Sunday in killing flies in his summer-house. These and smoking tobacco, are their common amusements in their hours of recreation. When they are in company, they sit as if they were pinned to their chairs, gape at each other, and every quarter of an hour converse on the news of the day, which, of all the news published in Europe, is the most piteous. This is the quintessence of political nonsense; and their ecclesiastics, who, to the shame of the reformation, are greater monks than the German capuchins, will give you the quintessence of the spiritual. Were it not for the strangers, especially the officers, and some of the nobility who have been polished by their voyages, there would not be a tolerable society to be met with throughout all Holland.

Their government, and police, is as extraordinary as the country, and every thing bears a tint of the inconvertible melancholy and niggardly humour of the natives. It is received as a common opinion here, that no dish of fish, which you know is the most ordinary produce of the country, is brought to table, which has not been paid for once to the seller, and six times to the state. The spirit of the inhabitants, which revolts at every idea of sacrifice to the public good, compels the magistrate to lay these heavy imposts upon the first necessities of life. It is these heavy charges, as well as the astonishing tranquility of the inhabitants, which are the causes of the miserable living of this country. I will only give you one specimen of their police, which is extraordinary enough. A stranger, who knows nothing of laws, and the customs of the country, happens to send his servant to a wine-merchant to buy a bottle of wine; the merchant gives it the man, without telling him a word of his danger; the servant carries the bottle home in his open hand; he is met by a constable, and asked where he bought it, which the other tells without difficulty; but no sooner has he done so, than he is arrested, and, in due process of time, tried, and banished the country. Thus the poor servant alone suffers, and neither the master who sent him, nor the merchant who sold the wine in retail, which according to law, ought only to have been done by those who keep taverns, are at all punished.

LETTER LXX.

Amsterdam.

THIS, dear brother, according to the generally received opinion, frogs-stolen country is originally nothing more than sand, brought down by the Rhine from Switzerland, and the upper parts of Germany; and sea mud, which the north and west winds have caused the waves to bring up. There is in no part of it any solid earth; and as early as on the borders of the dutchy of Cleves, you find the most evident marks of this country's having been formed like the Egyptian Delta, with this difference only, that the Nile yields a most fruitful soil; whereas the Rhine carries nothing with it but a hard sand. Parts of Brabant and Flanders have been formed in like manner by the Scheld, the Maese, and some other rivers: there are notorious proofs of this. At a great distance from the coast, in Flanders, you find under the good earth, dry sand, and under this again, large layers of good earth, as if the rivers and sea had by turns, deposited their sands and their mud. The whole coast of Germany is of the same kind, as far as

the Elbe; throughout all this district there is no solid ground; and as to the rocks and hills, nobody thinks of them.

The sea forms boundaries to herself, which she never passes, but in cases of extreme necessity. Her playful waves have made the downs which reach from Calais to the Texel, and which protect the land, which is in some case lower than the horizontal surface of the sea, from her devastations; but, when a north or north-west wind turns her from her natural good humour, into a fit of anger, she overthrows in an instant, what, with the help of the neighbouring rivers, she has been building for many centuries.

Even in the time of the Romans, the Y, which reaches from Amsterdam to the Texel, was still solid land, watered to the east by the Yssel, and to the west, as some imagine, by the Rhine. In some tempest, the sea demolished the downs, which extend from the northern coast of Friesland, to the country of the Texel; the rivers, in the mean time, having extended their mouths in the sand, which was their works, there came at length an extraordinary flood, which raised the rivers, and united with them to destroy the whole country. Since that time, but particularly since the independence of the country, it has been the constant care to re-unite these small strips of land, which the flood left behind it, with the solid land. These strips are commonly only sand banks, some of which have been fenced with dykes, and joined to North Holland; others are embanking every day, as every strip of land, let it be ever so barren, is of infinite value to the inhabitants. A similar process has taken place betwixt Groningen and East Friesland, by the mouth of the Ems. The great bay of Dollar was originally formed by a powerful flood, since which, a great part of the sea swamp has been dammed in, and wonderfully cultivated. But as fast as they recover land on one side, the sea revenges itself by spreading on the other. The sea of Haerlem grows wider every day, and threatens to break the dykes betwixt Leyden and Haerlem, and make a perfect island of North Holland. In the last century the sea demolished a great part of the island in which Dordrecht is situated, and sixty thousand men perished by this accident.

Dreadful as the sea is to the main land of the Republic, she is still a more formidable enemy to the islands which constitute the province of Zealand; but what she executes on the continent by violent storms, she undertakes here by craft and cunning: most of these islands are lower than the surface of the sea; the inhabitants have in consequence attempted to secure themselves by very expensive dykes; these dykes consist of large trees, which are joined together with large needles to prevent the kakerlak.

The sea is perpetually undermining them, and washing the earth away from them by degrees; in many places they are already quite naked. This compels the inhabitants to build other walls behind their dams, which, expecting the same fate, must in time leave the whole at the mercy of their enemy.

Nor are the inhabitants of the middle of the country in a better situation. The territories about Nimeguen and Arnhem, the most beautiful and most fruitful in all Holland, will in time be subdued by the Rhine. As it deposits immense sand banks in the middle of the country, in time it will be restrained by them in its course, and compelled to open itself new ways. In many districts about Betuwe, the sand is already so high, that at every swell the river is driven with a terrible hurricane to the opposite shore; this will happen till it has infinitely broke itself a new bed, and covered with its waters all that is now ploughed land, or the site of villages and hamlets. *Nunc Rhenus est ubi Troja fuit.* The many canals which have been made to receive part of the waters of these rivers, are by no means sufficient to break their force. Their sand, particularly that of the Maese, accumulates at their mouths and stops them up; nor does the di-

vision of the waters serve for any other purpose, than to compel them the more, in process of time, to overflow the middle of the country, for want of having sufficient strength to maintain their old mouths.

These canals, and the abundant diggings of turf, entirely divest this country, which is the sport of the Rhine, the Maese, and the sea, of all security. In the direct line betwixt Rotterdam and Amsterdam, there is dyke upon dyke; all these hollows have been occasioned by the digging of the turf; most of them are so deep, that it is impossible to draw the waters of them into the canals, which are on a level with the surface of the sea. What a ruin will take place, if once the waters of the neighbouring rivers break in upon them, or endeavour to open a way through them! In short, no Dutchman can promise his children a durable habitation, save only the inhabitants of Guelderland, which is nothing but sand, and those of Over-Yssel and Drenthe, countries which are almost nothing but morasses and heaths, and throughout the habitations of colds, catarrhs, and fevers.

Turn we our eyes from the physical situation of the country to its present political one, which is much worse.

Many superficial writers of the history of Holland have observed, that the republic was too young, and its constitution not sufficiently firm and solid; but this opinion has been controverted by a whole herd of Dutch writers, who have brought the brilliant parts of their history to shew, how little their constitution had stood in the way of their united exertions. The event, however, has contradicted all the nonsense hitherto written on the subject. The brilliant actions performed by the ancestors of these men, were, in part, the effect of a patriotic enthusiasm, which neither is, nor, by the nature of things, can be, of long duration in a republic entirely commercial, and partly arose from the benevolent and personal influence of a demi-god of the house of Nassau. Their operations were never the result of a solid constitution, which keeps bodies in a regular degree of heat, and makes them act with uniformity and alacrity. Even in the course of the war, in which the republic figured amongst the first powers of Europe, it frequently experienced, that the different members of the body were not well compacted and connected together.

The enthusiasm of the inhabitants, the pressure of circumstances, and the astonishing activity of some princes of Holland, could do wonders, and raise the republic above itself, so long as the other powers of Europe were not entirely formed, and did not know the whole of their strength; but since these times, the latter have taken uncommonly large strides, and the republic has gone back, as it must continue to do, for want of a sufficient degree of internal strength. In those wars, in which the force of the republic shone so bright at sea, there was no naval power of Europe which possessed above thirty ships of the line; the greatest force the English could oppose, consisted of twenty, and in the most bloody engagements betwixt the two nations, there were hardly ever more than twelve or sixteen on a side; the fleets were, for the most part, made up of frigates, and other lesser craft.

These times are now long gone by; Great Britain has a hundred and four ships of the line, besides frigates. If by exorbitant taxes, the republic could even build a formidable navy, it would be impossible for it ever to man them. According to the lists of the admiralty, there are to be sixty ships of the line, with a proportionable number of frigates, ready for the service of the ensuing year; but at this very moment, that they have but sixteen ships, there is a cry for sailors in every corner. The pay, it is true, has been doubled, and projects have been given in to make use of part of the land troops in

the sea service; go, however, where you will, you meet with nothing but sailors, who express their abhorrence and detestation of the service.

Far from its being able to shine as a first-rate power, it will be necessary for the republic to exert every nerve, if it means to hold rank even amongst the second order of naval powers in Europe. In order to do this, the inhabitants must become patriotic enough to contribute largely, even in time of peace, to the necessities of the state, which is as poor as they are rich. The India company, whose administration is still more miserable than that of the English, and which, incredible as it is, is loaded with debt by the robbery of its servants, and the interestedness of the proprietors, must be entirely suppressed, and its possessions governed by the republic; the land troops, a miserable jest upon armies, and of which the Swiss and Dutch alone deserve the name of soldiers, must be entirely disbanded, and their immense pay employed in the service of the navy. When all this is done, possibly the state may be in a situation to keep up a constant navy of fifty or sixty ships of the line; but in the present state of things, even if the fifty or sixty ships that are promised could be got ready, the best thing that could be done with them, would be to sell them directly to the neighbouring power of Europe, which would give most; the republic itself has neither strength enough to keep them manned and in a state of service for a course of years, nor good will and power enough to preserve them at the end of the war; they must of course rot again in a short time. As the republic has made conquests abroad, the defence of which, in the present times, far surpasses her power, she has the good will and jealousy of her neighbours to thank for still continuing in possession of them.

But small as the resources of the republic appear to be, when considered with regard to the present political system of Europe, the constitution of the country does not allow her to make all the use of them they might be put to. Not only abroad, but in Holland itself, the republic passes for a confederacy of seven, or, taking in the country of Drenthe, of eight sovereigns. Nothing can be false than this estimate; there are a greater number of independent states in Holland than in Switzerland, or the whole German empire; and whatever appearances may speak the contrary, the bond of union is much stronger in these last countries than it is in Holland. Every city, every country of this republic is a free state; the members of every province should indeed be only the representatives of the states of a country, as they formerly were; but they are in fact become true states, according to their titles. The states general are no representatives of seven or eight sovereigns, but only the results of the deliberations of many states, which are united by a special bond, and call themselves a province. The cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Leyden, and many others, have, during this war, not only very frequently forgot the provincial judicature, which, with the other states of the province, they have erected as a kind of congress, but have behaved as if they were in every respect independent; I say, as a kind of congress, for that they are no superior tribunal, but only the members of a congress, who, in particular cases, possess the highest authority, is evident from several affairs having been removed from this judicature to the particular ones of each city. All the tribunals of Holland must be looked upon as congresses of different sovereigns, who can disunite at pleasure. Even the council of war, pre-eminent and important as it is, is of the same kind. The districts of Ostergo, Westergo, the Seven Woods in Friesland, &c. although only properly bailiwicks, are at this instant occupied in separating entirely from the provincial assembly, and erecting their own tribunals, en dernier resort, among themselves. In several representations which they have made to the stadholder in their own names, and without the participation or ad-

ice of the other states of the country they directly call themselves sovereigns. The assemblies of the states-general themselves are nothing less than a body representing one independent sovereign. The members of it, though constantly together, are no more than ambassadors for the moment, who must inform their respective provinces of every event that falls out, and direct their deliberations by the wisdom of the multitude in these.

Immense as the anarchy appears in the contexture of the whole, it is still greater in each single state and district. There the collision of opposite interests, the variety of spirits and humours, and the clownish stupidity of the common burghers, allow the demagogues to make their advantage of every thing that falls out. Each particular government is the theatre of ever-contending factions, the heads of which have no thought whatever but of their own private interest. This war has furnished innumerable instances of protection afforded by faction to the greatest criminals. Here, in Amsterdam, there are four or five houses, who can do exactly what they please; whilst the public is deluded by false news, venal journalists, and every species of political deception. In proportion as the one city gets more from England, or the other more from France, they become entirely French or English, without any attention whatever to the well-being of the whole. The interest of those cities which subsist by navigation is altogether different from that of those on the main land, which depend only on agriculture and industry. As the nobility look entirely to the stadtholder for advancement, for the same reason the burghers are constantly united against him, and so the war betwixt them is endless. The consciousness of the disadvantages which the state must suffer from these controversies, in cases where concord and activity are necessary, are the reasons why the Dutch have never been able to do without the stadtholdership, as they have frequently wished to do; but though they have got it, the evil genius of the republic has always contrived to render it of no use in those very cases where it was calculated to do the most good. As in time of war the spirits of men are most heated, and people are apt to see things in the false lights in which their own passions or the gloss of faction represent them; it has always happened, that the time pitched upon to curb the power of the stadtholder, has been that in which alone the extension of the dictatorial power might have been of service to the country; the consequence is, that the republic bears all the burthen, without enjoying any of the conveniences of the office. It is absolutely ridiculous to hear and to read all the reproaches which are made to the stadtholderate, entirely arising from foolish suspicions, or the false reports of interested demagogues. Were the people cool enough to see things in the right point of view, there are several physical and moral considerations fully sufficient to make them easy, exclusive of the personal qualities of the present stadtholder. At one time he is reproached with his secret understanding with the court of St. James's; at another, they suppose that he wants the absolute dominion over his country. It is certain, that the prince wishes to be upon good terms with England; but he is not therefore a traitor to the country from which he derives the greatest part of his support: his wishes in this respect were such as the best interests of the republic dictated, and his object was to put it in a situation to preserve the neutrality; but the people were deaf to all his representations, and he has been compelled to expiate the sins of others; the consequences of which he would, had it been possible, have prevented. Long before the breach, he represented to the states general the urgent necessity there was for them to increase their forces by sea and land; but his remonstrances were vain, and the only effect produced by them has been, that now ill-disposed persons revenge themselves on him and the duke of Brunswick, who has done the ungrateful republic special service, for the good advice they gave. They

are the martyrs of truth; and by what means can the prince possess himself of the government of the republic? With twenty-eight thousand of the wretchedest soldiers in the world, who, if you except the nine thousand Swiss and Germans, are not equal to the taking of Amsterdam. And supposing him to get all Holland, what would he be the better for it when he had done? France, England, and even the Dutch East-India company, would take care to prevent him from possessing himself of any part of the foreign dominions. The rich, too, would leave a land in which there was no longer any liberty, according to their notions of it, and betake themselves to England or America; the arts and industry would of course soon follow, and the prince would not have enough left to defend himself against the sea, the rivers, and the frogs.

The jealousy which the natives entertain for the numerous German princes and nobles, which were employed by the prince and his right hand the duke of Brunswick, in the army, contributed much, no doubt, to lessen his authority; but without these strangers the land service could not have been put upon a respectable footing. As to the natives, the factions which eternally subsist among them stand in the way of all subordination, regularity, and military discipline; every stripling belonging to a demagogue of Amsterdam or Rotterdam considers himself as a particle of the sovereignty: it would furnish endless food for satire, to recount how many irregularities in the service arise from this single cause. Even on the Swiss, who are so averse to any kind of nobility, this treatment of the prince and the duke has no good effect.

The evil, however, which really undermines the stadtholdership, lies much deeper. It is the same which brought Charles to the block and Cromwell to the protectorate; which raised the Whigs, and was so long the object of Swift's satire. It is generally imagined, that it was the American revolution which raised the republican spirit which so suddenly possessed the Dutch; but it had long been in them, and only slept till awakened by the present war. The reformed, whose opinions are so favourable to democracy, and the Memnonites, who publicly preach the equality of mankind, but treat all who stand in their way without pity, are the real instruments which oppress the stadtholder. These enthusiasts are without comparison the richest people in the republic; they are also the most numerous part of the inhabitants of some of the greatest cities, for instance, of Haerlem. The sums which these advocates for the natural equality of mankind have lent out for many years past at six, eight, and even ten per cent. to the poor nobility, have made the latter entirely dependant upon them. The consequence of this is, that though their religious opinions will not allow them to take any part in the government of the state, their secret influence is inexpressibly great. These hypocrites, who consider it as a sin to wear metal buckles or buttons, but will use every species of meanness to fill their purses with the ducats of honest men, have usurped such a power, as to threaten the very near downfall of the stadtholder, the only bond of union which subsists in the republic. The heads of the Dutch mob are filled with every kind of nonsense which these pretended saints can suggest. As they knew that the stadtholder was too forgiving, too good-hearted, and, if the truth be told, had too little experience to make head against a mob himself; the first thing they did was to procure the banishment of the acute, determined, and stubborn duke of Brunswick. His ruin was the prelude to the ruin of the stadtholder, whom nothing can possibly save but a speedy peace, which will reduce these republicans to their former inactivity.

It is enough; this war has shewn the republic to Europe in all her nakedness; it has been made evident, that she has no solid constitution, nor, as the rest of the European powers now stand, strength enough to make her respectable as a friend, or formidable as an enemy. For four-score years she was entirely forgot. During this period, the ava-

rice of individuals stifled every idea, both of her former power and the public good. Her neighbours, in the mean time, acquired great strength; at length the English gave her a kick on the breech, and waked her out of her sleep: when she had opened her eyes and seen how far she was gone backwards, she strove to make amends for her negligence; but all her efforts were little better than grimaces, and only exposed her to the derision of the world.

LETTER LXXI.

Ostend.

SINCE this town has been made a free port, the trade of it has very much increased; it is, however, much to be feared, that after the war it will relapse into its former insignificance. All the English, who are here, cry out on the dangerous entrance into the haven, by stormy north north-west and westerly winds, the narrow basin, and the want of many other conveniences.

The situation of Antwerp would have been much more advantageous for the advancement of trade, but the Dutch have locked up the mouth of the Scheld. Their forts not only govern the river, as they should do according to treaty, but they have literally stopped up the mouth of it. Sunken ships filled with stones, immense dykes of stone, pallsadoes, and other things of the kind, barely leave room enough for small boats to go by. Twenty millions of guilders would not be enough, in twenty years, to remove the impediments which the Dutch have laid in the way of the trade of Antwerp.

There is no want of gold in Brabant and Flanders. Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent, and Bruges, are still filled with the treasures which were amassed, when these towns were what England and Holland now are. The burgesses of these cities have a share in all the great undertakings, and loans of the neighbouring nations. Their commerce of exchange is immense, probably insurance is not so safe among the Dutch themselves as it is here. Antwerp is one of the most famous places of insurance in the world. In the last Bavarian war, the court of Vienna, having determined to raise a loan in these countries, were astonished at the quickness with which the money was raised; but the inhabitants of Ghent and Antwerp let the regency know, that if there was occasion for three or four times as much, it would be as easily procured. Ever since that time the court seems to know the value of its possessions in the Netherlands.

Notwithstanding this, the industry in these countries is upon the whole very different from what it was. The heirs of those treasurers, which were accumulated between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, endeavour to make money of them in the easiest way; nor is their way of living calculated to improve them to the utmost. They are the most extraordinary compound of slothfulness and industry, stupidity and acuteness, activity and cowardliness, goodness of heart and treachery, that can well be conceived. An Englishman once said of them, "They have the impudence of the French, without their pleasantry; the pride and bigotry of the Spaniards, without their sense of honour; the ferocity and harshness of the Dutch, without their punctuality; the debauchery of the Germans, without their integrity; and as to their bodies, they are blocks, from which the carver attempted to make Englishmen, but could not cut them out." The picture is in general just, as these inhabitants of the Netherlands are an assemblage of all these nations. But what they are most conspicuous for, is want of honour. You must have agreements in writing in all the common transactions of life. You are in danger of being first overcharged, and then carried into a court of justice by every

workman of whom you bespeak a piece of work, if you do not put down your agreement in black and white.

With respect to their bodies, they, and the Saxons, are the most like the Germans described by Tacitus: their bodies are of a very unwieldy make, and *ad impetum valida*. What, too, Tacitus says of the old Germans, that they can bear neither hunger, nor thirst, nor heat, nor cold, nor yet any long work, is true of them. In the imperial armies they are accounted good partisans, but are never put to regular service without extreme necessity. They have an extreme abhorrence of discipline, and look upon it as a severe punishment to be subject to the rules of the service. If their robberies and maraudings are not overlooked they do not last a campaign. In short, it is only in action that they shew themselves at all soldiers.

Spain, Italy, and Portugal excepted, there is no country so overloaded with monks as the Austrian Netherlands: there are in many towns forty or fifty convents; several prelatures are worth 200,000 guilders, 2000*l.* per ann. If you divide the income of the country into four parts, one will be found to belong to the priesthood, one to the nobility, one to the sovereign, and one to the people. The bigotry and intolerance of the inhabitants is beyond all description, and is a marvellous contrast to the corruption of their manners.

The nobility of this country are extremely rich, and live in a very high style. Brussels is one of the most beautiful and most brilliant cities in Europe. It has lost a great deal by the death of prince Charles, who spent 700,000 guilders a year in the city, and whose loss has not been made up for, by the economical duke of Saxe-Teschen. I have not seen any where a finer place than the large market-place of this city; all the houses in it are built in a style and with a degree of magnificence that you hardly see any where out of Italy. You meet here with excellent company, who are not difficult of access to a stranger. There are several clubs, after the manner of the English, where you find the greatest freedom of good humour. One of the best of these consists of the duke of Arenberg, Mr. Hopp, the Dutch minister (a man in general esteem on account of his knowledge and good qualities) our minister, some of the nobility of the place, and some English. No man can become a member but by ballot. The room in which they meet commands a very fine view of the public walks, on one side of which it stands. The club meets twice a week: a member has the privilege of introducing strangers, almost without any difficulty. Linguet was a member of this club. The subscription is four louis-d'ors each member, for five months; for this they have a sumptuous table; the wine is paid for separate. There are several other lesser associations of this kind in Brussels; nor have I met with a place in which this appendage of refined life and manners was better understood than it is here. Since the English have come so much to Ostend, and the court of Vienna has flattered them with the hopes of making a peace for them, every thing in Brussels is become English; they ride, play, hunt, and eat, à l'Angloise, and all the societies are become clubs. The town at least has lost nothing by this.

The duke of Saxe-Teschen, the governor, lives very quietly with his wife; he shews himself not to be a lover of large companies or expence, notwithstanding that he has an income of 4,000,000 imperial guilders, or 40,000*l.* per annum. The arch-duchess seldom shews herself with the externals of imperial magnificence; her principles on this point are much the same as those of her husband; her favourite amusement is hunting; there are few persons that are better hands at shooting flying than she is; she has had a wonderful education, as well as her other sisters. Her husband too does honour to the imperial court by his principles of government.

There is no province in the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, the states of which have preserved a degree of respect equal to that which those of the Netherlands still possess; I imagine that it is the affluence in which the burgesses live that has made them preserve sentiments of liberty, which you look for in vain in Hungary; then their interests have rendered nobility entirely dependant on the court; the want of large cities too must have very much lightened the trouble of the imperial court, when it found itself compelled to undermine the privileges of the states of Hungary. Even in Lombardy, the power of the nobility proved a weak dam against the power of the court. But this power the common burghers are at all times interested in lessening, as they have more to give and less to expect from the court than the other members of the state. The distance of the imperial residence, and the example of Holland, which the court of Vienna has perpetually before its eyes, will no doubt have contributed something towards keeping up the old constitution of this country.

Singular are the events which take place in this earth of ours. The revolution which made Holland a free commonwealth, broke out in the Austrian Netherlands. Whilst every thing here was already in motion, the Dutch thought not in the least of making themselves free. Nor would they ever have been so by their own exertions, as even in the earliest times of the republic they announced the slothfulness which still renders them remarkable. It was only such a singular genius as the prince of Orange, who could have secured them the freedom which they seemed to have no desire of for themselves. But see how matters have ended; religion took the present provinces of Austria from an undertaking to which they had first laid their hands, and now they are made use of to oppress Holland. What a contradiction!

LETTER LXXII.

Ostend.

TO-MORROW, brother, I shall sail for England; but before I go, permit me to take one general review of the whole.

Germany, taking in Silesia, is at least one fifth larger than France. It contains about twelve thousand square miles. The soil is different, in different parts. A great part of it however is productive to a degree which, France and Italy only excepted, is not to be found in any other country in our part of the world. The immense masses of rock in the southern parts of the circles of Austria and Bavaria, and the sands of the north, which almost comprehend the whole circles of Lower Saxony, Brandenburg, Pomerania, the Lausitz, and the north of Westphalia, are not, it is true, capable of such cultivation as the upper parts of Germany; but this would be a great advantage if once the interests of the whole were common. The mountains of the South contain almost every kind of metal in prodigious quantities, and in the greatest perfection, and the sandy places of the North, together with the best wood for building ships, furnish hemp, flax, and wool, in great abundance.

Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, the archduchy of Austria, Bavaria, Suabia, the countries about the Rhine, the Austrian Netherlands, and those parts of the circle of Upper Saxony, which are not in the possession of the king of Prussia, produce corn, cattle, wine, and all the first necessaries of life, in such plenty as not only to be sufficient for the supply of all Germany, but even for great exportations. In a word, Germany is the only country in Europe, which is independent of all the world, for a supply of all the necessaries and conveniences which a large and flourishing state requires, or which a great power stands in need of for its defence. France is deficient in wood, cattle (par-

ticularly horses) the most necessary metals, and linen; and Russia is obliged to import wine, wood, horses for hard service, and various other articles; but Germany has every thing which these two very rich, and in many respects very different countries produce, and a great superfluity of what they want besides.

The last mentioned and best provinces of Germany, contain about six thousand four hundred square miles. To judge of the population you must reckon two thousand five hundred men for every square mile; at least a variety of different estimates agree in this; and if Bavaria, Hesse, and some other countries fall somewhat below this calculation; others, as Austria, Wirtemberg, the Netherlands, and different parts of the circle of Upper Saxony, go beyond it. This part of Germany contains also about sixteen millions of inhabitants.

The other part contains about five thousand six hundred square miles. It is difficult to estimate the population of this part. Some countries, as for instance Upper Austria, have two thousand souls in every square mile. Magdeburgh, Halberstadt, Minden, Brunswick, Hildesheim, and many others have two thousand five hundred. On the other hand, the Hanoverian dominions, Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Mecklenburgh, and many others, have not more than one thousand men in every square mile. It is my opinion that in order to estimate the population of this part of Germany, you must reckon one thousand seven hundred men, for every square mile, which will give nine millions five hundred thousand for this part, and make the whole twenty-five millions five hundred thousand. In his treatise *de la Litterature Alemande*, the king of Prussia reckons twenty-six millions for the whole country, an estimate which appears to me to come nearest to the truth. The manifesto which the empress of Russia presented to the court of Vienna, on account of the last disturbances about Bavaria, contains these remarkable words. "It is the business of all the powers of Europe to see that the balance of Germany be not disturbed, for if it be, the strength of the country and its situation will enable it to disturb the peace of all Europe." This is an undeniable truth; France and Italy are the only countries which can vie with Germany in population.

This extensive country has not yet nearly arrived at the degree of cultivation of which it is capable, not even at that of France. The peace of Hubertsburgh, is the æra of its cultivation; agriculture and industry have been universal ever since that period.

Germany has taken much larger and quicker strides to cultivation than any other European power. It at once exerted all its strength to fill up the gaps which had been made in it by the destructive war of thirty years. The very partition of the country into so many states, prejudicial as it is to the exertion of power for the purpose of foreign conquests, has been of advantage to the internal cultivation. At present the first princes in Germany contend with each other who shall make the best improvements in the administration of justice, in education, and police, and who shall do most for the promotion of industry and commerce, with as much eagerness, as they formerly contended who should be foremost in pomp and idle magnificence. No where is there so thorough a conviction of the value of men and their different occupations, and no where is there so great a stir made to improve them for the advantage of the whole as in Germany. With respect to legislation and the true interests of a country, there has been a benevolent light spread in most parts of this empire, which does not only, as in France, point out the gaps, but encourages the princes and their servants to fill them up. Without a doubt, Germany, as well as the rest of Europe, is much indebted to the king of Prussia, the first practical philosopher, who, in modern times, has been seen on the throne. It was he who began the glorious revolution, which has made such changes in Germany during the last twenty years; he taught his neigh-

bours that the interest of princes and their subjects are the same; he began to take off the veil which was thrown over administration; finally, he subdued the little tyrants amongst the priests and nobility, who fattened on the substance of the citizen and peasant. Military as his government may appear to you superficial observers, it is to this military government, and the imitations of it in other countries, that Germany is indebted for a peace of twenty years, which she had not known for many centuries before, and in the course of which she first began to feel what she really was. Perfect legislation, without a doubt, is the summit of all human attainments; she alone can make us happy; she alone produces sociable men, and estimates the value of them; and how proud ought not Germany to be of Frederick, Joseph and Catharine, three legislative geniuses existing together at the same period, the like to whom many centuries seldom produce one.

The peculiar turn of the Germans seems to be for philosophy; they are distinguished from all the nations in Europe, for cool and just judgments, united with extreme industry; they were the first who threw a light on mathematics and general physics; next they darted through theology, then history, and finally legislation, with the same philosophical spirit. They will do well to leave to other nations the prize of wit, for which they will always contend in vain.

If Germany could make itself one great people; if it was united under one governor; if the interests of a single prince were not often in opposition to the good of the whole; if all the members were so well compacted into one body, that the superfluous sap of the one could circulate and invigorate the rest, what much greater steps towards cultivation would the empire then make! But then Germany would give laws to all Europe. How powerful, as things even now are, are the two houses of Austria and Brandenburg, the greatness of whose strength consists in their German possessions, and who yet neither possess the half nor even the best parts of the country. Conceive this country in such a situation as that no burthensome excise should oppress the internal commerce of the different provinces; no customs should prohibit exports all over the world; in such a situation as that the immense sums that it gives for outlandish commodities, which itself can furnish, should be spared; or that it could become a naval power, for which it has such ports and such plenty of provisions, that it could itself employ the numerous colonies it sends out to the rest of Europe: conceive this; what country in the world could then cope with Germany?

The character of men depends for the most part on their government. The character of the Germans has in general as little brilliancy in it as the constitution of the empire; they have none of the national pride and patriotism by which the Britons, Spaniards, and our countrymen are distinguished, fond as their poets have been, for some time past, of ascribing these qualities to them. Their pride and patriotic sentiments only extend to the part of Germany in which they are born; to the rest of their countrymen they are strange as to any strangers, nay, in several parts of Germany, they are much fonder of strangers than they are of their own countrymen. It is the sense of weakness of the lesser powers of Germany which damps their national pride; it is only because Germany cannot use its power altogether, and that other nations feel their strength, that it has been despised by the inhabitants of other countries, who yet have nothing to boast above it, save a faster bond of union among themselves, or a ridiculous pride. We seldom judge of men from their inner worth, so much as from the external appearance they make in the world. We estimate the Russians, English, &c. according to the idea we have taken up of the whole nation, and though the in-

dividual may happen to be, as he often is, ten times more barbarous than a German, we give him credit for the fame and worth of his illustrious countrymen.

Though the character of the Germans be not so brilliant as that of other nations, still it is not destitute of its peculiar excellencies. The German is the man of the world. He lives under every sky, and conquers every natural obstacle to his happiness. His industry is inexhaustible. Poland, Hungary, Russia, the English and Dutch colonies, are much indebted to German emigrants. Even the first states in Europe owe to Germany great part of their knowledge. Rectitude is also an almost universal characteristic of the people of this country; nor are the manners of the peasants and those of the inhabitants of the lesser cities, by any means so corrupt as those of France and other countries; it is owing to this, that, notwithstanding the great emigrations, the country is still so well peopled. To conclude, frugality on the side of the protestants, and frankness and goodheartedness on the side of the catholics, are brilliant national characteristics.

TRAVELS IN DENMARK,

BY W. COXE.*

CHAPTER I.

*Passage of the Sound.....Entrance into Denmark.....Elsinore....Toll of the Sound.....
Cronborg Castle and Palace....Anecdote of Queen Matilda....Hamlet's Garden....
History of Hamlet from Saxo-Grammaticus....Copenhagen....Isle of Amak.*

MARCH 22. We embarked at Helsingborg, and crossed the Sound, which separates Denmark from Sweden. The wind blew fresh and was directly contrary; but by tacking we reached Elsinore in an hour and a half: the direct distance between the nearest points of the two coasts is about three miles. Midway we had a fine view of the opposite shores, with the towns of Helsingborg and Elsinore; the former crowned by an ancient tower; the latter distinguished by the palace of Cronborg, a less romantic, but no less beautiful object. The shores of Sweden to the north of Helsingborg are steep and rocky; but decrease in height towards the south, and become low and flat. Those of Zealand consist partly of ridges of sand, and partly of sloping shores covered with wood.

Elsinore is a well-built town, and makes a better appearance than those to which we had lately been accustomed; the houses are of brick. It was a small village, containing a few fishermen's huts, until 1445, when it was made a staple town by Eric of Pomernia, who conferred on the new settlers considerable immunities, and built a castle for their defence.† From that period it gradually increased in size and wealth, and is now, next to Copenhagen, the most commercial place in Denmark. It contains five thousand inhabitants, among whom are a considerable number of foreign merchants, and the consuls of the principal nations trading to the Baltic.

The passage of the Sound is guarded by the fortress of Cronborg, which is situated on the edge of a peninsular promontory, the nearest point of land to the opposite coast of Sweden. It is strongly fortified towards the shore by bastions, and regular entrenchments; and towards the sea by several batteries, mounted with sixty cannon, the largest forty-eight pounders. Every vessel in passing lowers her top-sails, and pays a toll at Elsinore. It is generally asserted that this fortress guards the Sound; and that all ships must, on account of shoal waters and currents, steer so near the batteries, as to be exposed to their fire, in case of refusal. This however is a mistaken notion. On account, indeed, of numerous and opposite currents in the Sound, the safest passage lies near the fortress; but the water in any part is of sufficient depth for vessels to keep at a distance from the batteries, and the largest ships can even sail close to the coast of Sweden.‡ The constant discharge, however, of the toll, is not so much owing to the

* From his Travels in Poland, &c. Fifth edition, 1802.

† Messenii Scandia Illustrata, Lib. III. p. 50.

‡ The assertion was fully verified by the memorable passage of the British fleet, with inconsiderable damage, in March 1801.

strength of the fortress, as to a compliance with the public law of Europe. Many disputes have arisen concerning the right which the crown of Denmark has to impose this duty. The kings of Sweden, in particular, claiming an equal title to the free passage of the Strait, were for some time exempted by treaty; but in 1720, Frederic I, agreed, that Swedish vessels should be subject to the usual imposts. All vessels, beside a small duty, are rated at 1½ per cent. of their cargoes, except the English, French, Dutch, and Swedish, which pay only one per cent; in return, the crown takes the charge of constructing light-houses, and erecting signals to mark the shoals and rocks, from the Cate-gate to the entrance of the Baltic. The tolls of the Sound, and of the two Belts, supply an annual revenue of above 100,000*l*.

The palace of Cronborg, which stands in the fortress, is a square Gothic building of free-stone. From an inscription over the gate, it was begun by Frederic II, and has been repaired and augmented by succeeding sovereigns. It contains nothing worthy of particular description, excepting two good portraits of Frederic II, and Christian IV, and several battle-pieces, representing the wars of Christian V.

In this palace was imprisoned the late unfortunate queen Matilda. During her confinement she inhabited the governor's apartment, and had permission to walk on the side-batteries, or on the leads of the tower. She was uncertain of the fate that awaited her, and had great reason to apprehend, that the party which occasioned her arrest meditated more violent measures. When the English minister* at Copenhagen brought an order for her enlargement, which he had obtained by his spirited conduct, she was surprised with the unexpected intelligence, instantly burst into a flood of tears, embraced him in a transport of joy, and called him her deliverer. After a short conference, he proposed that her majesty should immediately embark on board a ship that was waiting to carry her from a kingdom in which she had experienced such a train of misfortunes. But, however anxious she was to depart, one circumstance checked the excess of her joy: a few months before her imprisonment she was delivered of a princess, whom she suckled herself. The rearing of this child had been her only comfort, and she conceived a more than parental attachment to it, as the constant companion of her misery. The infant was afflicted with the measles; and, having nursed it with unceasing solicitude, she was desirous of continuing her attention and care. These circumstances had so endeared the child to her, rendered more susceptible of tenderness in a prison than in a court, that when an order for detaining the young princess was intimated, she testified the strongest emotions of grief, and could not, for some time, be prevailed on to bid a final adieu. At length, after bestowing repeated caresses on this darling object of her affection, she retired to the vessel in an agony of despair, and remained on deck, her eyes fixed on the palace of Cronborg, which contained her child, until darkness intercepted the view. The vessel having made little way during night, at day-break she observed with fond satisfaction that the palace was still visible, and could not be persuaded to enter the cabin as long as she could discover the faintest glimpse of the battlements. Matilda afterwards resided at Zell, where she died of a scarlet fever.

Queen Matilda was naturally of a lively disposition, until her misfortunes brought on a settled melancholy. In society she endeavoured to dissemble her sorrows, and assume a cheerfulness to which her heart was a stranger. She became extremely fond of solitude; and, when alone, indulged her grief in the most bitter lamentations. She retained, to her last moments, the most unaffected attachment to her children in Denmark; with all the anxiety of a parent she made repeated inquiries after them, and was

* Mr. afterwards Sir Robert Murray Keith.

delighted with receiving the minutest accounts of their health, amusements, and education. Having obtained their portraits, she placed them in her most retired apartment; often apostrophised them as if present,* and addressed them in the tenderest manner.

Adjoining to the royal palace, which stands about half a mile from Cronborg, is a garden which curiosity led us to visit; it is called Hamlet's Garden, and is said, by tradition, to be the very spot where the murder of his father was perpetrated. The house is of modern date, and situated at the foot of a sandy ridge near the sea; the garden occupies the side of the hill, and is laid out in terraces rising one above another. Elsinore is the scene of Shakespear's Hamlet; and the original history from which that divine bard derived the principal incidents of his play is founded on facts, but so deeply buried in remote antiquity, as render it difficult to discriminate truth from fable. Saxo-Grammaticus, who flourished in the twelfth century, is the earliest historian of Denmark who relates the adventures of Hamlet. His account is extracted, and much altered, by Belleforest, a French author; an English translation of whose romance was published under the title of the "Historye of Hamblet,"† and from this translation Shakespear formed the ground-work of his play, though with many alterations and additions.

As Saxo-Grammaticus is an author whose works are in the hands of but few persons, and as I never met with an English translation, it cannot be unacceptable to give a short sketch of Hamlet's history, as recorded in the Danish Annals,‡ that the reader may compare the original character with that delineated by Shakespear.

Long before the introduction of christianity into Denmark, Horwendillus, prefect, or king of Jutland, was married to Geruthra, or Gertrude, daughter of Ruric king of Denmark, by whom he had a son, called Amlettus, or Hamlet. Fengo murders his brother Horwendillus, marries Gertrude, and ascends the throne. Hamlet, to avoid his uncle's jealousy, counterfeits folly; and is represented as such an abhorrer of falsehood, that, though he constantly frames the most evasive and even absurd answers, yet artfully contrives never to deviate from truth. Fengo, suspecting the reality of his madness, endeavours, by various methods,§ to discover the real state of his mind: amongst others, he departs from Elsinore, conceals a meeting between Hamlet and Gertrude, concluding that he would not withhold his sentiments from his own mother, and orders

* I received this anecdote from a person at Zell, who had more than once overheard this affecting address.

† The only copy I ever saw of this work is in the library of Trinity college, Cambridge, in the curious collection relative to the School of Shakespear, given by the late Mr. Capell to that society. It is in black letter, entitled, the History of Hamblet; imprinted by Richard Bradocke for Thomas Pavier. The heads of the chapters are given in Mr. Capell's posthumous work, the School of Shakespear, vol. iii. p. 90; and a few extracts in Malone's Supplement to Johnson's and Stevenson's Shakespear.

‡ Sax. Gram. lib. iii. and iv.

§ Among other attempts, Fengo ordered his companions to leave him in a retired spot, and a young woman was placed in his way, with a view to extort from him a confession that his folly was counterfeited. Hamlet would have fallen into the snare, if a friend had not secretly conveyed to him intelligence of this treachery: he carried the woman to a more secret place, and obtained her promise not to betray him, which she readily gave, as she had been brought up with him from her infancy. Being asked, on his return home, if he had indulged his passion, he answered in the affirmative; but rendered himself not believed by the most artful subterfuges, which, though true, seemed evidently to mark a disordered understanding, and by the positive denial of the woman. "Upon this woman," as Capell observes, "is grounded Shakespear's Ophelia; and his deliverance from this snare by a friend, suggested his Horatio;" "The rude outlines," as Mr. Malone remarks, "of those characters." But in this piece there are no traits of the character of Polonius: there is, indeed, a counsellor, and he places himself in the queen's chamber behind the arras; but this is the whole. The ghost of the old Hamlet is likewise the offspring of our author's creative imagination." See Capell's School of Shakespear, vol. iii. p. 20; and Malone's Supplement, p. 353.

a courtier to conceal himself, unknown to both, for the purpose of overhearing their conversation.

The courtier repairs to the queen's apartment, and hides himself under a heap of straw.* Hamlet, on entering the cabinet, suspecting the presence of some spy, imitates, after his usual affectation of folly, the crowing of a cock, and shaking his arms like wings, jumps† upon the heap of straw, till feeling the courtier, he draws his sword, kills him, cuts the body to pieces, boils it, and gives it to the hogs. He then avows to his mother, that he only personated a fool; reproaches her for her incestuous marriage with the murderer of her husband, and concludes his remonstrances by saying, "Instead, therefore of condoling my insanity, deplore your own infamy, and learn to lament the deformity of your own mind."

The queen is silent, but is recalled to virtue by these admonitions. Fengo returns to Elsinore, sends Hamlet to England under the care of two courtiers, and requests the king, by a letter, to put him to death. Hamlet discovers and alters the letter; and on their arrival in England, the king orders the two courtiers to immediate execution, and betroths his daughter to Hamlet, who gives many astonishing proofs, of a transcendent understanding.

At the end of the year he returns to Denmark, and alarms the court by his unexpected appearance; as a report of his death had been spread, and preparations were making for his funeral.

Having re-assumed his affected insanity, he purposely wounds his fingers in drawing his sword, which the by-standers immediately fasten to the scabbard. He afterwards invites the principal nobles to an entertainment, makes them intoxicated, and in that state covers them with a large curtain, which he fastens to the ground with wooden pegs; he then sets fire to the palace, and the nobles, enveloped in the curtain, perish in the flames. During this transaction he repairs to Fengo's apartment, and taking the sword which lay by the side of his bed, puts his own in its place; he instantly awakens and informs him, that Hamlet is come to revenge the murder of his father. Fengo starts from his bed, seizes the sword, but unable to draw it, falls by the hand of Hamlet. The next morning, when the populace were assembled to view the ruins of the palace, Hamlet summons the remaining nobles, and in a masterly speech, lays open the motives of his own conduct; proves his uncle the assassin of his father, and concludes in the following words:

"Tread upon the ashes of the monster, who, polluting the wife of his murdered brother, joined incest to parricide, and ruled over you with the most oppressive tyranny. Receive me as the minister of a just revenge, as one who felt for the sufferings of his father and his people. Consider me as the person who has purged the disgrace of his country, extinguished the infamy of his mother, freed you from the despotism of a mon-

* Straw was formerly spread over the floors as an article of luxury.

† This part stands thus in the English account: "The counsellor entered secretly into the queene's chamber, and there hid himselfe behind the arras, and long before the queene and Hamlet came thither; who being craftie and politique, as soone as he was within the chamber, doubting some treason, and fearing, if he should speake severely and wisely to his mother, touching his secret practices, hee should be understood and by that means intercepted, used his ordinary manner of dissimulation, and began to come (a crow) like a cocke, beating with his arms (in such manner as cockes used to strike with their wings) upon the hangings of the chambers, whereby, feeling something stirring under them, he cried, a rat! a rat! and presently drawing his sworde, thrust it into the hangings, which done, he pulled the counsellor (half deade) out by the heels, made an end of killing him, and being slain, cut his body in pieces, which he caused to be boiled, and then cast into an open vault or privie." Malone's Supplement, vol. i. p. 337.

ster, whose crimes, if he had lived, would have daily increased, and terminated in your destruction. Acknowledge my services, and if I have deserved it, present me with the crown: behold in me the author of these advantages, no degenerate person, no parricide, but the rightful successor to the throne, and the pious avenger of a father's murder. I have rescued you from slavery, restored you to liberty, and re-established your glory; I have destroyed a tyrant, and triumphed over an assassin. The recompence is in your hands; you can estimate the value of my services, and in your virtue I rest my hopes of reward." This speech had the desired effect; the greater part of the assembly shed tears, and all who are present unanimously proclaim him king amid repeated acclamations.

Hamlet, soon after his elevation, sails to England, and orders a shield to be made, on which the principal actions of his life are represented. The king receives him with feigned demonstrations of joy; falsely assures him that his daughter is dead, and recommends him to repair to Scotland as his ambassador, and pay his addresses to queen Hermetrudra. He gives this insidious advice with the hopes that Hamlet may perish in the attempt; as the queen, who was remarkable for her chastity and cruelty, had such an aversion to all proposals of marriage, that not one of her suitors had escaped falling a sacrifice to her vengeance. Hamlet, in opposition to all difficulties, performs the embassy, and by the assistance of his shield, which inspires the lady with a favourable opinion of his wisdom and courage, obtains her in marriage, and returns with her to England. Informed, by the princess to whom he is betrothed, that her father meditates his assassination, Hamlet avoids his fate by wearing armour under his robe, puts to death the king of England, and sails to Denmark with his two wives, where he is soon afterwards killed in a combat with Vigletus, son of Ruric. Hamlet, adds the historian, was a prince, who, if his good fortune had been equal to his deserts, would have rivalled the Gods in splendour; and in his actions would have exceeded even the labours of Hercules.*

The distance from Elsinore to Copenhagen is twenty miles; our route lay occasionally by the side of the sea, sometimes through small woods of beech and oak, and at other times through an open country rising into acclivities; the soil is sandy, mixed with loam, well cultivated, and yields all sorts of grain. The cottages are numerous and neat, built with brick, and many of them white-washed. We had an excellent road, for which convenience we paid several tolls; a tax from which we had been exempted in Poland, Russia, and Sweden. We reached the metropolis towards the close of the evening.

Copenhagen stands on a small promontory on the eastern coast of the isle of Zealand, in a flat and marshy situation. It formerly belonged to the bishop of Roskild, and was not distinguished by the royal residence until 1443, during the reign of Christopher of Bavaria; since which period it has been gradually enlarged and beautified, and is become the capital of Denmark.

The annual list of births in Copenhagen being, on an average of several years, estimated at two thousand eight hundred and thirty, and of deaths at two thousand nine hundred and fifty-five, we may estimate the population at eighty thousand souls.

Copenhagen is the best-built city of the north, although excelled by Petersburg in superb edifices; yet as it contains no wooden houses, it does not display that striking contrast of meanness and magnificence, but in general exhibits a more uniform appear-

* *Hic Amlethi exitus fuit; qui si parem naturæ atque fortunæ indulgentiam expertus fuisset, æquasset fulgore superos; Herculeæ virtutibus opera transcendisset.*

ance. The city is surrounded towards the land with ramparts and bastions, a wet ditch, and a few out-works; the circumference measures between four and five miles. The streets are well paved, with a foot way on each side, which is narrow and inconvenient. The greater part of the buildings are of brick, and a few of free-stone brought from Germany: the houses of the nobility are in general splendid, and constructed in the Italian style of architecture.

The royal palace is a magnificent pile of hewn stone, the wings and stables of brick stuccoed. It was built by Christian the Sixth in seven years, as the inscription informed me, without laying a single tax on his subjects. The enormous expence may be in some measure estimated by the dimensions. The front is three hundred and sixty-seven feet in length, the sides three hundred and eighty-nine, and the height one hundred and fourteen; it has six stories, of which three are mezzonines. In the fourth story are the grandest suit of apartments, both as to size and decoration. The concert-room is one hundred and twenty eight feet by thirty-eight. The ritter Saal, or Knight's saloon, is remarkable for the grandeur and elegance of the proportions; it is one hundred and twenty-eight feet long, sixty-two broad, and forty-eight high; it is lighted by several chrystal chandeliers, and many gilded urns placed on the balustrades of a gallery.*

Among numerous pictures of the kings and queens of Denmark, I was struck with a portrait of Christian the Fourth on board a ship engaged with the Swedish fleet. In the middle of the engagement the king was struck by a splinter; two of his teeth were beat out, his ear torn, his right eye forced from the socket, and he was thrown on the deck with great violence. His attendants, supposing him dead, made bitter lamentations; when the king, suddenly recovering from the swoon into which he had been thrown by the agony of pain, started up, bound his wounds with his handkerchief, and continued giving his orders with great composure until the Swedish fleet retired. The painter has chosen the point of time in which the king, having recovered from his swoon and bound his wound, is exerting himself in the midst of the action, and has happily succeeded in throwing great animation over the whole figure.

The royal stables are perhaps the most magnificent in Europe. The racks of one, which contains stalls for forty-eight horses, are of copper, and the columns that divide the stalls are of brick stuccoed white. Another contains one hundred and forty-eight stalls; and the racks and pillars which support the roof and separate the stalls are of Norwegian marble.

The busy spirit of commerce is visible in Copenhagen. The haven is always crowded with merchant-ships, and the streets are intersected by broad canals, which bring the merchandise close to the ware-houses that line the quays. This city owes its principal beauty to a dreadful fire in 1728, that destroyed five churches and sixty-seven streets, which were rebuilt in the modern style. The new part of the town raised by the late king Frederic V, is extremely beautiful; it consists of an octagon, containing four uniform and elegant buildings of hewn stone, and of four broad streets leading to it in opposite directions. In the middle of the area stands an equestrian statute of Frederic in bronze, as large as life, which is justly admired; it was cast at the expence of the East India Company by Saly, and cost 80,000*l.* sterling.

On the 25th of March we accompanied Mr. Delaval, our minister, to court, and were honoured with private audiences by Christian VII, the queen-dowager Juliana Maria, her son prince Frederic, and his consort the princess Sophia-Frederica. We

* This magnificent palace was burnt in 1793.

were deprived of the honour of paying our respects to the prince royal, as he was at that time indisposed. During our stay at Copenhagen there were only two public meetings at court: the company assembled at six in the evening. At one of these meetings was a concert, in which a Danish translation of Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*, with the original music, was performed. The king afterwards sat down to Loo with the queen dowager, prince Frederic, princess Sophia, count Bernsdorff the prime minister, and the Prussian ambassador.

As our stay at Copenhagen was short, and principally during passion week, which the natives observe with great strictness, we had not many opportunities of experiencing the hospitality of the Danish nobility; though they were much inclined to honour us with all those marks of attention and civility which are usually paid to strangers. Among other instances of politeness, we received an invitation to an assembly and supper from count Molek, who was favourite and prime minister to Frederic V. The count's house, which stands in the octagon, is a magnificent building superbly finished. He possesses several fine pictures; his collection of fossils, shells, minerals, and petrifications, deserves the notice of the naturalist: it is particularly rich in native productions of Denmark, exhibiting many fine specimens of the gold, silver and copper mines, from Norway, and of lava from Mount Hecla in Iceland.

Among the most curious collections in Copenhagen, the Royal Museum, or Cabinet of Rarities, merits the first place. This collection, which was begun by Frederic III, is deposited in eight apartments, and ranged in the following order: animals, shells, minerals, paintings, antiquities, medals, dresses, arms and implements of the Laplanders. The short time which I employed in examining these apartments did not permit me to take a minute and accurate account of the principal curiosities, which the reader will find described in *Museum Regium Jacobœi*.

Part of Copenhagen, which is called Christianshafen, is built on the Isle of Amak, which generally attracts the curiosity of foreigners. Amak is four miles long, and two broad, and is chiefly peopled by the descendants of a colony from East Friesland, to whom the island was consigned by Cristian II, at the request of his wife Elizabeth, sister of Charles V, for the purpose of supplying her with vegetables, cheese, and butter. From the intermarriages of these colonists with the Dunes, the present inhabitants are chiefly descended; but as they wear their own dress, and enjoy peculiar privileges, they appear a distinct race from the natives. The island contains six villages, and between three and four thousand souls; it has two churches, in which the ministers preach occasionally in Dutch and Danish. The inhabitants have their own inferior tribunals; but in capital offences are amenable to the king's court of justice at Copenhagen. The old national habit, brought by the original colony when they first migrated to the island, is still in use among them; it resembles the dress of the ancient quakers, as represented in the pictures of the Dutch and Flemish painters. The men wear broad-brimmed hats, black jackets, full glazed breeches of the same colour, loose at the knees, and tied round the waist. The women were dressed chiefly in black jackets and red petticoats, with a piece of blue glazed cloth bound on their heads. The island is laid out in gardens and pastures, and, according to the original design, supplies Copenhagen with milk, butter and vegetables.

During our second visit to Copenhagen, in July 1784, we experienced great civility and repeated instances of hospitality from the Danish nobility. Among others we had the honour of dining several times with the prime minister, count Bernsdorf,* at his

* Since deceased.

villa, about four miles from Copenhagen. The house, built by the late count, stands in a delightful situation on a gentle rise, sloping towards the sea, backed by a ridge of hills prettily wooded, and commanding a cheerful view of the Sound, the coast of Sweden, Copenhagen, and the numerous vessels sailing to and from the capital.

In our way to the village we passed a column of Norwegian marble, erected to the memory of the late count Bernstorff by the peasants of his estate, in gratitude for having received the gift of freedom from their beloved master. The pillar is ornamented with a wheat-sheaf, a spade, and a pick-axe, the emblems of agriculture. It contains a Latin and Danish inscription, attesting the count's liberality, and their gratitude.*

The slavery of the peasants is part of the remains of the feudal system, which, however modified and changed in the other parts of the Danish constitution, leaves behind it that indelible mark of its former preponderancy and injustice. Hitherto all the attempts to abolish it, which have succeeded in Sweden, Norway, and several parts of Germany, have contributed only to rivet still more strongly a servitude, no less disgraceful to the government, than prejudicial to the community. I enjoyed, however, great satisfaction in finding that the spirit of justice and humanity, and I may add, the suggestions of self-interest, have lately spread themselves among the nobility; and that a few of them were on the point of emancipating their peasants. And as the prince royal has turned his humanity and attention to this subject,† and seems inclined to favour any well-planned system, which may give new life and vigour to an order of men, the most useful in the community; it is to be presumed, that in time the prejudices against such a system will be removed; and that such effective and prudent measures will be adopted by government, as may, without convulsion, restore to the peasants the common rights of mankind.

We were present at an entertainment given by admiral Molcke, on board the Princess Sophia Frederica, carrying seventy-four guns, and six hundred men, going on a cruise to the Baltic, with three other ships of the line. We embarked at the port, and were rowed in the captain's boat to the ship, where we found count Molcke, and a large company, consisting of persons of the first condition. From the cabin we had a delightful view of the town and dock-yard of Copenhagen; of the Danish navy laid up in two lines in the harbour; of several men of war and frigates lying at anchor near us in the road; of numerous vessels sailing and covering the surface of the sea, which was curled by a gentle breeze; of the distant coasts of Sweden, and the adjacent shores of Zealand, richly clothed with wood. Dinner was served on deck, under a canopy of sails and pendants; and forty persons sat down to a superb and elegant repast. After drinking the healths of the king and royal family, each health accompanied with a salute of fifteen guns, admiral Molcke gave, in compliment to Mr. Elliott, the English envoy, who was present, The navy of England; and Mr. Elliott in return gave, The navy of Denmark.

Several Danish songs were sung to the accompaniment of violins and tambours de basque, which had a pleasing effect. These songs related to naval engagements, and to the honour of the Danish marine; the chorus was repeated by the company, and echoed by the whole ship's crew. Books containing the words were handed round,

* *Plis manibus Joh. Hartvici Ernesti, Comitis de Bernstorff, qui arva discreta immunia hereditaria largiendo industrias opes omnia impertit in exemplum posteritati 1767. P. S. S. grati coloni 1783.*

† Since my departure from Copenhagen, the example set by count Bernstorff has been followed by the crown. "The bonds of servitude," to use the words of an intelligent Dane, "are now relaxed, and bond service is limited in every part of the kingdom." The pleasing result is visible in almost every place you see and in every countenance you meet." *Bygges Travels in the French Republic*, Translation p. 27.

with the Danish on one side, and the English on the other. One song recorded the gallant behaviour of admiral Huitfield, who, in an engagement with the Swedish fleet, finding his own ship on fire, grappled with two of the enemy's men of war, and blew them up with his own ship. Another song in honour of their favourite hero Christian the Fourth, is as popular in Denmark as "Rule Britannia," in England. I recollect the following lines of a doggerel translation in the beginning of the song :

King Christian stood high near the mast,
In clouds of smoke ;
His shining sword was working fast,
Cleft brains and helmets first and last,
Then sunk each Gothic hulk and mast,
In clouds of smoke, &c.

In visiting the citadel, I inquired for the cells in which Struensee and Brandt were confined. The dungeon which served as a prison for Struensee is on the ground-floor, fourteen feet long and twelve broad. The barrack bedstead on which he lay is still there, and the chain to which he was fastened riveted to the wall. During his confinement he was treated with the greatest inhumanity, and frequently deprived of common necessities; he was chained so closely to the wall as scarcely to be able to turn himself; and occasionally threatened with the torture, if he would not confess what his enemies dictated.

I visited likewise the spot where Struensee and Brandt were executed, on the 28th of March 1772. The scaffold was constructed in the middle of a field, near the east gate of the town; and they were conducted to the spot in two separate carriages, through an immense concourse of people. They arrived at the place of execution at eleven. Brandt first alighted, and mounted the scaffold with a slow step and undaunted mien; heard his sentence read, and saw his coat of arms torn, without expressing the least emotion; he then prayed for a few minutes, and spoke a few words to the people. When the executioner approached to assist him, he said to him with firmness, yet not without mildness, "Stand off, and do not presume to touch me." Without any assistance he pulled off his pelisse, and prepared for his fate. He first stretched out his hand, and bade the executioner do his duty, without shrinking from the blow, it was struck off, and his head severed from his body almost in the same instant. His body was then quartered.

During this dreadful scene Struensee remained at the bottom of the scaffold, anxiously expecting and dreading his own fate. His whole frame trembled when Brandt's blood gushed from the scaffold; and he was so agitated, that he could not walk up the steps without help. He said nothing, and permitted the executioner to assist him in taking off his cloak. Instead of imitating the courage and serenity of his fellow sufferer, he started up several times from the block, before he gave the signal, drew back his hand, was shockingly maimed before it was cut off, and was at last held down by force while the executioner beheaded him.

The environs of Copenhagen are exceedingly beautiful. The country is gently undulating, produces much corn and pasture, and is finally interspersed with small forests of beech and oak. The sea views are enchanting, and the villas and country seats delightfully situated on the shores of the Sound.

The royal park, about four miles from the capital, is perhaps the finest spot for the natural beauty of the gently waving surface, and richness of the wood; and proves,

that the nobles might lay out their grounds equal to ours in England, if they would trust more to nature and less to art.

In the midst of the park St. Helen's spring is a favourite spot, to which the nobility and gentry, and the lower class of people resort, in July, as to a kind of fair. Many tents and booths are erected for the reception of the company; sometimes the royal family make their appearance; and the common people esteem themselves very unfortunate, if they do not taste the waters of the spring every year. The weather being fine, and the season delightful, we roved with pleasure about the woods, enjoying the beauties of unadulterated nature, and walked to the hermitage, a building standing in the most elevated part, and commanding an extensive view over the Baltic, the isle of Huen, and the coast of Sweden.

CHAPTER II.

Ancient form of Government in Denmark... Revolution of 1660... Change of the Constitution from an elected and limited, to an hereditary and absolute Monarchy.

UNTIL the middle of the last century the crown of Denmark was elective. The supreme legislative authority resided in the three estates of the realm, the nobles, clergy, and commons, assembled in a diet by means of representatives; the executive power was vested in the king, and senate, composed of the principal nobles. The king was little more than president of the senate, and commander of the army; the regal prerogative being circumscribed by a capitulation, or charter of privileges, ratified by the sovereign at his accession. Although the crown was always continued in the same family, and uniformly conferred on the eldest son; yet the new prince was constrained to purchase his succession to the throne by farther immunities.

Such was the state of affairs until the singular revolution of 1660 established, almost without the concurrence of the sovereign, an hereditary and absolute monarchy: exhibiting an instance, which stands unparalleled in the annals of history, of a people, who spontaneously renounced their freedom, and invested their limited governor with unbounded authority.

Frederic III, who, on the death of his father Christian IV, ascended the throne by the free election of the states, signed a charter of rights, consisting of fifty-four articles: among which several new privileges were confirmed to the senate, whereby they were enabled to engross the whole administration of affairs. Frederic possessed in the ordinary occurrences of life a mild and equitable temper of mind, and was apparently indifferent to ambition or glory. If his dominions had not been invaded by a powerful rival, he would have scarcely been noticed by his contemporaries. But as, during his reign, the very being of Denmark, as a kingdom, was at stake, and he was called to action by the most imminent danger which a sovereign could experience, he suddenly surmounted his natural apathy: his mind acquired unusual vigour; and he exhibited proofs of courage, prudence, and perseverance, not inferior to the most consummate heroes of his time. These circumstances placed his character in an exalted point of view; while his gentleness and moderation prevented the umbrage which is apt to be conceived by a free people against their sovereign. Thus, from being thought incapable of interested designs, and yet equal to the task of carrying the most adventurous into execution, he became, from the accidental situation of his affairs, the instrument of accomplishing an important revolution, which totally changed the form of the Danish government.

When Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, broke the treaty of Roskild, which he had signed, and in 1658 appeared suddenly before Copenhagen at the head of a powerful army, he esteemed himself secure of success, and made a present of Zealand to admiral Wrangel. He even publicly boasted that he would re-unite the three crowns of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, and would then, like another Alaric, march into Italy, at the head of the Gothic nations. The internal weakness and civil commotions of Denmark seemed almost to justify these vaunts: the fate of the whole kingdom depended on the safety of Copenhagen; and yet, such was the deplorable condition of the capital, that Frederic was advised to retire from a place which seemed untenable, and to escape either to Holland or Norway. The fortifications had been long neglected; it contained a garrison of only a thousand regular troops; had not sufficient provisions to stand a siege; almost destitute of every means of resistance, and crowded with inhabitants and fugitives.

But Frederic, roused by this dangerous crisis of affairs, discovered at once the most undaunted courage; he declared his resolution of defending his capital to the last extremity, and of burying himself under its ruins. His conduct during the siege answered these professions; he gave his orders with calmness and intrepidity; he was foremost in all places of danger, and among the last who retreated.

His zeal was seconded by the undaunted spirit of his queen, Sophia Amelia, princess of Brunswick Lunenburg,* who, during the whole contest, was indefatigable in animating the besieged; she partook of their fatigues, rode night and day round the ramparts, and observed every occurrence with the vigilance of a centinel, and the coolness of a veteran. The presence and activity of both sovereigns, gave fresh vigour to the garrison and citizens of Copenhagen: they braved every danger, and even bound themselves, by an oath, to perish, rather than to surrender. Their zeal was still further excited by the policy of Frederic, who extorted from the nobles an increase of the immunities of the citizens, and passed an edict, signed by himself and the principal senators, permitting them to possess lands, and enjoy all the rights of nobility. Thus animated and encouraged, the burghers formed themselves into companies, and vied with the regular soldiers in submitting to the rigour of military discipline. In a word, by their invincible spirit, Copenhagen held out from the 8th of August 1658, to the conclusion of the peace, on the 27th of May 1660, when the Swedish army evacuated Zealand.

The imminent danger which had threatened the ruin of Denmark no sooner subsided, than Frederic relapsed into his constitutional indolence; and seems (if we may judge from the most authentic accounts) to have had but a small share in the subsequent revolution. It appears indeed to have been as casual as it was sudden: the effect only of the imperious conduct of the nobles, of the jealousies and resentment of the other orders, and of the high opinion which the people conceived of their king, to whom they justly attributed the preservation of Copenhagen, and the safety of the kingdom; while they imputed to the factions of the nobles the evils which they had lately experienced.

On the signature of the peace a diet was summoned at Copenhagen, to take into consideration the state of the kingdom, exhausted with debts, and desolated by the miseries of war.

This diet, the last ever convened in Denmark, assembled at Copenhagen, on the 8th of September 1660. The nobles, instead of endeavouring to conciliate the other orders by a moderate conduct, increased the public discontents by the most arrogant behaviour. The deputies of the clergy and commons united against them; and the

* *Memoirs de Terlon*, p. 333.

citizens of Copenhagen (who, having acquired great credit by the glorious defence of the capital, formed a considerable party) were highly disgusted at their remonstrance against the immunities granted by the king during the siege. In this temper of parties, when the necessary supplies were brought forward, the nobles proposed an excise on all articles of consumption, and expressed themselves willing to submit to it, though their order was by law exempted from all taxes: they accompanied this offer with a remonstrance to the king, in which they endeavoured, not only to reclaim many obsolete privileges, but to gain fresh immunities, and introduce many other regulations, which tended to diminish the royal prerogative, and check the rising influence of the commons and clergy.

The proposal of such a tax, and this imprudent remonstrance, excited great heats in the diet; the clergy and commons contended that the offer was insidious, as the nobles would only pay the excise during their continuance in the towns, but refuse to submit to it while they resided on their estates. On this ground they objected to the tax on any other condition, but that of being levied equally on all ranks without reserve or restriction. The nobles not only persisted in the plea of exemption, but even refused to be subject to it for more than three years, under pretence that every impost was an infringement of their privileges. Being, however, intimidated by the decisive refusal of the other deputies, they shifted their ground, proposed new duties on stamped paper and leather, and offered, instead of the excise on consumption, to pay a poll-tax for their peasants. The clergy and commons at first approved these additional imposts: but afterwards retracted, under pretence that they would not produce a sum adequate to the exigencies of the nation. It is not certain from what cause this alteration of their sentiments was derived;* whether the taxes would really have been inadequate, or were to be granted for too short a time; or whether, urged by other motives, they were secretly desirous of obtaining more essential and durable advantages over the nobles. Probably all these motives operated on different persons; the latter especially seems to have had great influence; because, in lieu of the above-mentioned duties, the deputies proposed that the royal fiefs and domains, which the nobles exclusively possessed at a moderate rent, should be farmed to the highest bidders. This proposal irritated the nobles who justly deemed it an infraction of their dearest privileges; as, by the forty-sixth article of the coronation oath taken by Frederic, the possession of the royal fiefs was guaranteed to their order. In the heat of the contest on this article, one of the chief senators imprudently threw out reproachful expressions against the commons, which raised a general ferment in the assembly; and the deputies of the clergy and commons broke up the meeting.

In this struggle the friends of the court began to interpose. It was easily seen, that the deputies, disgusted with the nobles, would eagerly embrace that occasion of humbling the whole order; and no way seemed more likely to insure success than by rendering the crown hereditary, and exalting the regal prerogative on the ruin of the nobility. They never could expect that so favourable an opportunity should again occur; the diet was assembled in a fortified town, the citizens were still in arms, and all of them, as well as the garrison, devoted to the king.

It is scarcely possible to trace, at this distance of time, all the secret springs which actuated the deputies on this extraordinary occasion. It only appears, from good authority, that the two persons who had the principal share in the revolution were the creatures of the court, and had, before the meeting of the diet, concerted a plan of hum-

* Mallet, p. 447.

bling the nobility, with a confidential servant* of the crown: these persons were Svane, bishop of Zealand and president of the order of the clergy, and Nansen, burgomaster of Copenhagen and speaker of the commons. We have no reason, however, to conclude, that they intended to proceed further than to humble the aristocratical party, and make some necessary changes in the constitution; but the obstinacy of the nobles enlarged their views, and induced the deputies not only to render the crown hereditary, but to vest the whole power in the hands of the king.

While the design was in agitation, Frederic felt, or affected to feel, an almost total indifference to the event; and though he expressed himself inclined to accept the offer of hereditary succession, if obtained by the unanimous consent of all the estates, yet he refused to take any active part in the whole proceeding. The queen endeavoured to rouse him from this supineness; but her influence, which was never before exerted in vain, proved now ineffectual: being not inclined, however, to follow his example, she caballed with the leaders of the clergy and commons, and displayed that spirit of intrigue and daring enterprise which had so long marked her character, in contrast with the mild and passive acquiescence of the king.

On the secession of the deputies, which the obstinacy of the nobles had provoked, the hint of rendering the crown hereditary was suggested by the bishop of Zealand; and several partizans being gained, a numerous meeting was held at his palace on the 6th of October, in which the scheme was laid open and approved. An act of declaring the crown hereditary was drawn up; and the mode of proceeding was concerted between the chiefs of the party and Gabel, the favourite of the king, who held a separate conference with the bishop and Nansen that afternoon. During the whole night and the following day, repeated messages passed between some of the deputies and the emissaries of the queen.

On the morning of the 8th of October† the bishop of Zealand, having obtained the consent and signature of the ecclesiastical deputies to the declaration of hereditary succession, delivered it to Nansen. The latter, in a most persuasive speech, expatiated on the wretched state of the kingdom, oppressive power of the nobles, and virtues of the king, and concluded with exhorting the commons to subscribe the act as the only means of saving their country. Having first signed it himself, his example was followed by each deputy without one dissenting voice.

During these intrigues the nobles remained in full security, and without the least suspicion; as the commons had, the same day in which they signed the declaration, debated on the taxes, and drawn up a remonstrance against the nobles, without alluding to the secret transaction. On the 9th this remonstrance was presented to Frederic in form by the bishop and Nansen; and the commons, on returning from the palace, had a violent altercation with the same chief senator who had before offended them, and who then threatened them with imprisonment for presuming to approach the king without acquainting the order of nobles; a threat which served only to strengthen their resolution.

Rumours of the project had by this time reached the nobles; but they had scarcely assembled to consider the most efficacious methods of defeating it ‡ before the deputies of the clergy and burghers entered the hall. Having taking their seats, Nansen, after a short speech, delivered to them the declaration for rendering the crown hereditary in

* Molesworth says, with Hannibal Schested, and Holberg, with Gabel the king's favourite. Probably they were both in the right, as it is easy to suppose that both were consulted on the occasion.

† Holberg, iii. p. 479.

‡ Probably on the 10th of October, as Mallet conjectures.

the family of the king. The nobles were thrown into general consternation by so sudden and decisive a communication. Conceiving it, however, imprudent to negative the proposal, they endeavoured to gain time; and replied accordingly, that declaration; yet a matter of such consequence deserved the most mature discussion. Nansen, perceiving the drift of this delay, answered, they came not to deliberate but to act; they had already taken their resolution; they would lose no time in debate; if the nobles refused to concur, they would themselves repair to the palace, not doubting that the king would graciously accept their proffered declaration. During these proceedings, the nobles secretly dispatched a message to the king, that they were willing to render the crown hereditary in the male line of his issue, provided it was done with the accustomed formalities; a proposal his majesty rejected as a circumstance not desirable, unless the right of succession was extended to the females also. He added, with great appearance of moderation, that he by no means wished to prescribe rules for their conduct; they were to follow the dictates of their own judgment; as for his part, he would owe every thing to their free consent, but could not accept the offer with the limitation proposed.

The nobles, who waited with anxiety for the return of the messenger, kept the business in suspense by declining their direct assent to the declaration, and proposing a further consideration of the subject. The other deputies then quitted the assembly, and repaired in solemn procession to the court; leaving the nobles in a state of irresolution and distraction.

The deputies being admitted, the bishop of Zealand addressed the king on the resolution taken by the clergy and commons; offering, in their name, to render the crown hereditary, and invest him with absolute authority; adding, they were ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of an establishment so salutary to their country. Frederic in reply, thanked them for their favourable intentions; but mentioned the approbation of the nobles as a necessary condition, though he had no doubt of their concurrence when they should have had time to accompany the declaration with the necessary formalities: he assured them of his protection, promised a redress of all grievances, and dismissed them with an exhortation to continue their sittings, until they should have brought their design to perfection, and he could receive their voluntary submission with due solemnity.

The reader will observe, with much surprise, that in all the public occurrences before this audience, the only affair apparently in agitation, was to change the form of government from an elective to an hereditary monarchy; no mention was made of enlarging the powers of the crown, or of the still more extraordinary scheme of rendering the king absolute. It is probable, if the nobles had immediately consented to the declaration, that this cession might not have taken place. Was there no medium between hereditary right and arbitrary power? Or can we suppose that, according to the system of the Danish law, arbitrary power was necessarily implied in hereditary right? Something like this was probably the case; as it is hardly possible to conceive that, when the deputies of the commons and clergy had voted only for the declaration, the bishop, of his own accord, should add the gift of unlimited authority. It often happens, that people are more affected by appearances than realities. The bare mention of arbitrary power would have revolted the deputies; while the substance, being included in the popular expression of hereditary right, was passed without reserve.

On the abrupt departure of the deputies, the nobles could not agree what plan to pursue in this alarming crisis. They were not, indeed, unanimous in their motives of

opposition, being divided into three principal parties :* the first consisted of those who were devoted to the court, and favoured the declaration of the commons ; the second, of those who were conscious that some change in the constitution was requisite, but uncertain how far to proceed ; the third, the most considerable in number, was composed of those who were determined to assert their own privileges to the last extremity, and strenuously oppose the least alteration. It was no wonder, therefore, that they came to no resolution, but postponed their final determination to the meeting in the afternoon. While they were thus wavering, the court and the popular party took the necessary precautions to force them to a concurrence. It was feared that the enterprise might fail of success, should the nobles quit Copenhagen and break up the diet, on the just pretence that it was held in a fortified town, under awe of a garrison devoted to the court. Indeed, several had already made their escape, and others seemed inclined to follow their example. In consequence of these apprehensions, the king issued orders to shut the gates ; and this spirited measure had such an instant effect on the nobles, that, abandoning all further resistance, they dispatched deputies to the court, announcing their willingness to concur with the commons.†

Accordingly, on the 16th of October, the estates annulled, in the most solemn manner, the capitulation or charter signed by the king at his accession, absolved him from his engagements, and cancelled all the limitations imposed on his sovereignty. The whole was finally closed by the public ceremony of doing homage and taking the new oath, which was performed on the 18th. On that day several scaffolds were erected before the palace, adorned with scarlet cloth and tapestry, and furnished with rows of benches ; on an elevated platform were placed two chairs of state, under a canopy of velvet, for the king and queen ; these scaffolds communicated with the palace by an open gallery. At the appointed time, the citizens of Copenhagen, forming twelve companies, were drawn up on each side of the gallery ; the garrison surrounded the platform, and the avenues leading to it ; while the regiment of guards secured the rear. At mid-day the king and queen, attended by the royal family, preceded by the nobles, and accompanied by the officers of state, repaired in solemn procession, amid drums and trumpets, to the platform ; and when the nobles, the deputies of the clergy and commons, had taken their places, the chancellor proclaimed :‡

" Since it has pleased the Almighty, by the unanimous and voluntary resolution of the states, that this kingdom should be rendered hereditary in the person of his majesty our lord the king, and of his posterity male and female ; his majesty, after thanking the states for this proof of their affection and zeal, not only promises to all his good and faithful subjects, to govern them as a christian and merciful prince ought to do, but also to establish a form of government, under which they shall be secure of enjoying the same advantages under his successors ; and as this unanimous resolution of the states requires a new oath of allegiance, his majesty discharges the states from all those oaths which they had formerly taken, assuring each person in particular of his royal favour and protection." After which all persons who were present took the new oath of allegiance.

The revolution being thus accomplished, a new form of government was promulgated, under the title of the royal law of Denmark. It consists of forty articles ; the most remarkable are the following :§

" The hereditary kings of Denmark and Norway shall be in effect, and ought to be esteemed by their subjects, the only supreme head on earth ; they shall be above all

* Holberg.

† Ibid.

‡ Mallet.

§ Lettres sur le Dannemarc. Mallet.

human laws, and shall acknowledge, in all ecclesiastical and civil affairs, no higher power than God alone. The king shall enjoy the right of making and interpreting the laws, of abrogating, adding to, and dispensing with them. He may also annul all the laws which either he or his predecessors shall have made, excepting this royal law, which must remain irrevocable, and be considered as the fundamental law of the state. He has the power of declaring war, making peace, imposing taxes, and levying contributions of all sorts, &c. &c.

Then follow the regulations for the order of succession, the regency in case of minority for the majority of the king, for the maintenance of the royal family; and, after enumerating all the possible prerogatives of regal uncircumscribed authority, as if sufficient had not yet been laid down, it is added in the twenty-sixth article: "All that we have hitherto said of power and eminence, and sovereignty, and if there is any thing further which has not been expressly specified, shall all be comprised in the following words: The king of Denmark and Norway shall be the hereditary monarch, and endued with the highest authority, insomuch that all that can be said and written to the advantage of a christian, hereditary, and absolute king, shall be extended under the most favourable interpretation, to the hereditary king or queen of Denmark and Norway," &c. &c.*

On reviewing the principal circumstances which led to this revolution, we cannot but remark, that the nobles were the victims of their own imprudence and obstinacy. Had they yielded in due time, they might have secured many of their privileges; but not complying until their concurrence was scarcely necessary, they could not command any compensation for what they could not retain, and surrendered with the most evident reluctance. The deputies of the clergy and of the towns were hurried away by their resentment against that order, whose tyranny they had long experienced, and whose future ascendancy they dreaded; and they were so warmly animated by their admiration of the king, that they thought no sacrifice too great which could assure him of their confidence, and testify their gratitude. Strange infatuation! that they should discover no means of humbling their oppressors, and securing their own immunities, without the establishment of an absolute government! Might they not have loosened the king's shackles without tearing them off? The reserve of the legislative power, and right of taxation in the three estates, would sufficiently have secured the freedom of the people, as well against the encroachments of the crown, as against the insolence of a proud nobility. But the voice of reason is seldom heard amid the tumult of public animosities and the uproar of faction.

"Thus this great affair" concludes lord Molesworth, "was finished; and the kingdom of Denmark, in four days' time, changed from an estate little differing from aristocracy, to as absolute a monarchy as any is at present in the world." But these expressions have been considered as too strong by several of the native historians; and an English author,† who wrote against his account of Denmark by desire of the Danish minister, has contradicted his conclusion; because Frederic III, did not abuse his power, and because he confirmed the privileges of the different orders. But surely when the sovereign, according to the expressions of the royal law, is declared "independent upon earth, acknowledging no higher power than God; when he has an unlimited

* The reader will find an abridged extract of the several articles in Molesworth, p. 186; and a French translation in *Lettres sur le Dannemarc*, p. 118; which translation is also inserted in Mallet's *Hist. de Dannemarc*, vol. iii. p. 475.

† King's Animadversions on a pretended Account of Denmark, in which the author animadverts upon several misrepresentations of lord Molesworth.

authority to make, alter, repeal, and dispense with laws; when he alone can make peace and declare war; form alliances and levy taxes; when, in a word, he enjoys all the rights and prerogatives which an hereditary, absolute, despotic king can enjoy; what signify privileges which he can annul at pleasure? of what force are laws which he can repeal with a word? Allowing, what is true, that the kings of Denmark have seldom abused their authority; and without pretending to deny that the tyranny of the nobles had risen to an excessive height; yet we surely may conclude, that it would have been happier for the kingdom, had the power of the crown been duly circumscribed, while the rights of the nobles were qualified, not abolished; and the people continued subjects of a limited monarchy, not enslaved to arbitrary dominion.

CHAPTER III.

Remarks on the Population.....Finances....Army.....Navy.....Church Establishment in Denmark.

THE following table exhibits the population in the Danish dominions:

			No. of Inhabitants.
Denmark.	Diocese of Zealand, including the isles of Zealand, Moen, and Bornholm	Islands.	283,466
	Diocese of Funen, including the isles of Funen, Langeland, Lolland, and Falster		143,988
	Diocese of Aarhus		117,942
	Ditto Riber		99,923
	Ditto Aalborg		80,872
	Ditto Viborg		59,399
	Isles of Feroe		4,754
Norway.	Diocese of Agerhuus	Islands.	215,043
	Ditto Christiansand		113,024
	Ditto Berghen		130,352
	Ditto Drontheim		164,722
Iceland.	Diocese of Scalholt	Islands.	34,216
	Ditto Holun		11,985
	Dutchy of Sleswick		243,605
	Dutchy of Holstein belonging to the king		134,665
	Dutchy of Glucksburgh		10,072
	District of Kiel		75,000
Number of souls in the Danish dominions			*1,923,028

The revenues of Denmark are principally derived from the customs, duties on exports and imports, excise on provisions and liquors, poll-tax,† tax on ranks, on places,

* Since this was written, the population has increased, and may now be estimated at two millions three hundred thousand.

† The poll-tax takes place only in Denmark: it was at first laid on the inhabitants of Norway, but has been abolished, and another impost substituted in its room; the peasants, who are all free in that kingdom, having considered it as a badge of slavery. The towns of Altona and Bornholm are also exempted from it, on the payment of an annual compensation.

pensions, and perquisites, on marriages,* land-tax, excise, quit-rents of the royal demesnes, licences of public-houses, privilege of distilling spirits, for hunting and shooting in the royal manors, leases on farms and saw-mills, profits of the mines, stamped paper, duty on snuff, on cards, &c. &c.

Revenues.			
Land-tax	-	-	£.800,000
Sound duties†	-	-	100,000
Poll-tax and other taxes	-	-	300,000
Extraordinary contributions‡	-	-	200,000
			£.1,400,000

Expenditure in 1784.			
Civil list	-	-	£.400,000
Army	-	-	400,000
Navy	-	-	200,000
Payment of debts	-	-	200,000
Pensions	-	-	160,000
Jointure of the queen-dowager	-	-	16,000
Income of prince Frederic	-	-	8,000
			£.1,384,000

* The tax on marriages, as I am informed, has been abolished since my departure from Denmark; a tax which no wise legislature would ever impose; and if imposed by inadvertence, would take the first opportunity of repealing, as highly detrimental to the real interests of the community. This tax was as equitably laid on in Denmark as so injudicious an impost was capable of being distributed, the peasants and lower class of people being exempted. "La portion la plus nombreuse," says the author of *Les Lettres sur le Danemarck*, "et la plus pauvre de la société, les paysans, les matelots, et les soldats, n'y sont pas assujettis: mais si le mariage doit être encouragé par toutes les voies possibles, a plus forte raison mérite-t-il d'être libre de toute charge. Celle qui si paye ici est si modique, qu'elle ne forme pas un grand obstacle à la population." p. 165.

† The importance of the Sound duties to the government of Denmark, may be inferred from the number of vessels which passed the Sound in 1782:

English	-	-	1264	From Dantalc	-	-	328
Danish	-	-	1634	Lubec	-	-	112
Swedish	-	-	2121	Bremen	-	-	240
Russian	-	-	158	Hamburgh	-	-	50
Dutch	-	-	16	Rostock	-	-	89
Portuguese	-	-	38	Venice	-	-	3
Prussian	-	-	1907	Austrian Netherlands	-	-	505
							8465

In 1800, nine thousand and forty-eight vessels entered the Sound; and in some years even twelve thousand.

‡ Among the extraordinary contributions is the tax on honours and rank, laid in the following proportion: Persons of the first rank pay annually 80 rix-dollars, or 16l.; of the second 14l.; of the third 8l.; fourth 6l.; fifth 3l. 4s.; sixth 3l.; seventh 2l. 8s.; eighth 1l. 12s.; and ninth 1l. 4s. All the places and pensions are rated in the following proportion: Pensions not less than 400 rix-dollars, or 80l. and upwards, pay ten per cent.; from 70l. to 80l. 8 per cent.; from 60l. to 70l. 7 per cent.; from 50l. to 60l. 5 per cent.; from 40l. to 50l. 4 per cent.; from 30l. to 40l. 3 per cent.; and from 20l. to 30l. 2 per cent.

§ Since this was written, the revenue and expenditure have been somewhat augmented, and the debt considerably decreased.

The public debt in 1785 amounted to 3,600,000*l.* of which in time of peace about 200,000*l.* is annually liquidated. Lately, however, the liquidation of the debt owing to the subjects has been made in bank-notes. Although this measure saves to the nation the payment of the interest of four per cent in money, yet it too much promotes the increase of paper currency. The bank-notes are not exchanged at Hamburg, except under a discount from 16 to 20 per cent. There is but little specie in the country; that collected from the Sound duties being chiefly appropriated to the interest of the foreign debt, and the appointments of persons employed in Holstein; and the produce of the silver mines at Kongsberg scarcely exceeds 50,000*l.* per annum.

The army of Denmark is composed, 1, of the troops of Denmark and Holstein; and, 2, of Norway.

1. The forces of Denmark and Holstein are divided into, 1, Regulars; 2, National or militia. These forces (the foot and horse guards excepted, who are all regulars) are not separated, as in our army, into distinct regiments.

Before the late augmentation, every regiment of infantry, when complete, consisted of twenty-six officers, and one thousand six hundred and thirty-two privates, divided into ten companies of fusileers, and two of grenadiers. Of these one thousand six hundred and thirty-two privates, four hundred and eighty, who are chiefly foreigners enlisted in Germany, are regulars. The remaining one thousand one hundred and fifty-two are the national militia, or peasants, who reside on the estates of the land-holders, each estate furnishing a certain number in proportion to its value. These national troops are occasionally exercised in small corps on Sundays and holidays; and are embodied once every year, for about seventeen days, in their respective districts. By an addition of ten men to each company, a regiment of infantry was increased to one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, including officers.

The cavalry is on the same footing; each regiment consisting of seventeen officers, including serjeants and corporals, five hundred and sixty-five privates, divided into five squadrons. Of these about two hundred and sixty are regular, and the remainder national troops. The regiments of foot and horse guards are regulars; the former is composed of twenty-one officers, and four hundred and sixty-five men, in five companies, and the latter of seven officers, and one hundred and fifty-four men, in two squadrons.

2. The forces of Norway are all national troops or militia, excepting the two regiments of Sudensfield and Nodensfield; and as the peasants are free, the forces are levied in a different manner from those of Denmark. Norway is divided into a certain number of districts, each of which furnishes a soldier. All the peasants are, at their birth, registered for the militia; and the first on the list supplies the vacancy for the district to which he belongs. After serving from ten to fourteen years, they are admitted among the invalids; and, when they have attained the seniority of that corps, receive their dismission. These troops are not continually under arms, but are occasionally exercised, like the national forces of Denmark. A fixed stipend is assigned to the officers, nearly equal to that of the officers in the regulars; but the common soldiers do not receive pay, except when in actual service, or performing their annual manœuvres.

The army is supplied with officers by the Academy of Land Cadets, instituted by Frederic IV, where seventy-four cadets are instructed in the military sciences at the royal expence. According to a list of the Danish army printed in the Appendix, the total number of troops consisted, in 1785, of sixty-six thousand nine hundred and nine.

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Navy. From their insular situation, the Danes have always excelled as a maritime people. In the earlier ages, when piracy was an honourable profession, they were a race of pirates, and issued from the Baltic to the conquest of England and Normandy. And though, since the improvement of navigation by the invention of the compass, other nations have risen to a greater degree of naval eminence, still, however, the Danes, inhabiting a cluster of islands, and possessing a large tract of sea-coast, are well versed in maritime affairs, and are the most numerous, as well as the most experienced sailors of the North. During my stay at Copenhagen I visited the dock, and inspected with great attention, the fleet at anchor in the harbour.

The expence of building the hulk of each ship amounted to 200*l.* per gun, and to 1000*l.* when the vessel is completely rigged, and ready to sail, with four months' provisions. The greater part of the oak is procured from Germany by contract with the king of Prussia.* All the cannon, shot, anchors and iron work, are cast in Norway. The Danes procure flax, hemp, and masts from Russia, and pitch and tar from Sweden; they have manufactories of cordage and sails, but not sufficient for the use of the fleet: the remainder is obtained from Russia and Holland.

The greater part of the Danish navy is stationed in the harbour of Copenhagen, which lies within the fortifications: the depth of water being only twenty-feet, the ships have not their lower tier of guns on board, but take them in when they get out of port. Besides large magazines, each vessel has a separate store-house on the water's edge, opposite to which she is moored when in harbour, and may by this means be instantly equipped. The number of registered seamen is fourteen thousand six hundred, divided into two classes; the first comprises those inhabiting the coasts, who are allowed to engage in the service of merchant-ships trading to any part of the world. Each receives 8*s.* annually from the crown as long as he sends a certificate of his being alive; but is subject to recal in case of war. The second comprehends the fixed sailors, who are constantly in the employ of the crown, and amount to about four thousand, ranged in four divisions, or forty companies: they are stationed at Copenhagen for the ordinary service of the navy, and work in the dock-yard. Each, when not at sea, receives 12*s.* per month, beside a quantity of flour and other provisions; every two years a complete suit of clothes, and every year breeches, stockings, shoes, and a cap. Some are lodged in barracks. When they sail their pay is augmented to 20*s.* per month. The marine artillery consists of eight hundred men, in four divisions.

In 1779 the navy consisted of thirty-eight ships of the line, including nine of fifty guns and one of forty-four, and twenty frigates; but if we except those which are condemned, and those which are allotted only for parade, we cannot estimate the fleet so high as twenty-four ships of the line, and fifteen frigates, fit for service: a number, however, fully adequate to the situation of Denmark; and, if we include the excellence of the sailors, it must be esteemed as complete a navy as any in the North.†

A ship of ninety guns, with its full complement, carries eight hundred and fifty men, of seventy guns seven hundred, of sixty-four guns six hundred, of fifty guns four hundred and fifty, and a frigate of thirty-six guns two hundred and fifty. Most part of this

* Holstein produces oaks, but not a sufficient quantity; and they are preserved in case of extreme necessity.

† The author of the *Voyage de Deux Francois*, gives the state of the Danish navy in 1791. It differs little, as to number, from the list in the Appendix to this volume; and consists of one ship of ninety guns; two of eighty; ten of seventy-four; five of seventy; six of sixty-four; three of sixty; and three of fifty; besides five old men of war, with eighteen frigates from forty-two to twenty guns. Of this number twelve ships of the line, and seven frigates were built since 1774. *Voyage de Deux Francois*, vol. i. p. 84.

fleet is generally moored at Copenhagen, except four or five ships of the line in the ports of Norway, a frigate stationed off Elsinore, another lying off the isle of Funen, and a smaller vessel on the Elbe, beside a frigate or two which annually make a cruise.

In 1779, the year of the armed neutrality, the northern powers sent out different armaments; that of Denmark, which was fitting out in the spring, consisted of ten ships of the line, four frigates, and two sloops of twenty guns; and the expence of the equipment was chiefly supplied by an additional duty of one per cent. laid on all imports, and an half per cent. on exports. For manning this fleet one thousand fixed sailors were selected, three thousand five hundred registered from the country, and one thousand marines.

The chief nursery* for naval officers is the Academy of Marine Cadets, instituted by Frederic IV, in 1701. The foundation is for sixty cadets, who are maintained and instructed in the theory of navigation at the expence of the crown. Every year they make a cruise on board a frigate. Beside the original number, other youth are admitted, under the name of volunteers, at their own expence.

The established religion of Denmark is the Lutheran. The hierarchy consists of twelve bishops, or superintendants; six in Denmark, four in Norway, and two in Iceland. There is no archbishop; but the bishop of Zealand, who is first in rank, and the bishop of Aggerhuus, are metropolitans.

The annual revenues of the sees are: In Denmark: Zealand 1000l. Funen 760l. Aarhus 600l. Aalborg 400l. and Ripen 400l. In Norway: Christiana or Agherhuus, 400l. Christiansand 600l. Berghen 400l. and Dronthiem 400l. In Iceland; Skalholt 150l. and Holun 150l. These two last bishoprics, although far inferior in nominal value to the former, are, if we take into consideration the cheapness of living in Iceland, perhaps equal in real profits to the largest of the others.

The inferior clergy are provosts or archdeacons, parish-priests and chaplains. Each diocese is divided into a certain number of districts, of which the provosts have the inspection, and each district into parts. A large parish, beside the principal church, has one or more chapels of ease. The parish-priests receive their salaries principally in glebe, tithes, and surplice fees, and in some places from the voluntary contributions of the parishioners. The profits vary in the different parts, according to the cheapness of provisions and other incidental circumstances. In Denmark the livings seldom exceed 400l. or fall short of 60l. per annum, Jutland excepted, in which peninsula there are a few scarcely worth 20l. In Norway the highest may be rated at 200l. and the lowest at 60l. In Iceland some parishes scarcely bring in 3l. or 4l. a year. A clergyman's widow usually receives the whole profit of her husband's cure for the year immediately following his decease, and a pension from his successor, amounting to the eighth of the annual income.

CHAPTER IV.

University of Copenhagen....Royal Academy of Sciences....Royal Society for the Improvement of Northern History and Languages....Latin Schools in the Danish Dominions....Researches into the Origin and Progress of Icelandic Literature....Flora Dani- ca....Oeder and Muller....Regenfuss on shells, &c. &c.

COPENHAGEN contains, among other literary institutions, an university, and an academy of sciences. The university was founded in 1479, by Christain I, and has been augmented and amply endowed by his successors; amongst whom Christian VI,

* Lettres Sur le Dannemarc, p. 10.

was the greatest benefactor. Under that monarch the university was newly modelled, and several regulations established, which were calculated for the encouragement and diffusion of learning. It has a considerable fund; the professors have liberal salaries, and many students are instructed gratis.

The royal academy of sciences* owes its institution to the zeal of six literati, whom Christian VI, in 1742, ordered to arrange his cabinet of medals. These persons, occasionally meeting for that purpose, extended their designs; associated others who were eminent in several branches of science, and forming a literary society, employed themselves in examining and explaining the history and antiquities of their country. The count of Holstein warmly patronised the society, and at his recommendation Christian VI, took it under his protection, called it the royal academy of sciences, endowed it with a fund, and ordered the members to join to their former pursuits, natural history, physics, and mathematics. In consequence of the royal favour, the members engaged with fresh zeal in their pursuits; and the academy published many volumes of transactions in the Danish language, some of which have been translated into Latin.

About the same period a society for the improvement of northern history and languages was instituted by a few persons, at the head of whom was Langebeck, since greatly distinguished for his historical publications. These persons contributed to a collection of manuscripts, books, coins, and other literary curiosities; and even advanced a sum of money to support the expence of the establishment. Many new members being admitted, Christian VI, with his usual zeal for letters, constituted it, in 1746, a Royal Society, and assigned an apartment in the palace of Charlottenburgh for the place of meeting. This society has proved itself not unworthy of the royal protection; having given to the world several publications, containing historical details, titles, documents, diplomas, rare manuscripts, and charts, which tend to throw considerable light on the annals of Denmark.

Beside the universities of Copenhagen and Kiel, there is an academy at Soroe, two gymnasia at Odensee and Altona, and a seminary for Laplanders at Berghen in Norway. There are various Latin schools maintained at the expence of the crown; nineteen in Denmark Proper, four in Norway, eleven in Schleswick, sixteen in Holstein, and two in Iceland. The largest schools have a rector, or upper-master, a corrector, or lower-master, and two or three collegæ scholæ, or assistants: the smallest have only a rector. The salaries of the masters vary from 60*l.* to 200*l.* a year. Each parish is also provided with two or three schools for the Danish tongue: where children are instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic. These country school-masters have in general a salary of about 12*l.* per annum, a house, and a few other advantages.

I must also mention two schools at Copenhagen for the children of the nobility and gentry, who are unable to bear the expence of a liberal education; one for boys, and the other for females. The school for boys is under the direction of Professor Tretchow, chaplain of the garrison-church at Copenhagen, a gentleman of considerable erudition, who, considering it as an act of charity, receives no recompence for his trouble. An inspector has 60*l.* per annum. The day scholars pay only 6*l.* a year, and the boarders 20*l.* they learn history, geography, and arithmetic, are instructed in

* *Lettres sur le Dannemarc*, vol. ii. p. 53. The count of Holstein was the first president; and the six persons who first formed the design were John Gram, Joachim Frederic Ramus, Christian Louis Scheid, Marc Woldikey, Eric Pontopidan, and Bernhard Moelmann. See *Scripta a Soc. Haf. Edita*. Vol. i.

the articles of religion, and have masters for the German, French, and English languages.

In general the Danish literati have particularly turned their researches to the history and antiquities of the north; on which subjects many curious works have been printed, and more are preparing for public inspection. Among those who have greatly distinguished themselves in this branch of learning, must be mentioned the names of Meurhus, Holberg, Olaus Wormius, Pontopidan; and lately those of Langebek, Schoening* and Suhm.

Among the performances lately printed on these topics, those in the Icelandic tongue deserve particular notice; as they tend to throw considerable light on the antiquities, history and mythology of the northern nations: Iceland being in the remote ages, while Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, were in a state of perpetual warfare, the repository of northern literature. On observing such a number of Icelandic manuscripts as are contained in the Danish libraries, I was greatly astonished to find that Iceland, considered by the ancients as the Ultima Thule, or the extremity of the world, and by us as scarcely habitable, abounded in learning and science, at a time when great part of Europe was involved in darkness.

History does not ascertain the first population of Iceland; when occupied by a colony of Norwegians in the latter end of the ninth century, it contained but few inhabitants, whose ancestors were supposed to have emigrated from England or Ireland; but whose number was inadequate to resist the invaders. Afterwards other emigrants landing from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, the original inhabitants were lost amid the swarm of new settlers, who introduced the worship of Thor and Odin, and all the rites and customs which prevailed among the nations of the neighbouring continent. Their language was the old Gothic or Teutonic, the vernacular tongue of the Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians, which, on account of their insular situation, was preserved pure for a considerable time. The alphabet was composed of the Runic characters, only sixteen in number; yet to these Icelanders we are indebted for almost all the historical monuments of the northern nations now remaining. From them sprung the Scalds, those ancient bards who have transmitted, in their historical poems, the principal events which happened in these remote quarters of the world, from the arrival of Odin to the introduction of christianity; a period of barbarism and ignorance, which, without their labours, had been totally unknown to posterity. Although these Scaldic odes blend occasionally improbable narratives with historical events; yet, as the intelligent critics may separate facts from fable, and truth from fiction; and being the only sources of information relative to the early affairs of the north, they must be considered as valuable monuments of antiquity. The recital also of these compositions, at public entertainments, before the princes whose deeds they celebrated, and who, as well as many other persons present, were well acquainted with the subject of the poem, affords a collateral proof of their authenticity.†

* Langebek, who, among other learned publications, has put forth "*Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Ævi*," printed at the king's expence, was a native of Jutland, and born in 1710; and, after a life devoted to the pursuits of learning, died about 1776.

Schoening, the learned editor of Snorro Sturlensis Historia, and many other interesting works, was born at Schatnas in Norway, in 1722, and died in 1778. The curious reader, who is desirous of further information on this subject, will find an ample detail of the lives and writings of these two indefatigable antiquaries, in the prefaces to the fourth and fifth volumes of the *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum*, which publication is continued by Mr. Suhm, with the same diligence and accuracy that distinguished the judicious Langebek.

† Snorro Sturleson, who drew from these Scaldic odes many materials for his Chronicle of the Kings of Norway, thus speaks of them:

Some of these odes were written in Runic characters,* the far greater part, however, were only consigned to memory; but on the introduction of christianity into Iceland, in the latter end of the ninth century,† the Runic letters were exchanged for the Roman alphabet: schools were founded; the love of science, which had in some degree maintained itself, even when the inhabitants were in a state of Paganism, revived with fresh vigour, ancient poems were collected, many chronicles digested into a regular form, and the traditions of Pagan theology rescued from oblivion. The Icelanders possessed several historians, long before a single annalist appeared among the nations from whom they were descended. Their authors Islief, Arc, and Sæmund, who flourished in the eleventh century, preceded Saxo-Grammaticus and Sueno, the earliest of the Danish, Swedish, or Norwegian writers.

It would be an interesting speculation in the theory of mankind, to ascertain, "how it came to pass that a people disjoined from the rest of the world, few in number, depressed by poverty, and situated in so unfavourable a climate, should be capable, in those dark ages, of manifesting such a taste for literature. Were we better informed of certain particulars relating to the state of the north during those remote ages, we might possibly find the cause of this phænomenon, either in the poverty of the inhabitants of Iceland, which drove them to seek their fortunes in the neighbouring countries, or in the success of their first bards at foreign courts, which excited their emulation, and at the same time prepossessed strangers in their favour: or lastly, in the nature of their republican government, in which the talent of oratory, and the reputation of superior sense and capacity, are the direct roads to dignity, respect, and preferment."‡ To these causes may perhaps be joined the political tranquility of Iceland; amid the civil commotions that convulsed the neighbouring nations, the inhabitants had sufficient leisure for literary occupations; and some may be induced to add the nature of their climate, which obliged them to seek for some relief against the tediousness of long nights and continued darkness.¶

But to return to the Icelandic authors. The most ancient historian was Islief, bishop of Skalholt: he was son of Gissur Albus, a person of great distinction in Iceland, and descended from the ancient kings of Denmark, who considerably promoted the estab-

"Præcipue carmina sumus secuti, quæ coram ipsis principibus aut eorum filiis sunt decantata, vera reputantes omnia, quæ istis in carminibus de eorum gestis aut bellis memoriz sunt prodita. Mors quidem Skaldis est receptum, præcipue laudare, cui ministrant. Ast nemo facile auderet, coram ipso principe, laudes et facta cantare, quæ tam ipse quam alii præsentibus scirent mera esse figmenta. Hoc dedecori non laudi esset." See Preface to Schoening's edition of Snorro Sturlensis, p. 12. note.

* "Though we have no reason to believe they were cut upon stones, as was practised among us (no Runic stones having been found there, whose age reaches to the times of Paganism) they used, however, to scratch them on their bucklers, and sometimes on their ceilings and walls; and the *Laxdæla Saga* makes mention of one Olof of Hiardarhult, who had a large house built, on the beams and rafters of which remarkable stories are said to have been marked, in the same manner as *Thorkil Hake* cut an account of his own deeds on his bedstead and chair." Letters on Iceland, p. 158.

† In the *Kristni Saga*, the introduction of christianity into Iceland is thus related: "Thorwaldus, a person of some distinction in Iceland, the inhabitants of which were all idolaters, happening to travel through Saxony, commenced acquaintance with a certain bishop, whose name was Frederic; any being instructed by him in the Christian doctrines, was baptized. He then prevailed upon the bishop to return with him to Iceland, in order to convert the natives to christianity. And as the bishop was ignorant of the language, Thorwaldus, receiving instruction, preached to the people, and many were baptized. This event, which laid the first foundation of the Gospel in Iceland, happened in the year 280." See *Kristni Saga*, p. 3, &c.

‡ Northern Antiquities, vol. i. p. 392.

¶ *Ipsi in defossis specubus securæ sub alta*

Olla agunt terra—

Hic noctem ludo ducunt. Virg. Georg. III. 376.

part, however, into Iceland, in for the Roman degree maintained with fresh regular form, and s possessed scions from whom flourished in the t of the Danish,

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ted: "Thorwaldus, a , happening to travel Frederic; and being d upon the bishop to and as the bishop was ople, and many were happened in the year

ishment of christianity. Islief was born in 1006; and, having received the first rudiments of learning from his father, was sent, in the sixteenth year of his age, into Saxony, for the purpose of completing his education, and made rapid advances in several branches of knowledge.* Being ordained priest, he returned to Iceland; fixed his residence at Skalholt, where his father had erected a church, and preached the Gospel with fervor and persuasive eloquence. Islief was the first native bishop of Iceland: he was raised to that dignity in the fiftieth year of his age, at the request of the inhabitants, by particular desire of the emperor Henry III, and during the pontificate of Leo IX. He was consecrated by the archbishop of Bremen, on the sixth of January 1056; and returning the same year to Iceland, fixed the see at Skalholt, where he continued until his death, which happened in 1080, in the seventy-fifty year of his age. Islief is described as a person of a dignified aspect, affable, just, and upright in all his actions, liberal and beneficent, though, from the scantiness of his income, frequently reduced to extreme penury. The fame of his learning and piety being widely diffused, many foreign bishops visited Iceland, for the purpose of receiving his instructions; and his memory was so highly revered among his countrymen, that his name was esteemed synonymous to sanctity and erudition. He married Dalla, daughter of Thorwal, by whom he had three sons, all celebrated for their talents and knowledge; but particularly Gissur, who succeeded his father in the bishopric, and inherited his zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, and the promotion of learning. Islief guarded against the decline of literature in Iceland, by assiduously instructing many pupils, some of whom became eminently distinguished, and two were advanced to the episcopal dignity. He was well versed in the history of the north, and compiled several annals, which, though now lost, furnished materials for the chronicles of the earliest Icelandic authors, whose works are extant. I allude to Are, surnamed the Sage, who was educated by Teitus, son of Islief; Sæmund Sigfusson, for his great erudition denominated Polyhistor, and Snorro Sturleson, styled by his learned editor, the Herodotus of the north; all of whom immediately succeeded Islief, and wrote on the history of Norway.

Many subsequent annalists made their appearance, of whom it would be superfluous to give an account. Several of their writings, composed in the Icelandic tongue, have been given to the public, some printed in Iceland,† others in Sweden; but the greater part in Denmark, accompanied with Swedish, Danish, or Latin translations.‡ The most important of these publications is a folio edition of the chronicle of Snorro, printed at Copenhagen in 1778, accompanied with a life of the author. He was born in 1178, received his education, and completed his studies in Iceland; became chief magistrate of the country, and was killed in an insurrection in 1241, in the sixty-third year of his age. According to his biographer, he was an excellent poet, an accurate historian, a skillful lawyer, a proficient in the Greek and Latin tongues, and not ignorant of mathematics and mechanics.§ From his chronicle, Torfæus, the late annalist of the north,

* This account of Islief I have extracted from *Fristni Saga*, p. 106 to 109, 130 to 141. *Hungerva- ka Saka*, p. 13 to 25.

† Von Troil informs us, that printing was introduced into Iceland by John (or Jonas) Areson, bishop of Holun; that John Mathiesson, a Swede, was the first printer; and that the first book was the *Breviarium Nidarosiense*, printed in 1531 at Holun. He adds, that new types were brought thither in 1574; and that the Icelandic bible was printed in 1584. See *Letters on Iceland*, p. 182.

‡ For a list of the Icelandic authors, see *Preface to Annales Biornonis de Skardsa*, p. 5. *North. Ant. i. p. 52, et passim. Letters on Iceland*, letter xiv. The library of the British Museum contains about one hundred and eighty Icelandic manuscripts. See *Ayscough's catalogue of the manuscripts of the British Museum*, p. 890.

§ *Preface*, p. ix.

chiefly drew the materials for his History of Norway, and he acknowledges himself more indebted to Snorro than to any other writer.

From the fourteenth century, history and letters gradually declined in Iceland, and it was involved in the same darkness which had overspread Europe. The reformation, which was introduced in the middle of the sixteenth century, occasioned the revival of science. Although there never have been wanting among the inhabitants men of considerable learning, yet, as knowledge has widely diffused itself in Sweden and Denmark under the protection of their sovereigns, these kingdoms have become greatly enlightened, and Iceland is no longer the sole repository of northern genius.*

Although the Danish literati have directed their chief attention to history and antiquities; yet they have by no means been deficient in the study of nature.

Frederic V, the late king of Denmark, a munificent patron of the sciences, founded, in 1753, a botanical garden, intended principally to facilitate a liberal design of giving a complete history, and engravings of all the native plants in the Danish dominions.† The superintendence of this garden (with a stipend) and afterwards the professorship of botany in the Royal Academy of Copenhagen, were conferred on Mr. Oeder, who was chosen to conduct the work. In prosecution of this design, he visited at the expense various parts of Denmark and Norway, and began the publication in 1762.

The Flora Danica was intended to contain, in the folio form, figures of all the indigenous plants of Denmark, Norway, those of the dutchies of Sleswick and Holstein, and many from Iceland; a tract of country extending more than sixteen degrees, between the fifty-fourth degree of latitude and the North Cape. A history of all these plants, in octavo, was also promised; but this part of the plan has not yet been completed.

Of this Flora Danica, a number, or fasciculus, containing sixty plates, was intended to be annually published; the first came forth in 1762, but, according to the usual fate of periodical undertakings of such considerable extent, several causes have retarded its regular progress, and the fifteenth fasciculus only, completing the number of nine hundred plates, or five volumes, made its appearance in 1782. This work may be purchased either coloured or plain. The names of the plants are not engraved on the plates; neither from the nature of the subject could any regular method or system be observed. The plants are separately figured; each engraving contains one plant only, except in those of the class Cryptogamia, where, in some instances, several are given in the same plate. Prefixed to each fasciculus is a nomenclature, with the Linnæan names, a new select synonymes, and an account of the places of growth. As often as the size will admit, the plant is exhibited in the natural magnitude; in others, a branch only, and in most instances, the parts of fructification are separately delineated; an article indispensable to botanical accuracy. In some of the larger plants, beside the branch of the natural size, the whole is given on a reduced scale; but it must be confessed, that this part of the design is the least meritorious; happily it does not often occur.

The twelfth fasciculus, in 1777, was accompanied with an index of all the plants already engraved, or intended to be contained in this work; by which it appears, that

* I am chiefly indebted for information upon the literary history of Iceland to Mallet's North. Antiq. translated by Dr. Percy, bishop of Dromore; Von Troil's Letters on Iceland, translated by Forster; Torfæi Hist. Norw. Snorro Sturlensis Hist. Regum Norw. and the several publications of the Icelandic writers printed at Copenhagen.

† This account of the Flora Danica, and of Messrs. Oeder and Muller, was chiefly communicated to me by Dr. Pulteney, to whom I have been so repeatedly obliged.

the whole number will nearly amount to one thousand eight hundred species; of which more than five hundred and seventy are of the class Cryptogamia, or that which contains the ferns, mosses, algæ, and fungi. That any curious persons, yet unacquainted with this work, may judge how far it might be subservient to their knowledge of English botany, it may be added, that out of nine hundred and eighty species already figured in the fifteen first fasciculi, more than seven hundred are spontaneously produced in Britain.

Magnificent and accurate as this work is, and though conducted at the king's expense, truth will not be offended by asserting, that the execution of it is still inferior to a performance of the same kind now publishing in England, at the risk of an individual. I allude to Curtis's *Flora Londinensis*; which, for the magnitude of the plates, the nice discrimination and figures of the fructification, has not been paralleled by any other publication of such scope and design: nor is the merit of the *Flora Londinensis* confined to the accurate elegance of the plates; it contains a minute description of each plant, and is enriched by scientific, useful, and æconomical observations, either extracted from the best writers, or derived from the extensive knowledge of its author. It is but justice to add, that the minute plants of the class Cryptogamia, in the delineation of which the *Flora Danica* is extremely deficient, are figured with the utmost exactness by Mr. Curtis, who introduced to the English botanist five new species of agarici.*

Christian Oeder, to whom, through the liberality of his monarch, we are indebted for the *Flora Danica*, was the pupil and friend of the celebrated Haller, under whom he was educated at Gottingen. According to Dr. Nugent's account of Oeder,† he visited England in his younger days, and acquired a great knowledge of the language. Whilst student at Gottingen, he translated all the English treatises for a Latin edition of Dr. Mead's works, which Haller published in two volumes octavo, in 1748. The succeeding year he took his doctor's degree in physic, and wrote, on that occasion, a thesis, which Haller calls, "*Docta Dissertatio contra Revulsionem & Derivationem.*" In 1752, at which period he was settled at Copenhagen, the Royal Academy of Sciences at Gottingen named him a correspondent member; and soon after he was made superintendent of the botanical garden at Copenhagen, and professor of botany. In 1752, Oeder presided at the public disputation of Dr. Peter Aæranus, and took that occasion to write on irritability; a subject on which the experiments and observations of his great master had drawn the attention of anatomists and physicians.

Having performed many journeys into the different provinces of Denmark, accompanied by a draughtsman, and collected great materials for the intended *Flora*, he published, in 1762, the first fasciculus; and in 1764, as a part of his plan, his *Elements of Botany*, in octavo. This work exhibits a profound knowledge of the subject; and the author has given the outlines of a new method of arrangement, adapted only to the plants of Europe. The second volume of the elements was printed in 1766; and is embellished with fourteen excellent plates, explanatory of the technical part of his subject. His system was intended to comprise eight classes: 1, *Cryptanthæræ*; 2, *Monocotyledones*; 3, *Ameitacææ*; 4, *Incompletæ*; 5, *Calycarpæ*; 6, *Calycanthemæ*; 7, *Monopetalæ*; 8, *Polypetalæ*. Of this system the author has only exemplified the first class, which he published in a separate volume in 1770, in octavo; and in which are methodically ar-

* *A. Ostreatus*; *Plycataliz*; *Ghutinossus*; *Floccosus*; *Velutipes*. Mr. Curtis published only two volumes of this splendid work, which has been interrupted by his death, which happened in 1799.

† See Nugent's *Travels through Germany*, vol. I.

ranged one thousand two hundred and thirty-nine species, with the specific names, from Dillenius, Haller, and Linnæus.

It is greatly to be regretted, that this ingenious naturalist has been called from the paths of science by an appointment to an office in the treasury, where he has shewn himself no less qualified to excel in the civil line.

After the publication of the eleventh fasciculus in 1775, the further prosecution of the work was committed to the care of Dr. Otto Frederic Muller, a gentleman who afterwards gave to the public several valuable specimens of his knowledge in natural history; particularly a curious work under the title of *Historia Vermium*; another under that of *Zoologiæ Danicæ Prodrômus*; and engaged, under the highest patronage, in publishing the figures of all the rarer animals of the kingdom of Denmark, under the title of *Zoologiæ Danicæ Icones*, of which two fasciculi made their appearance.*

In speaking of the publication of natural history, it would be unpardonable to omit the most splendid work of the kind ever produced in any nation. It is a collection of rare shells, in two volumes folio, engraved and coloured by Francis Michael Regenfuss at the royal expence. The first volume contains a short account of the collections of natural history, and particularly of shells, in Denmark; a preliminary discourse on conchology, with a detail of the authors who have written on the subject, and their different systems, and seventy-eight complete and delicately coloured figures, in twelve plates, accompanied with scientific descriptions in the Latin, French, and German languages.†

The kings of Denmark have occasionally deputed, and still continue to send, at their expence, men of learning not only through their own territories, but to various parts of the globe, for the purpose of extending the bounds of knowledge.

Langebek travelled through the Danish dominions and Sweden with a view to collect documents, charters, and other state papers, relative to the ancient history of the North; and Schoening for the same purpose, at the expence of prince Frederic. Among others employed in the execution of the same plan, Dr. Moldenhauæ, a gentleman of various and profound erudition, visited England, France, and Spain, where he examined the libraries for oriental and classical manuscripts.

But the literary expedition which reflects the highest honour on the crown of Denmark, and holds up an example to other sovereigns, was begun in 1761, under the auspices of Frederic V, who at the suggestion of the late count Bernsdorf, dispatched four persons,‡ eminently versed in different branches of science, to Arabia; of which curious and interesting journey Niebuhr, the only survivor, has published a much esteemed account.§

There are two libraries at Copenhagen belonging to the king, a private and a public, both in the apartments of the palace. The private library contains twenty thousand volumes; the public one hundred and ten thousand, and seven thousand manu-

* Since the death of Dr. Muller, who completed only the fifteenth fasciculus, the *Flora Danica* has been continued by professor Vahl, well known from his *Symbolæ Botanicæ*, or description of plants collected by Forskal during his journey into the East, to which are added others seen by the professor himself in the south of Europe, and in Africa. The same author has enriched botanical science by a description of American plants not before known, in a work entitled *Eclogæ Americane*.

† *Choix de Coquillages Gravees*.

‡ Frederic Christian Haven for oriental languages; Forskal and Dr. Cramer for natural history; Niebuhr for history and geography: they were accompanied by a draughtsman.

§ *Beschreibung von Arabien; Reise Beschreibung nach Arabien*, &c. in 3 vols. This work has been translated into the French language. *Description de l'Arabie*. They departed from Copenhagen in 1761.

scripts. Among the manuscripts are many Persian and Arabic, brought from Arabia by Niebuhr. Among those of the classics, I observed a beautiful Cicero's Rhetoric on vellum, and a no less beautiful Virgil on vellum, of the eleventh century, which has been collated by the learned Heyne of Gottingen for his excellent edition of the Roman poet.

This collection is extremely rich in Icelandic books, and in all publications relative to the antiquities and history of the three northern kingdoms. The art of typography must have been introduced late into Denmark; as the earliest book printed at Copenhagen is Skansky Logh, or king Waldemar's Law of Scania, which bears the date of 1505.

The library of count Thott, probably the largest private collection in Europe, contains one hundred and ten thousand volumes, and above five thousand manuscripts. It is as remarkable for the rarity as for the number of the books, and is particularly rich in the palæographia, or early printed books, of which there are above two thousand of the fifteenth century.*

Mr. Suhm's collection deserves also to be visited by the lover of letters. It contained, 1785, fifty thousand volumes collected by himself; it abounds with historical and topographical publications in all languages, particularly those which relate to the antiquities and history of northern Europe, the favourite object of his researches. He possesses also many curious manuscripts in the Greek and Oriental languages, particularly those which belonged to the celebrated Reiskius, for the purchase of which he gave the widow an annuity of 40l. This library is open every morning from nine to eleven, for the use and inspection of men of letters, and the students of the university.

Suhm is justly considered one of the most learned men in Denmark, in regard to the history and antiquities of the north. He has given to the public several works on these subjects, much esteemed for profoundness and accuracy of research: among others, on the Origin of Nations in general; on the Origin of the Northern nations; concerning Odin, and the Mythology of the Northern Nations; on the Emigrations of the Northern Nations, 2 vols.; Critical History of Denmark, 2 vols.; History of Denmark.

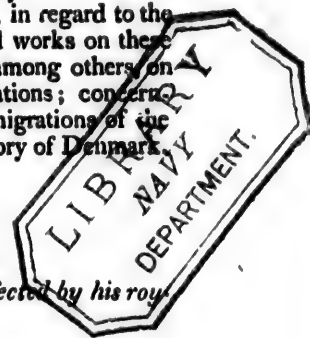
CHAPTER V.

Presentation to the prince Royal.... Revolution in the Administration effected by his royal highness.

JULY 16th, 1784. In a private audience of the prince royal, I had the honour of presenting the first edition of my Travels in Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. His royal highness conversed with me for a considerable time; and by his questions and remarks, gave strong signs of a comprehensive mind, and of a disposition formed for government. I could not avoid admiring a prince, who, at the age of sixteen, acted with so much firmness, secrecy, and discretion; and who lately effected a change in the administration of this kingdom, no less by his own prudence and courage, than by the advice and assistance of his friends.

Since the imprisonment and exile of Matilda, the whole power was vested in the queen-dowager Juliana-Maria; and the administration, which ostensibly carried on the public affairs, was subservient to her views, and to those of her son prince Frederic.

* This curious and valuable collection, since the death of count Thott, has been sold by auction; the catalogue consists of several volumes, and is a desirable acquisition to the literati.



By means of his cousin, the queen-dowager, the king of Prussia* gradually acquired an almost absolute sway in the cabinet of Denmark ; and directed the foreign affairs in subserviency to the views of the French court, and in opposition to the interests of England. Count Bernsdorf, prime-minister, being the only person in the Danish ministry who ventured to oppose the French and Prussian party, his dismissal was resolved in the cabinets of Versailles and Berlin ; and his conduct, with regard to the armed neutrality, furnished an opportunity to effect their purpose.

The king of Prussia having prevailed on the reigning party to accede to the armed neutrality, a measure so hostile to the interests of England, count Bernsdorf, though unable to prevent the measure had yet sufficient address to insert an article in the treaty, that Denmark should maintain its former alliances.

This conduct gave great disgust to the king of Prussia ; and prince Ferdinand of Brunswick was sent to offer Bernsdorf, that he should be continued in the office of prime-minister, if he would agree to the armed neutrality without the aforesaid stipulation ; but to threaten him with instant dismissal if he persevered in maintaining that point. Bernsdorf, nobly disdaining to hold his office on such dishonourable terms, was dismissed from his employments, and retired into Germany ; and his removal gave unlimited scope to the Prussian party, which governed the queen-dowager.

Guldberg, formerly professor of the academy of Soroe, and preceptor to prince Frederic, was the person in whom the queen-dowager confided ; and in the capacity of private secretary to the king, was the secret, though not the ostensible minister. A change was also introduced in the usual mode of issuing the royal mandates, which secured to the queen-dowager and her party the most absolute sway.

Previous to this change, the general affairs of government were transacted in the privy-council, consisting of as many members as the king chose to appoint ; all particular business was carried through the different boards of finance, marine, and commerce, and the king always signed the decrees and edicts separately from each board.

To extend their influence and authority, the reigning party introduced a kind of private cabinet, in which the royal orders were issued exclusively of the several boards. By this means the privy-council became little more than a cypher ; the respective boards were only employed in fulfilling the king's orders ; and, as the king himself was incapable of governing, the queen-dowager, who had possession of his person, could obtain his signature on all occasions, and was, in effect, sovereign without controul.

Nothing could alter this state of affairs, but the admission of the prince into the privy-council ; and as, according to the laws of Denmark, he could not be sworn a member until he had been confirmed and taken the sacrament ; and as, in order to be confirmed, he was to undergo a public examination, the governing party contrived to delay that ceremony, under the pretence that he was not sufficiently instructed in the articles of religion. Reports were industriously circulated, and as readily believed, by those whose interest it was to believe them, that the prince's abilities were extremely moderate. And, although it was usual for the prince-royal to be confirmed, and take his seat in the privy-council at thirteen, yet this ceremony was repeatedly postponed long after he had reached that age.

When the prince had nearly attained his sixteenth year, they could not venture to delay his confirmation, but as the fatal hour approached, every precaution which prudence or art could suggest was taken to gain the prince, and continue the power in the same

* Frederic the Second.

hands. For this purpose, his governor, general Eiksted, who was not beloved by his royal pupil, was dismissed; and Spore, his preceptor, and supposed to be his favourite, appointed secretary of the cabinet. A new privy-council was nominated, consisting almost entirely of the queen-dowager's creatures, in which Guldberg had the principal sway. Every thing seemed to bend before the queen-dowager, the prince effected a revolution as singular as it was unexpected.

On the 4th of April 1784, the prince was confirmed in the royal chapel of Copenhagen, in the presence of the king and court. According to the custom of the Lutheran church, he underwent a previous examination by the king's chaplain, which continued above an hour; and the prince replied to every question in a sensible manner; sufficiently proving, from the readiness and perspicuity of his answers, that the reports of his incapacity were malicious and unfounded. He spoke in a loud, clear, manly tone of voice, with a dignity and propriety which astonished the assembly; and repeated the oath, to continue true to the established church, in so feeling a manner, as drew tears from the eyes of many who were present.

Having, on a subsequent occasion, received the sacrament, he was admitted into the privy-council; and on the morning of the 14th of April, took the accustomed oath. About five in the afternoon, the prince and members of the new privy-council assembled for the first time in the king's presence. Steman, who was at the head of the treasury, was going to propose the ordinary business of the day, but was interrupted by the prince; turning to the king, his royal highness thanked his majesty for his education, and remonstrated against many abuses in the late administration of affairs, particularly on the irregular mode of issuing orders from the cabinet, and not from the different boards of government. He then said, "Conscious of my own inexperience, I cannot advise your majesty for the glory of the crown, or the advantage of the nation, unless the privy-council consists of those persons who possess my confidence, and the confidence of the people. But, in the present instance, neither myself nor the nation can place any confidence in the persons now in power; I therefore request your majesty to dissolve the present privy-council, and to appoint in their place count Bernsdorf, and such other persons as I take the liberty of recommending. I hope and trust that your majesty will issue an order, that no edict shall be valid unless countersigned by me." At the conclusion of these words, which he uttered with great firmness and moderation, he laid the appointment of the new privy-council before the king, and entreated him to sign it.

All the members (except baron Schach Rathlow, who alone was acquainted with the prince's determination) were so petrified with astonishment, as to be incapable of making any resistance. But when the king appeared to hesitate, one of the members rose, and said, "Sir, his majesty cannot sign such papers without due consideration," and endeavoured at the same time to snatch them from the prince's hand. The prince replied with some warmth, but with great dignity, "Sir, it is not your business to advise his majesty on such occasions, but mine, who am heir apparent, and responsible to the nation for my conduct;" and again tendering the papers to the king, his majesty instantly signed them. The papers were sent by a confidential messenger to the chancery, and registered accordingly.

The privy-council being thus dissolved on the first time of their assembling in the king's presence, the prince himself announced the change to the queen-dowager in terms of high respect.

Throughout the whole transaction, the conduct of the young prince was remarkable for a discretion and secrecy extremely uncommon in a person of his age. Being discon-

tented with the queen-dowager, he had first entered into a secret correspondence with count Bernsdorf, continued his intercourse near two years, sometimes by letters, and sometimes by messages, and received from him instructions in what manner to proceed. While engaged in this business, he entered into another correspondence with Schach Rathlow, who had the principal share in procuring the dismissal of count Bernsdorf, but was now displeased with the persons in power, and made private offers to the prince, without being acquainted with his secret correspondence with Bernsdorf. The prince carried on this double intrigue under the direction of count Bernsdorf, in whom he implicitly confided, without being suspected by his preceptor Sporen, or by his governor, general Eiksted, and even lulled the suspicions of the queen-dowager: her majesty, in a conversation which she held with him about a week before the event, taxed him with holding a secret correspondence; to which he returned an evasive answer with such unconcern and serenity, that he entirely removed her suspicions.

Thus a boy, not sixteen years of age, duped veterans in court-intrigues, by pretending to be entirely friendly to the queen-dowager's party, and to acquiesce in the nomination of the new privy-council, at the moment he was determined to remove them. And although the project was entrusted to above ten persons, yet not one of them betrayed the smallest symptom which could create suspicion.

Every measure which prudence dictated was adopted on this important occasion. General Hut had assembled the guards in order to force the privy-council to compliance, should the members make any opposition; and the governor of the citadel was prepared to admit the prince within the fortress, if affairs had not turned out to his wishes. Fortunately the courage and address of the prince, and the popularity of his cause, rendered these precautions unnecessary.

The prince treated with great mildness all those persons whom he removed from their places. He conferred on the ex-minister Guldberg, a pension of 5000* rix-dollars, and appointed him governor of Aarhus, a species of honourable banishment. He nominated Steman governor of Hadersleben; assured him, he was convinced of the fidelity with which he had discharged his office of treasurer, adding, that if he could not sufficiently reward him, he would amply provide for his children.

The chief persons who acted as the prince's confidants, and who have since filled the principal offices in court and state, were M. de Schach Rathlow, count Bernsdorf, count Shimmelman, general Hut, and M. de Bulow, then gentleman of the bed-chamber, and now marshal of the prince's court.

The only foreigner who is supposed to have had any knowledge of the transaction, was Mr. Elliot, who had repaired to Copenhagen from Berlin in the capacity of British envoy; and the king of Great Britain was the first sovereign to whom the prince-royal communicated his success.

CHAPTER VI.

Excursion to Hirsholm, Fredericsborg, Friedensberg, and Fredericswerk.

THE shortness of my stay at Copenhagen during my first tour, and the earliness of the season, prevented me from making excursions in the environs of Copenhagen. My second tour in 1784, having afforded me an opportunity of gratifying my curiosity, I made an agreeable expedition to the palaces of Hirsholm, Fredericsborg, Friedensberg, and to the iron founderies of Fredericswerk.

* 1000l.

Hirsholm, a royal palace begun by Christian the Sixth, and finished by his queen, Christina Sophia, is a large quadrangular building of brick, stuccoed white, surrounded by a moat, and placed in a low and marshy situation. The suite of apartments is princely, but almost without furniture, as they have not been inhabited since the imprisonment and exile of queen Matilda, who made it her favourite residence. The dining-room is a large apartment, and remarkable for a jet d'eau, and twelve fountains, spouting from the sides. The gardens are formal, and full of jets d'eau. The place is so entirely neglected, that the court-yard is overrun with weeds, and the moat is a green mantled pool. Orders were lately received to put the palace in repair for the residence of the prince-royal, who displays an affectionate attachment to the memory of his mother.

In the gardens is a summer-house, which served as a temporary theatre for the diversion of queen Matilda, and her company; and in another part is a wooden building called a Norway-house, containing landscapes of Norway in relief, and imitations of rocks, with wooden cottages perched on them, and wooden roads. Near this building the walks are not unpleasantly carried through the grounds in the English style.

The road from Hirsholm to Fredericsborg winds agreeably, through a beautiful and undulating country, richly clothed with forests of beech, birch, and oak, and enlivened by small lakes in the recesses of the wood.

Fredericsborg was built by Christian the Fourth, and was so called in honour of his father Frederic the Second. It is an enormous and motley pile of building, partly of red brick, and partly of stone, partly Gothic, and partly in the Grecian style of architecture. It is built round three courts, each of which is surrounded by moats, and joined by bridges. The principal facade is full of niches, containing bad statues. In the inner court are two stories of seven arches, constructed with stone painted black, and pillars of dark Norwegian marble. This appendage contrasting with the red brick produces a strange effect; while a profusion of gilding and massy sculpture disfigures rather than adorns the building.

The situation, on the banks of a small lake, is not unpleasant. The palace contains a large collection of pictures, in great confusion, among which I observed a few not unworthy of notice. The crucifixion of our Saviour, by Andreas Peters, a Danish painter, in the reign of Christian the Fourth; three brought from Italy; by Frederic the Fourth; Saul and David, after the death of Goliath, by an unknown hand; Abraham and Melchisedec, by Caravaggio, displaying the long contrast of light and shade, and that vulgar nature which characterizes the works of that capricious painter; Jonas preaching to the Ninevites, by Salvator Rosa, the figures as large as life, and in the grand style of that great master; several tolerable paintings of the Flemish school, chiefly scriptural subjects.

One of the apartments contains a suite of the imaginary portraits of the kings of Denmark, before the conversion of the Danes to the christian religion. In another I observed the whole length figures of the kings of Denmark of the house of Oldenburgh beginning with Christian the First, and ending with Christian the Fifth, all originals. Of these the portrait of Christian the Second is the most striking, as it exhibits a fine expression of that melancholy, severity, and cruelty, which formed a prominent feature in the character of that detestable tyrant. A head of his queen Isabella, sister of the emperor Charles the Fifth, reminded me of her mild and amiable qualities; of the meekness and patience, and yet dignity, with which she supported the harshness and infidelities of her obdurate husband in the time of his prosperity; of her extreme attachment to him in the hour of his disgrace, of her unwearied attentions to soothe his disap-

pointment, and rouse him from his despondency; of her refusal to accept an honourable settlement offered by the states of Denmark, and of her noble answer, "that she had rather live with her husband in banishment, than reign without him."* She survived his deposition only three years, and died in the palace of Ghent, in 1526. Anne of Denmark, sister of Christian the Fourth, and queen of James the First. Several of Charles the First, one in his princely robes, when a boy of fifteen, and another by Vandike, when a young man.

The chapel is a handsome apartment, but more remarkable for costliness than taste. The walls are hung with the escutcheons of the knights of the Elephant, the first order in Denmark; as is the gallery with the escutcheons of the knights of the order of Danebrog.

The palace of Friedensberg, four miles from Fredericsborg, is delightfully placed at a small distance from the lake of Esserom, a piece of water fifteen miles in circumference. I scarcely ever beheld a situation more capable of improvement, and wished for a disciple of Brown to lay out the ground. But this beautiful spot is spoiled (if it can be spoiled) by cut yews, straight walks, a profusion of statues and triumphal arches, where nature and simplicity are expelled; for in those parts, on the opposite side of the lake, where the grounds are covered with natural forests, the scenery is extremely beautiful and picturesque.

The palace is a brick building stuccoed white, consisting of a front, and two wings. It was built by Frederic the Fourth, and called Friedensberg, or the mansion of Peace, because it was finished in 1720, when the peace was concluded with Sweden, after a long war which had desolated both countries. As a memorial of this event, a wooden pillar, painted like marble, and a small statue of Peace, are erected in the æra before the palace, more expressive of the satisfaction with which Frederic gave peace to his subjects, than of his taste in sculpture. It bears this inscription: *Paci statuam, arcem, quodque reliquum fuit vitæ, dedicavit Fredericus Quartus, 1720*; † a promise which the monarch inviolably maintained during the remainder of his reign, and which reflects high honour on his memory, as he possessed a spirit of enterprise and undaunted courage. From this period he had leisure to attend to the internal regulations of his kingdom, and to form useful establishments, particularly the foundation of several country schools, which endears his memory to his countrymen.

Nothing more is wanting to render Friedensberg a most delightful spot, than to remove the cut hedges, level the terraces, to permit the forest trees to expand and grow; in a word, to leave nature to herself. In the garden is a curious assemblage of statues, placed regularly on circular terraces of earth, which are of stone painted white, and represent the Norway peasants habited in their various dresses.

We did not attempt to request the permission of seeing the palace, as it is inhabited by the queen-dowager, Juliana Maria: ‡ the place of her retirement, since the prince-royal has taken into his hands the administration of affairs.

Early the next morning we quitted the village of Friedensberg, where we found a neat inn, with comfortable accommodations, and returning by the palace of Fredericsborg, passed on to Fredericswerk, near the Ise-fiord, a bay of the sea, on the northern shore of Zealand, where general Claussen has established various manufactories, a foundery for cannon, and other works, for supplying the Danish army and navy with

* Mallet, *Hist. des Dan.* vol. ii. p. 277, 4to.

† To peace, this statue, palace, and the remainder of his life, were dedicated by Frederic the Fourth, 1720.

‡ The queen-dowager is since deceased.

stores. The general, to whom we had a letter of recommendation, received us with great cordiality and politeness, and accompanied us over the works.

General Claussen established these works in 1756, on the expectation of a Russian war, when the government was scantily supplied with military stores. He fixed on this spot as the most convenient for water to turn the mills; gave in his proposals to government, which were instantly accepted, and completed his plan notwithstanding numerous obstacles.

We embarked with the general on a canal which forms the communication between a small lake, and the Ise-fiord. This cut was begun in 1717, by command of Frederic the Fourth, to prevent the inundations of the lake from overflowing the royal estates; and from thence the place was called Fredericswerk. It was finished in 1720, but the soil being a light-sand, and the banks cut perpendicularly, they fell down and choked the canal for a space of 500 feet. The general found it therefore necessary to new form the canal. He cut through several parts above 70 feet in depth, sloped the banks, covered them with earth, and in some places with sea-weed, fastened by branches of fir, to prevent the sand from being drifted away. He then planted the slopes with willows, alders, elm, and oak, which he was obliged to water every day for a year. By these means the plants thrive, and now clothe the high banks to the edge of the water.

In the same manner he planted the adjacent country for the space of several miles, which was either a morass, or covered with drifted sand. Frederic the Fourth in vain endeavoured to fertilize this waste; for when he thought he had succeeded, the sand in one year covered many miles, in some places, to the astonishing height of eighty feet. General Claussen however has succeeded, and has shewn that ingenuity is of more avail than absolute power. By fixing the sea-weed into the ground with fir branches, he rendered the soil stable, and fertilized, at great labour and expence, a desert of several miles. Thus a tract of country, which before only fed two-and-thirty cows, now yields, besides a large quantity of fire-wood, in a favourable season, above five hundred loads of hay.

At the extremity of this cut, we turned into another canal, formed entirely by the general; it was made through quick sands, and the banks likewise sloped and planted. He employs at present only three hundred and forty men. All the workmen are his own peasants, who of course labour at a reduced price. He has built for their habitation rows of houses, with rude stones washed with stucco, made from equal quantities of the pounded scoria of iron, quicklime, and chalk, and has found from experience that it is extremely durable. His works consist of a foundry for cannon and balls, and for making salt-petre and gunpowder, with bake-houses and breweries. He boasted, that in 1772 he furnished the army of Norway with artillery in three months; and at two months notice he could supply a fifty gun ship with all her artillery, ammunition, and military stores. In shewing us his works, he laid claim to many new inventions. He saws and polishes cannon, by a mill so contrived as to answer various purposes; he saws off the waste pieces of copper from the cast cannon, which operation was the work of sixteen men for three days, and is now performed in an hour. By means of the same mill, and a kind of turning machine, he polishes the cannon in the manner of turning, which used to be done by the tedious operation of filing. He has invented a simple machine to twist the hot iron bars for anchors; a mode which he prefers as stronger and better than the usual method of hammering the bars together. In his powder-mills he uses copper mortars, as much safer than those of wood, which are apt to become dry, and harbour the powder in the small crevices. He employs two ranges of mortars in each row, or sixty-four in each

powder-mill, wherein only twenty are generally used, and beats only ten pounds of powder with each mortar. The expence of copper mortars is considerable, as each costs 20l. but the mills are less liable to accident, and if blown up, the mortars are again recovered.

On taking leave, the general pressed us much to dine with him; but we excused ourselves, being under the necessity of reaching Elsinore, and engaged to dine the next day with Mr. De Conig. In our way to Elsinore, we stopped at a small village, and expected to find but scanty fare for our dinner; but were agreeably surprised at seeing the table covered with some cold provision, and four bottles of tokay, which the general had secretly ordered his housekeeper to deliver to our servants.

CHAPTER VII.

Island of Huen....Memoirs of Tycho Brahe.

FOR the purpose of visiting the small isle of Huen, celebrated for the residence of Tycho Brahe, we embarked at See Lust on board a five oared boat belonging to count Shimmelman, and landed in two hours and an half.

Huen lies six English miles from the coast of Zealand, and three from that of Sweden, nine from Elsinore, and fourteen from Copenhagen. It formerly belonged to the Danes, but was ceded to the Swedes at the peace of Roschild in 1658.

This little island is six miles in circumference, contains a scattered village, one church, which is a pretty object on the north-west coast, about fifty houses, and two hundred and fifty inhabitants. It produces hay, and every species of corn, more than sufficient for interior consumption. The inhabitants maintain two hundred horses, one hundred and fifty cows, four hundred sheep, and the same number of swine. The island pays, in quit-rent and taxes to the king, about 150l.

We landed on the south-west part in a small bay, just below the place where a stream, supplied by numerous pools and fish-ponds, falls into the sea. We ascended the shore, which is clothed with short herbage, crossed the stream, and passed over a gently waving surface gradually sloping towards the sea, and walked a mile to a farm-house standing in the middle of the island, inhabited by Mr. Schaw, a Swedish gentleman, to whom the greater part of the island belongs. He lives here in summer, but in winter resides at Landsrona. This dwelling is the same as existed in Tycho Brahe's time, and was the farm-house belonging to his estate. A guide, whom we obtained from Mr. Schaw, conducted us to the remains of Tycho's mansion, which are near the house, and consist of little more than a mound of earth which enclosed the garden, and two pits, the sites of his mansion and observatory. From this delightful spot, the highest point in the island, we enjoyed a noble prospect; on one side, the coast of Zealand, stretching from Copenhagen to Elsinore; the shores gently sloping, embrowned to the margin of the water with rich wood, and beautifully sprinkled with villages and villas; on the other side, we traced the rocky and almost naked cliffs of Sweden, ornamented with the distant spires of Landsrona, Lund, Malmoe, and Helsingborg, and to the north a boundless expanse of ocean, its undulating surface covered with innumerable vessels sailing in all directions. A few anecdotes of the Danish astronomer, who has rendered this little island remarkable in the history of literature, will not perhaps be unacceptable to the reader.*

* For the life of Brahe, I have consulted chiefly Gassendus's *Equitis Dani Tychonis Brahe Astronomi Coryphæi vita*; Jossenus de *vita et mor. Tych. Bra. Orat. Funebris*; and Hoffman's *Portraits Hist. des Hommes Illus. de Dannemarc*, article Brahe.

Tycho Brahe, descended from a noble and illustrious Danish family, was born in 1546 at Knudstorp, a small lordship near Helsingborg in Scania. His father, Otto Brahe, having a large family, Tycho was educated under the care and at the expence of his uncle, George Brahe, who having no children, adopted him as his heir. Finding his nephew a boy of a lively capacity, and inclined to study, Tycho was instructed in the Latin tongue, unknown to his father, who considered literature as inglorious, and was desirous that all his sons should follow the profession of arms.

In the twelfth year of his age, Tycho was removed to the academy of Copenhagen; and was casually incited to the study of astronomy by an eclipse of the sun, which happened on the 21st of August, 1560. He had for some time examined the astrological diaries or almanacks, which pretended to predict future events from the inspection of the stars; but when he observed that the eclipse happened at the precise time at which it was foretold, his admiration was lost in astonishment; and he considered that science as divine, which could so thoroughly describe the motions of the heavenly bodies, and foretell their relative positions. From that moment he devoted himself to astronomy.

In 1562 he was sent to Leipsic for the purpose of studying civil law; but gave to the law only those hours which his tutor's importunity wrested from him, devoting the greater part of his time to his favourite science; and as his tutor continually remonstrated against those studies which diverted his attention from the law, he conceived an unconquerable disgust for that profession, and more assiduously, though secretly, continued his astronomical pursuits. For this purpose he expended his pocket money in the purchase of astronomical books, and having obtained a small celestial globe, took the opportunity, while his preceptor was in bed, of examining the heavenly bodies, and before the expiration of a month, made himself acquainted with all the stars which appeared above the horizon. Inspired with the same ardent zeal in pursuit of his favourite science, he learned mathematics without a master, and invented several mathematical instruments.

Having passed three years at Leipsic, he was preparing to pursue his travels through Germany; but on the death of his uncle returned to his native country, to superintend the estates, which he largely inherited. Instead of finding himself encouraged and esteemed for his wonderful progress in astronomy, he was treated with contempt by his relations and acquaintance for his pursuit of a science which they considered as degrading. Disgusted at their behaviour, he settled his affairs, hastened his departure from a country wherein he met with repeated mortifications, and before a year had elapsed set out on his travels. He proceeded to Wittenberg, and afterwards to Rostock, where an accident happened which nearly occasioned his death.

Being invited to a wedding feast, he had a dispute with a Danish nobleman relative to some subject in mathematics; and as they were both of choleric dispositions, the dispute ended in a duel. In the conflict part of Tycho's nose was cut off. To remedy this defect, he contrived a factitious nose of gold and silver, which he fastened by means of a glue, so artfully formed, it is said, as to bear the appearance of nature, and to deceive many who were not acquainted with his loss.

From Rostock Tycho continued his travels, and prosecuted his studies in the principal towns of Germany and Italy, particularly at Augsburg, where he formed an acquaintance with the celebrated Peter Ramus. He invented and improved various mathematical instruments, gave the plan of an observatory, which was constructed at the expence of the burgmaster Paul Hainzell, and formed a series of astronomical observations, which

astonished and surpassed all who had hitherto been considered as the greatest proficient in the science.

On his return to Copenhagen, in 1570, he was disgusted with the ceremonies of the court; and being importuned with innumerable visits, removed to Herritzvold, near Knudstorp, the seat of his maternal uncle, Steno Bille, who alone of all his relations encouraged him to persevere in his astronomical labours, and consigned to him a commodious apartment, and a convenient place for the construction of an observatory and laboratory.

During his residence with his uncle, Tycho, besides his astronomical researches, followed with no less zeal the study of chemistry, or rather of alchymy, from the chimerical view of obtaining the philosopher's stone, that he might amass sufficient riches to settle in some foreign country, where he might not be under the necessity of appearing at court, or being interrupted in his studies by visitors.

But neither philosophy, nor the unwearied zeal with which he prosecuted his studies, could exempt him from the passion of love. Being a great admirer of the fair sex, he conceived a violent inclination for Christina, a beautiful country girl, the daughter of a neighbouring peasant, and alienated his family by espousing her. Love is ingenious in devising excuses. Our philosopher justified the choice of his heart, and gave many whimsical reasons for preferring a woman of low birth. He dreaded a wife who might be under the necessity of frequenting the court, a life to him most detestable; he therefore preferred one whose situation precluded her from what he styles a painful honour, who, grateful to her benefactor, would be dependent on himself alone, would be happy to accompany him in his travels, would consider a subserviency to his inclinations as a duty, and not object to his continued application. Whatever effect these reasons might have in inducing our philosopher to marry, yet they had none on a proud family, who conceived themselves disgraced by Tycho's mis-alliance, and refused to hold any intercourse with him, until Frederic the Second commanded them to be reconciled. Tycho seems not to have repented of his choice; but ever found in his beloved Christina a grateful companion and an obedient wife.

About this period he first appeared as a public teacher, and read lectures on astronomy at Copenhagen, by the express desire of the king. He explained the theory of the planets, and preceded his explanation by a learned oration on the history and excellency of astronomy and the sister sciences, with some remarks in favour of judicial astrology, a study as congenial to the times as to the inclinations of our philosopher.

Offended with his relations, and disgusted with his countrymen, he had long determined to quit Denmark, and settle abroad. After travelling through Germany and Italy, he at length fixed on Basle, to the choice of which place he was influenced by the wholesomeness of the air, the cheapness of living, and the celebrity of the university, from whence he might hold an easy correspondence with the astronomers of France, Germany, and Italy.

On his return to Denmark, he was preparing with the utmost secrecy to transport his library and astronomical apparatus, but was prevented from carrying his design into execution by an unexpected summons from the king. Frederic, secretly apprised of his intentions, was unwilling that Denmark should be deprived of so great an ornament, kindly embraced him, offered his protection, presented him with the island of Huen, and promised to erect the buildings and apparatus necessary for his pursuits. He also settled on him a pension of 1000 crowns a year, and gave him a canonry of Roskild worth not less than 2000 crowns.

Tycho, transported at this instance of his sovereign's liberality, did not hesitate accepting the offer. He repaired to the isle of Huen, and on the 8th of August, 1576, was present at laying the first stone of a magnificent house, which he afterwards called Uranienburgh, or the Castle of the Heavens. It was a building of sixty feet square, containing a large suite of apartments, an observatory, and a subterraneous laboratory; and although the king supplied 100,000* rix-dollars, Tycho Brahe did not expend less than the same sum. He afterwards constructed a detached building for his observatory, which he called Stiernberg, or the Mountain of the Stars.†

In this retreat Tycho Brahe passed twenty years, and greatly improved the science of astronomy by the diligence and exactness of his observations. He maintained several scholars for the purpose of instructing them in geometry and astronomy; some of whom were sent at the expence of the king; others, who voluntarily offered themselves, he received and supported at his own charge.

He did not, however, pass the life of an anchorite or a recluse; on the contrary, he lived in a sumptuous manner, kept an open house with unbounded hospitality, entertained and received all persons, who flocked in crowds to visit the island, and pay their respects to an astronomer of his renown.

During his residence in this island, he received numerous visits from persons of the highest rank, particularly from Ulric duke of Mecklenburgh, in company with his daughter Sophia queen of Denmark; William, landgrave of Hesse Cassel, whose correspondence with Brahe on astronomical subjects has been given to the public, and who had shewn himself a constant patron to the Danish astronomer.

In 1590 Tycho was honoured with a visit from James king of Scotland, afterwards king of England, when that monarch repaired to the court of Copenhagen to conclude his marriage with the princess Anne, and remained eight days at Uranienburgh. On retiring, the king presented the astronomer with a magnificent present, and afterwards accompanied his royal licence for the publication of his works, with this flattering testimony of his abilities and learning: "Nor am I acquainted with these things from the relation of others, or from a mere perusal of your works; but I have seen them with my own eyes, and heard them with my own ears, in your residence at Uranienburgh, during the various learned and agreeable conversations which I there held with you, which even now affect my mind to such a degree, that it is difficult to decide, whether I recollect them with greater pleasure or admiration; as I now willingly testify by this licence to present and future generations, &c."

His majesty also composed, in honour of the Danish astronomer, some Latin verses, more expressive of esteem and admiration, than remarkable for classic elegance.

In 1592 Tycho was honoured with a visit from his own sovereign, Christian the Fourth, then in the fifteenth year of his age, who continued some days at Uranienburgh. The king shewed great curiosity in examining the astronomical and chemical apparatus, expressed the highest satisfaction in receiving explanations, proposed various questions on several points of mathematics and mechanics, to which his majesty was attached, and particularly on the principles of fortification, and the construction of ships. He was also highly delighted with a gilt tin globe, which represented the face of the heavens,

* 20,001.

† A plan of the island, and a curious engraving of these buildings and of the garden, is to be found in *Portraits Historiques des Hommes illustres de Dannemarc*, under the article Tycho Brahe. An engraving of Uranienburgh is inserted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for November 1789, with explanations exactly similar to the engravings and explanations in the *Portraits Historiques*, excepting that Stiernberg is omitted.

and being turned on its axis, shewed the rising and setting of the sun, together with the motions of the planets and heavenly bodies; a wonderful contrivance for that age. Tycho, observing the delight of the young king, presented this machine to his majesty, who accepted it, gave him in return a gold chain, and assured him of his unalterable protection and attachment.

Notwithstanding, however, these assurances, the king's youth was worked upon by those courtiers who were envious of the astronomer's merit, or who had been offended by the violence of his temper, and the severity of his satire, and under various pretences prevailed on Christian to deprive him of his pension, and the canonry of Roskild.

Tycho, thus deprived of the means to support the great expences of his establishment at Uranienburgh, quitted with chagrin his favourite residence, and repaired to his house at Copenhagen, where he waited for an opportunity to retire from his native country. Having transported from Uranienburgh all the instruments and apparatus which could be removed, he departed from Copenhagen with his wife and family, landed at Rostoc, and remained a year at Wansbeck with his learned friend Henry Rantzau.

Having dedicated a treatise on astronomy to the emperor Rhodolph the Second, he accepted a flattering invitation from that monarch, and repaired to Prague in 1599. The emperor received him in the kindest and most honourable manner, built for him an observatory and laboratory, settled on him an ample pension, and treated him with the highest marks of deference and respect.

In the service of Rhodolph he passed the remainder of his days, but did not live long to enjoy his protection. He had enjoyed a good state of health till the year previous to his death, when his constitution, somewhat weakened by intense application, was still farther shattered by the chagrin occasioned by his removal from Uranienburgh. At that period he began to experience symptoms of complaints which announced his approaching dissolution, but which he concealed as much as possible from his friends. He was reduced, however, to so low a state, as to be affected with the most trifling circumstances, which he considered as prodigies, and would frequently interrupt his sallies of wit with sudden reflections on death.

The immediate cause of his decease was a strangury, which being attended with the most excruciating torments, brought on a violent fever, and a temporary delirium; in the midst of which he was heard repeatedly to cry out, "*Ne frustra vixisse videar.*"* The delirium at length subsiding, he became composed, and recovered his senses; but from his extreme weakness, perceived that he had not many hours to live. Accordingly he gave orders with the utmost coolness and resignation, amused himself with composing an extempore copy of verses, sung various hymns, offered up prayers and supplications to the Supreme Being, recommended to his family and friends piety and resignation to the divine will, exhorted his pupils to persevere in their studies, and conversed with Kepler on the abstruse parts of astronomy. Thus, amidst prayers, exhortations, and literary conversation, he expired so peaceably, that he was neither heard nor seen,† by any of those who were present, to breathe his last. He died in October 1601, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

It is remarkable, that this enlightened astronomer was so affected with the rage of system-making, as to reject the simple and beautiful system of Copernicus, established by the most incontrovertible proofs, and endeavour to reconcile the absurdities of the

* That I may not seem to have lived in vain.

† Tam tranquille ut nec deficere nec visus sit nec auditus. Oratio Funebris, p. 27.

Ptolemaic hypothesis. He was, indeed, too well acquainted with the motions of the heavenly bodies, not to be convinced that the sun was the centre of the system; and though struck with the simplicity and harmony of that of Pythagoras, revived by Copernicus, yet out of respect for several passages of scripture, he absurdly endeavoured to reconcile (what were never intended to be reconciled) his learning with his faith. He rejected the diurnal rotation of the earth on its own axis; supposed that the earth was quiescent; that the sun, with all the planets, was carried about the earth in the space of a year; and that the planets, by their proper motions, revolved round the sun in their several periods: thus retaining the most absurd part of the Ptolemaic hypothesis, which makes the whole planetary system revolve round the earth in the space of twenty-four hours.

Tycho, indeed, was so bigotted to his own hypothesis, even in his last moments, as to desire his favourite scholar, the great Kepler, to follow his system rather than that of Copernicus.

If we were to estimate the merits of Tycho Brahe as an astronomer, we should compare the science as he left it with the state in which he found it. His great merit consisted in his inventions and improvements of mathematical instruments, and in the diligence and exactness with which he made astronomical observations for a series of years. As his instruments were remarkably good, he composed a catalogue of seven hundred and seventy-seven fixed stars, observed by himself, with an accuracy unknown to former astronomers; he discovered the refraction of the air, demonstrated, contrary to the prevailing opinion of those times, that the comets were higher than the moon, and from his observations on the moon and planets, the theories of their motions were afterwards corrected and improved.* He was the first who composed a table of refractions, and shewed their use in astronomy. Such is the reputation of Tycho Brahe, for his great proficiency in that science, that Costard, in the history of Astronomy, has fixed on his name for the beginning of a new period.

He embraced a large circle of the arts and sciences. He cultivated poetry, and wrote Latin verses, not without some degree of classic elegance. He drew the plan for building the castle of Cronborg, and sketched the design for the noble mausoleum of Frederic the Second, which was executed in Italy, and is erected in the cathedral of Roskild. He dabbled also in physic; was fond of being consulted, and gave his advice and medicines gratis; he invented an elixir, which he calls an infallible cure for epidemic disorders, of which he published the recipe in a letter to the emperor Rhodolph.

He was a good mechanic. He possessed several automates, took great delight in shewing them to the peasants, and was gratified if they were considered as spirits. Tycho was no less fond of being consulted as a fortune-teller, and willingly encouraged an opinion, that his knowledge of the heavenly bodies enabled him to observe horoscopes, and foretell events. Traditional fables of his predictions have been handed down to posterity, which shew his proneness to judicial astrology, and the weakness of those who believed his predictions.

At Uranienburgh Tycho Brahe had several contrivances calculated to deceive and astonish those who came to visit and consult him. Among others, several bells, communicated with the rooms in the upper story, inhabited by his scholars, the handles of which were concealed in his own apartments. Frequently, when company was with him, he would pretend to want something, and having secretly pulled the bell, would

* See Bonnycastle's Introduction to Astronomy, p. 61.

cry out, "Come hither, Peter," "Come hither, Christian," and was pleased to observe the astonishment of the company, who, not hearing the bells, were surprised at the appearance of the person thus summoned.

He was equally devoted to the study of chemistry, and expended as much on the terrestrial astronomy, as he styles it, as on the celestial. He left, indeed, no writings on that science, although he intended to publish a selection of his experiments, made with great labour and expence; yet he adds, in the true cant of alchymy, "O consideration, and by the advice of the most illustrious as well as the most learned men, I deem it improper to unfold the secrets of the art to the vulgar, as few people are capable of using its mysteries to advantage, and without detriment."

His foibles were as prominent as his virtues and capacity. He was of a morose and unbending disposition, indulged himself in two great freedoms of speech,* but while he rallied others was not pleased to be rallied himself.

He was greatly addicted to judicial astrology, and prone to credulity and superstition unbecoming his learning and judgment. If he met an old woman, he would instantly return home, and considered an hare as an ill omen. At Uranienburgh he had a fool, by name Sep, who was accustomed during dinner to sit at his feet, and whom he fed with his own hand. This man was continually uttering incoherent expressions, which Tycho noted down, from a persuasion that the mind, in a state of emotion, was capable of predicting future events: and even believed, if any inhabitant of the island was taken ill, that this idiot could predict his recovery or decease. He maintained, that the cabala and magic, if they did not act to the offence of God or man, could lay open many abstruse things by figures, images, and marks.

But to turn from the unfavourable to the brighter parts of his character, we may assent to the truth of the eulogium given by his panegyrist; to Tycho Brahe his studies were life, meditation delight, science riches, virtue nobility, and religion his constant guide.†

CHAPTER VIII.

Journey through the Isle of Zealand....Roskild....Cathedral....Sepulchres and Characters of the Danish Sovereigns, Harald Blaatand....Sweyn II....Margaret....Christian I....Saxo-Grammaticus....Royal Sepulchres at Ringsted....Passage across the Great Belt....Isle of Funen....Odensee....Tombs and Characters of John and Christian II....Passage across the Little Belt....Journey through Sleswic and Holstein....Canal of Kiel....Eutin....Lubec....Travemunde....General Remarks on the circular Ranges of Stones frequent in Sweden and Denmark....Genealogical Tables of the Kings of Denmark.

APRIL 5. Quitting Copenhagen we passed along an excellent road, through a well-cultivated open country, to Roskild, formerly the royal residence and metropolis of Denmark. It stands at a small distance from Æsefjord, or bay of Æse; and in its flourishing state, was of great extent, comprising within its walls twenty-seven churches, and as many convents;‡ but the present circumference is scarcely half an English mile, and the population only one thousand six hundred and twenty souls; the houses are of brick, and have a neat appearance.

* Nihil fictum; nihil simulatum in ipso; sed scaphum scaphum appellabat; unde omne quod sustinuit odium. Or. Fun. 269.

† Ipsi vita studia erant; deliciæ vero meditatio; divitiæ scientiæ; virtus nobilitas; religio directio. Oratio Funebris.

‡ Holberg, vol. i. p. 618.

The only remains of former magnificence are the ruins of a palace, and the cathedral, a brick building with two spires, in which the kings of Denmark are interred, and which, according to an inscription in the choir, was founded* by Harald VI, who is styled king of Denmark, England, and Norway. Some verses, in barbarous Latin, obscurely allude to the principal incidents of his life; adding, that he built this church, and died in 980.† Harald, surnamed Blaataud, was son of Gormo III, called the old, and the first king of Denmark who embraced the Christian religion. His name occurs in the Saxon Chronicles as one of the invaders of England in the tenth century, where he established his authority over the kingdom of the East Angles, and of Northumberland. But his history is so mixed with fable, that glaring contradictions appear in almost every incident. He lost his life in consequence of an insurrection headed by his son Sweyn; but whether he was slain in battle, or by the rebel party, is not known.

Harald was father of a line of kings, who raised the power of Denmark to the highest greatness. His son, Sweyn I, is well known in our annals for his depredations and tributary exactions; and his grandson, Canute the Great, who united in his person the crowns of England and Denmark, was the most powerful prince of his time. The immediate descendants of Harald Blaataud died and were buried in England; and his male line was extinct in the person of Hardicanute, the last sovereign who wore the two crowns.

In the same cathedral rest the remains of Sweyn II, the first of a line of sovereigns called the Middle Race. He was son of Ulf, governor of Denmark, who greatly signalized himself in war, by Estrida, sister of Canute the Great. Ulf being put to death at Roskild, by order of Canute, Sweyn fled into Sweden, and on the death of Hardicanute in 1042, claimed the crown of Denmark in right of his mother; for which reason he is generally known by the appellation of Sweyn the son of Estrida. The states, however, gave the preference to Magnus the Good, king of Norway; but on his death in 1047, unanimously elected Sweyn, who, by his abilities, had deserved his elevation. In a Latin inscription, he is called king of England, as well as of Denmark and Norway; although the crown of England had been restored to the Saxon line in the person of Edward the Confessor, and was afterwards seized by William the Conqueror. Sweyn sent a fleet against England to assert his right to the throne, as a lineal descendant from Canute the Great; but his troops were either defeated by William, or obliged to evacuate the island through the treachery of his brother. Sweyn is described by a contemporary historian,‡ who personally knew him, as a prince polite to foreigners, of elegant manners, and great literary accomplishments. He died in 1074, leaving thirteen sons and two daughters; five of the sons successively filled the throne of Denmark; and his posterity, in the male line, held it in possession until 1387, when Valdemar III, dying without male issue, the female branch succeeded; first in the person of Oloff II, son of the celebrated Margaret, and on his decease, in that of Margaret herself, whose ashes are also interred in this cathedral.

The sepulchre of this remarkable woman, styled the Semiramis of the North, stands conspicuous in the middle of the church, and is enclosed within a balustrade. The monument is of stone painted black, and on it lies the figure of the queen in alabaster, a

* Little of the original building now remains. According to Holberg, it was constructed of wood, and afterwards built with stone in the reign of Canute.

† Funditus hæc Jovi summo tunc condidit ædes,
Post natale Dei, dum scripsimus octuaginta
Nongentos, meruit scandere celsa poli.

‡ See the quotation from Adams Bremen in Pontoppidan's *Mar. Dan.* p. 2.

whole length, and, as we were informed, her exact size when alive. An inscription on the tomb, instead of enlarging in long fulsome flatteries, such as are usually paid to sovereigns, records the time of her death, and adds, "it was raised at the expence of Eric of Pomerania, in memory of a princess whom posterity could never sufficiently honour as she deserves." Less could not be said of a personage who justly claims our respect and veneration, and whose glorious reign has scarcely its parallel in the records of history. Margaret, daughter of Valdemar III, by Hedwige his queen, was born in 1353; and, if we may credit some Danish historians, owed her being to a circumstance as singular as her life was illustrious and eminent. Valdemar, returning from a hunting party, chanced to repair to the castle of Seborg, where he had confined his consort Hedwige on account of some ill-grounded suspicions. Being pleased with one of the queen's attendants, he proposed an interview; the woman feigned compliance, but substituted her mistress in her stead, and Margaret was the fruit of the meeting; which has led a Danish historian* to remark, in the high style of panegyric, that the good which he unconsciously performed that night in begetting Margaret, amply compensated for all the evil actions of his life. In the sixth year of her age she was betrothed to Haquin, king of Norway, son of Magnus, king of Sweden, which was the first step to her future greatness. This marriage, after much opposition on the part of the Swedes, was solemnized at Copenhagen in 1363, when she was only in the eleventh year of her age. Margaret gave so many proofs of her prudence and courage when Haquin lost the crown of Sweden, as induced Valdemar frequently to say of her, that nature intended her for a man, and had erred in making her a woman.†

On the demise of her father in 1375, she had the address to obtain the election of her son Oloff, then only five years of age, in preference to the son of her eldest sister Ingeburga; and on the death of Haquin, secured his succession to the crown of Norway. Being regent during Oloff's minority, her administration was so vigorous, prudent, and popular, that, on his premature death in 1385, she was chosen queen by the states of Denmark; the first instance, perhaps, in a government wholly elective, of a woman exalted to the throne by the free and unanimous suffrages of a warlike people. With the same address she procured the crown of Norway; and was equally successful in gaining that of Sweden. Albert was chosen king, and might have preserved his power, had it not been his fate to contend with such a rival as Margaret. In allusion to her sex, he styled her, in derision, the king in petticoats; she answered his reproach by actions, not by words, and made him sorely repent of his vaunts, when he found himself worsted in every engagement; when deposed and captive, he owed his life to the clemency of the very woman whom he had wantonly insulted. By the famous union of Calmar, in 1397, she united the three Northern kingdoms, and held them undivided during her reign, notwithstanding the aversion of the Swedes to the Danish government. But in no instance does the vigour and policy of her conduct appear more conspicuous than from this consideration; that the revolts and intestine convulsions, which continually disturbed the reigns of the sovereigns who immediately preceded and followed her, were subdued during her whole administration. This internal tranquility, more glorious, though less splendid, than her warlike achievements, and which was unusual in those turbulent times, could only be derived from the commanding ascendancy of her superior genius.

* "Regina eadem sui mariti & pellex, & uxor, & concubina. Quid ad hanc scenam Herculis navitas aut in Alcmenæ sinu Jupiter decumbens. Sane autem plus ea nocte Valdemarus fecit boni in scius quam per omnem vitam sciens fecerat mali; qui præciosissimam vitam donavit orbi tot regnorum compotem futuram Margaretam, & legem transgrediendo, felicem Daniam effecit." Berengii Florus Danicus, p. 506.

† Pontani Hist. Dan. 544.

This great princess died suddenly on the 27th of October 1412, in the sixtieth year of her age, and, if we include the period of her regency, in the 30th of her reign, leaving to her successor the quiet possession of the three kingdoms, and to her subjects the regret of her loss, by the experience of those calamities which burst upon the state when the sceptre was wielded by a less able hand. Her remains were first deposited at Soroe, but removed to this cathedral by order of the bishop of Roskild.*

All the sovereigns of the house of Oldenburgh, which still possesses the throne of Denmark, are interred in the cathedral of Roskild, excepting John, Christian II, and Frederic I.

Christian I, the father of this line, lies in a small chapel without monument or inscription. He was count of Oldenburgh, and owed his elevation, as well to his lineal descent from Eric VII, as to the moderation of his uncle Adolphus, duke of Sleswick. On the death of Christopher of Bavaria without issue, the states of Denmark offered the throne to Adolphus, as the nearest in blood to the deceased monarch; but he declining it on account of his advanced age, they, at his recommendation, elected his nephew Christian, then in the 22d year of his age. This event happened in 1448; and in the same year he obtained the throne of Norway, in right of his descent from one of their ancient kings. In 1558, on the deposition of Charles Canutson, he received the crown of Sweden, but wore it only a short time, as well through his own inactivity, as through the aversion of the Swedes to a foreign ruler. Christian I, reigned three-and-twenty years, a sovereign of great moderation and humanity; whose qualities, being less shining than solid, were more adapted to the interior administration of affairs, than to the exploits of war. He is justly characterised by an historian, as one of those princes who do not attract the admiration of mankind, yet whom Providence never bestows on a nation but as a signal mark of favour.†

The successors of Christian I, who are buried in the same church, seem in general to have inherited his pacific qualities; as all, except Frederic II, and V, and Christian IV, were princes of mild and temperate dispositions; patrons of the arts and sciences, rather than enterprising in arms; who yielded to others the palm of military glory, and for the most part shrunk before the daring spirit which animated the rival house of Vasa.

In the same chapel are the tombs of Christian III, and Frederic II. Their superb monuments executed in Italy, at the expence of Christian IV, are esteemed master-pieces of sculpture. The statues of the two sovereigns are as large as life, under a canopy of stone, supported by Corinthian pillars. Several figures of angels, and the basso-relievos round the mausoleum of Frederic II, representing that prince's battles, are much admired. No tomb is erected to the memory of Christian IV, justly called by Wraxall, the idol of Danish History: his body is deposited in a coffin covered with velvet, ornamented with silver trophies, escutcheons, and angels holding crowns of laurel.

It would be tedious to enumerate the other sepulchres of the royal family, most of which are loaded with inscriptions of great length; the reader, who is desirous of further information, will find them accurately transcribed in Pontoppidan's *Marmora Danica*, and in *Travels through Denmark*, published in 1702.

* *Hic primum sepulta, sed postea per Dominum Petrum Episcopum Roskildensem violenter translata, & Roskildis sepulta.* Langebek, tom. iv. p. 542.

† "Plus grand aux yeux de la saine raison qu'à ceux du vulgaire, il fut peut-être un de ces princes que les peuples ne louent que foiblement, mais que le Ciel ne leur accorde que quand il veut leur prouver son amour." Mallet, *Hist. de Dan.* tom. ii. p. 95.

The annexed genealogical tables trace in regular descent the kings of Denmark, from Harald Blaatand to the present sovereign.

In addition to these royal sepulchres, I shall mention that of Saxo-Grammaticus, the most ancient historian of Denmark.

Saxo descended from an illustrious Danish* family, was born about the middle of the twelfth century,† and, on account of his uncommon learning, distinguished by the name of Grammaticus. He was provost of the cathedral church of Roskild, and warmly patronised by the learned and warlike Absalon, the celebrated archbishop of Lunden, at whose instigation he wrote the history of Denmark. His epitaph, a dry panegyric in bad Latin verses, gives no account of the æra of his death, which happened, according to Stephens, in 1204. His history consisting of Sixteen books, begins from the earliest æra of the Danish annals, and concludes with the year 1186. According to the opinion of an accurate writer,‡ the first part, which relates to the origin of the Danes, and the reigns of the ancient kings, is full of fables; but the eight last books, and particularly those which regard the events of his own times, deserve the utmost credit. He wrote in Latin, and the style, if we consider the barbarous age in which he flourished, is in general extremely elegant, but rather too poetical for history.§

After having satisfied our curiosity in examining the tombs of Roskild, we continued our journey, and passed the night at Ringsted, a small, but neat town, situated almost in the centre of the island: according to some antiquaries, it was built by Sigurd Ring, king of Denmark, who reigned in the 7th century; but this notion seems merely founded on the similarity of the name. The church, which is esteemed the most ancient Christian temple in Denmark, is a brick building, with two low square towers. Within, several Danish kings of the house of Sweyn II, are interred. The tombs are much more simple than those at Roskild; being generally plain slabs level with the pavement, exhibiting figures in armour carved on plates of brass, or on the naked stone, with Latin inscriptions, mostly effaced by time. A few of the sepulchres, which are somewhat more modern, are raised in the shape of coffins. The first sovereign buried in this church is Waldemar I, who expired in 1182; and the last is Eric VIII, surnamed Manved, who died in 1319.

April 6. We pursued our route to Corsoer, the place of embarkation, on the Great Belt, which separates the Isle of Zealand from that of Funen. Corsoer stands on the western point of the Isle of Zealand on a small peninsula, has a good harbour for light vessels, and is fortified by a citadel defended by a rampart of earth and bastions, with a few useless cannon, more for form than service. It contains the commander's house, formerly a royal palace, and a granary, and is garrisoned by a few invalids.

* Some authors have erroneously conjectured, from his name Saxo, that he was born in Saxony; but Saxo was no uncommon appellation among the ancient Danes. See Olaus Wormius Monumenta Danica, p. 186, and Stephens's Prolegomena, p. 10.

† Stephens, in his edition of Saxo-Grammaticus, printed at Soroe, undubitably proves, that he must have been alive in 1156, but cannot ascertain the exact place and time of his birth. See Stephens's Prolegomena to the notes on Saxo-Grammaticus, p. 8, to 24; also Holberg, vol. i. p. 269; and Mallet's North. Antiq. vol. i. p. 4.

‡ Holberg.

§ Mallet, in his *histoire de Dannemarc*, vol. i. p. 182, says, "that Sperling, a writer of great erudition, has proved, in contradiction to the assertions of Stephens and others, that Saxo-Grammaticus was secretary to Absalon; and that the Saxo provost of Roskild was another person, and lived earlier." If so, Saxo-Grammaticus, the historian, is probably not buried at Roskild; but I trust the reader will not be displeased with the account of an author so little known as Saxo-Grammaticus.

Zealand, which we crossed in our way from Copenhagen to Corsoer, is the largest of the isles belonging to the king of Denmark, being about seven hundred miles in circumference. That part which we traversed, appears a gently waving surface; for the most part open, dotted occasionally with small woods of beech and oak, and diversified with beautiful lakes. The island is exceedingly fertile: it produces grain of all sorts, and in great plenty, abounds with excellent pasture, and is famous for its breed of horses. The fields, which seemed well cultivated, were in many parts formed into inclosures, separated by mud walls: a few cottages were of brick; but the generality were of mud white-washed.

April 8. The wind blowing high, and directly contrary, we were detained two days at Corsoer before we embarked for the isle of Funen; the distance between the nearest points on each coast is eighteen miles. At mid-day we passed the small island of Sproe, near which lay a guard-ship, for the purpose of collecting toll from all vessels which passed between that island and Zealand; other ships pay their duty at Nyborg. Sproe contains only two buildings, a small inn for the occasional refreshment of the guard-ship's crew, and a neat farm-house; it produces grain and pasture. On the top of an height overlooking the sea, we observed the ruins of an ancient fortress, which formerly belonged to pirates, who used to resort in great numbers to this island.

After a favourable passage of four hours, we landed at Nyborg, a small well-built town, in the Isle of Funen, standing on a commodious bay. The town is surrounded with a rampart and ditch, and garrisoned by a company of invalids. An inscription over an old square building informed me, that Christian III, son of Frederic I, raised the fortifications. Towards the skirts of the town, and close to the ramparts, are the remains of an old palace, in which Christian II, was born; and to the roof of which, as his biographer* relates, he was conveyed, while an infant, by a tame monkey, and brought down without receiving the least harm.

In the afternoon we reached Odensee, the capital of Funen; a place of such high antiquity, that some Danish writers derive its foundation and name from Oden, the god and hero of the Gothic nations. But leaving such disquisitions to the antiquaries of the country, I shall only observe, that its name occurs in the earliest ages of the Danish history; and that it was a town of great note long before Copenhagen existed. Odensee stands on a small river, which is not navigable two miles from the bay of Stegestrand. Many of the houses are ancient, bearing dates about the middle of the sixteenth century; but part is newly built: it contains five thousand two hundred inhabitants, who carry on some commerce, exporting chiefly grain and leather; the latter is much esteemed, and its goodness is supposed to arise from a certain property in the river water, in which it is soaked for tanning. The Danish cavalry are supplied from thence with the greater part of their leathern accoutrements.

Odensee is an episcopal see, which was founded by Harold Blaaland in 980, and is the richest in Denmark next to Copenhagen. It has a school, endowed by the celebrated Margaret, in which a certain number of scholars, from six to sixteen years of age, are instructed gratis: they lodge and board in the town, and receive yearly pensions; other scholarships have been also founded by private persons. The whole number amounted to seventy. There is also a gymnasium, instituted by Christian IV, for the admission of students at the age of sixteen. This seminary was still further improved by the liberality of Holberg the Danish historian, who protected letters with the same zeal with which he cultivated them; but it is now greatly fallen from its former flourishing state, con-

* Svaning Vit. Christ. II.

taining, when I passed through the town, only eight students. The cathedral is a large old brick building, which has nothing remarkable, except some costly monuments of a private Danish family. The church which formerly belonged to the convent of Recolets, contains the sepulchres of John and Christian II.

John ascended the throne in 1481, on the death of his father Christian I, and in 1497, renewing the union of Calmar, obtained the crown of Sweden, which the Swedes, however, did not long permit him to enjoy. He died on the 12th of February, 1513, having on his death-bed admonished his son Christian II; admonitions which had no effect on a breast already corrupted by power, and impatient for dominion. John would have acted more wisely had he endeavoured to render the infant mind of his son capable of receiving the impressions of virtue, and had not shamefully neglected his education; a crime highly reprehensible in a father, but unpardonable in a sovereign, who is perhaps rearing a tyrant for his subjects, and entailing on his country a series of evils, for which he is himself chiefly accountable. Historians agree in representing John as a wise and prudent prince, inclined to peace, but enterprising in war; and as generally moderate and humane; admitting, however, that he perpetrated occasional acts of violence and cruelty, derived from a species of melancholy madness, that preyed upon his mind, and at times deprived him of his senses.

His son, the cruel and unfortunate Christian II, is entombed near his father, under a plain grave-stone, somewhat raised, but without inscription. He was born at Nyborg, on the 2d of July 1481; and discovered in his youth symptoms of a lively genius and good understanding, which, if properly cultivated, might have rendered him the ornament, instead of the dishonour, of his country. The young prince was entrusted to a common burgher of Copenhagen, and afterwards removed to the house of a school-master, who was a canon of the cathedral. In this situation his chief employment consisted in regularly accompanying his master to church, where he distinguished himself beyond the other scholars and choristers in chaunting and singing psalms. He was afterwards consigned to the tuition of a German preceptor, a man of learning, but a pedant; under whom, however, he made a considerable proficiency in the Latin tongue. From this humble education Christian imbibed a taste for bad company, and was accustomed to haunt the common taverns, to mix with the populace, to scour the streets, and to be guilty of every excess. The king at length, informed of those irregularities, reproved him severely; but as the prince had already contracted habits, which were grown too strong to be eradicated, these admonitions were too late. He feigned, however, contrition for his past behaviour, and again won the affections of his father by his military successes in Norway, and by an unwearied application to the affairs of government.

During the first years of his reign, which commenced in 1513, his administration was in many respects worthy of praise; and the excellence of many of his laws has induced Holberg* to affirm, that if the character of Christian II, was to be determined by his laws, and not by his actions, he would merit the appellation of Good, rather than of Tyrant. Happy would it have been for himself and his people, had he continued to reign on the same principles.

At first all his enterprises were crowned with success: he abridged the power of the Danish nobility, and exalted the regal prerogatives; he obtained the crown of Sweden by conquest, and was even proclaimed hereditary sovereign of that kingdom. A prudent and temperate use of these advantages, might have ensured him a long and undis-

* Dan. Ges. vol. ii. p. 94.

turbed possession of the throne; but his natural disposition, now freed from all restraint by prosperity, hurried him to the perpetration of the most flagrant acts of tyranny. The dreadful massacre of Stockholm, in which six hundred of the principal nobility were put to the sword, under the semblance of law, and amid the rejoicings for his coronation, exhibited such a striking instance of his malignant and implacable character, that, on the success of Gustavus Vasa, the spirit of resistance diffused itself rapidly from Sweden to Denmark, where he had exasperated his subjects by repeated oppressions, and the confidence which he placed in the lowest and most worthless favourites.*

In 1523 Christian was publicly deposed by the states of Denmark, and the crown transferred to his uncle Frederic duke of Holstein. This deposition was neither the consequence of Frederic's intrigues, nor of party spirit; but occasioned by the just and universal detestation which pervaded all ranks of people, and had more the appearance of a new election on the demise of the crown, than of a revolution which deprived a despot of his throne. Christian himself was sensible of the general odium, and, though by no means deficient in personal courage, made not the least effort to retain possession of that throne which he had often dishonoured. Quitting Copenhagen he repaired to Antwerp, under the protection of Charles V, whose sister Isabella he had married. After many delays and solicitations at the different courts of Europe, he at length collected, by the emperor's assistance, a fleet and army, with which he invaded the Danish dominions; his attempts, however, proving unsuccessful, he fell, in 1542, into the hands of Frederic I, and was consigned a prisoner to the castle of Sondeborg, a strong fortress in the isle of Als.

The place of his confinement was a dungeon, with a small window, admitting only a few rays of light, through which his provisions were conveyed. Having entered this gloomy cell, with a favourite dwarf, the sole companion of his misery, the door was instantly walled up. Even the horrors of this situation were aggravated by the death of his only son John, who expired at Ratisbon in the fifteenth year of his age, and on the same day in which his father was taken prisoner. The premature decease of this accomplished prince, whom he tenderly loved, and on whom he rested his sole hopes of enlargement, reduced him to a state of despondency. After much anxious solicitude by what means he could convey intelligence of his dreadful situation to his daughter the electress Palatine, and to the emperor Charles V, the king prevailed on the dwarf to counterfeit sickness, and solicit his removal from prison for the recovery of his health. If successful, he was to seize the first opportunity of escaping from the Danish dominions

* The first of these favourites was the infamous Sigrebit, mother of the king's mistress Diveke. This artful woman, who was a native of Holland, and had kept an inn at Berghen in Norway, even after her daughter's death, retained such power that she might be styled prime minister: she was the only channel of favour, transacted all affairs of importance, had the care of the finances, superintended the customs of the Sound, and had, in a word, acquired such a wonderful ascendancy over the insatuated monarch, that her influence, was attributed to fascination. On the king's deposition, Sigrebit was so much detested, that, from apprehensions of the popular fury, she was conveyed in a chest on board the vessel which carried Christian from Denmark. Holberg adds, she consoled the king for the loss of his crown, by assuring him that, through the emperor's interest, he could not fail of being chosen burgomaster of Amsterdam. The particulars of this woman's life, subsequent to her escape from Denmark, are not known.

The other favourite of Christian, no less infamous than the former, was Nicholas Slagelbec, originally a barber of Westphalia, and recommended to the king by his relation Sigrebit. He rendered himself so useful to Christian by his sanguinary advice at the massacre of Stockholm, and by being the instrument of his cruelty, that he was rewarded with the archbishopric of Lunden. Not long afterwards, however, the king threw on his favourite all the odium of the massacre, and sacrificed him to the public vengeance: the unfortunate victim was first racked, and then burnt alive; exhibiting a melancholy example, what little confidence is to be reposed in the favour of a tyrant.

to the court of the electress, that she might engage the emperor to intercede with the king of Denmark for some alleviation of her father's sufferings. The dwarf accordingly feigned sickness, was transferred to the neighbouring town, eluded the vigilance of his guards, and made his escape; but was overtaken at Resburgh, scarcely a day's journey from the Danish confines.

Christian, frustrated in this attempt, and deprived of his faithful associate, lingered for some time in total solitude, until an old soldier, worn out with the fatigues of war, offered to share the king's imprisonment. This veteran being immured in the dungeon, amused the royal prisoner with various anecdotes on the different princes and generals under whom he had enlisted, and by describing the expeditions and battles in which he had been present; and, as he had served from his earliest youth, was a person of much observation, and by nature loquacious, he assisted in relieving the tedium of Christian's captivity. Nor did any event, scarcely the loss of his son, more sensibly affect the deposed sovereign, than the death of this soother of his misery, who expired in the dungeon.

After a confinement of eleven years in his original cell, Christian was at length removed, through the intercession of Charles V, to a commodious apartment in the same castle, provided with suitable attendants, and indulged with the liberty of visiting in the town, attending divine service in the public church, and hunting in the neighbouring district. Yet even this change of situation, which had been so long the sole object of his wishes, could not make him forget that he was still a prisoner, the recollection of which affected him occasionally to such a degree, that he would suddenly burst into tears, throw himself on the ground, utter the most bitter lamentations, and continue for some time in a state approaching to insanity. However deservedly odious Christian II, may have appeared in the former parts of his life; yet his subsequent sufferings raise compassion; and it is a pleasing satisfaction to every humane mind, that he recovered from his despondency, and acquiesced in his fate with perfect resignation.

In 1546, after a confinement of sixteen years and seven months in the castle of Sonderborg, he was conveyed to the palace of Callenborg, in the isle of Zealand, a place to which he was particularly attached. Christian III, repaired in person to Assens, received his fallen rival with great marks of attention, and promised him every comfort which could tend to alleviate his situation. These unusual honours, joined to his removal from a place where he had experienced so much misery, and the prospect of again inhabiting his favourite palace, excited transports of joy, and he compared himself to a person recalled from death.*

Being conducted to Callenborg, he had the satisfaction of finding these promises religiously fulfilled. He survived this happy change ten years; and his mind was so softened by adversity, that, old as he was, his death was hastened by affliction for the loss of his benefactor Christian III. He died on the 24th of January 1559, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and in the thirty-sixth from the period of his deposition.†

April 9th, we arrived at Assens, just mentioned as the place of meeting between the two sovereigns; it stands on the Little Belt, a strait of the Baltic, which separates the

* "Quibus ille non secus animo exhilatur, ac si morte extractus, novam lucem intueretur." Cragii Annal. Christ. III, p. 524.

† These particulars of Christian the Second's life are chiefly taken from Holberg and Svaning's *Vita Christiani Secundi*.

isle of Funen from the continent. This island is three hundred and forty miles in circumference, fertile in pasture and grain, and exports annually to Norway, barley, oats, rye, and pease. The country is open, with a gently undulating surface; but the coasts are generally flat and sandy. The passage across the Little Belt is only nine miles; but the wind being contrary, we were five hours in performing it. We landed on the dutchy of Sleswic, at Arroë-Sound, so called from the little island Arroë, contiguous to the continent.

On the 11th we passed through several small, but neat towns, beautifully situated on the inlets of the Baltic, and particularly Flensburgh, which carried on a considerable trade during the American war, and possessed two hundred merchant vessels, trading mostly to the West-Indies. Peace has restored the commerce to its old channels; many of the vessels have been sold, the traffic to the West-Indies considerably lessened, and the chief trade centers in the isle of Zealand, the coasts of Norway, and Sweden.

Between Flensburgh and Sleswic is that part of the dutchy of Sleswic called Angeln or Engel, doubtless the native country of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, who invading and taking possession of our island, formerly called Britain, converted its name into Engelland or England. The truth of this fact, sufficiently authenticated by history, is still further corroborated by the resemblance which this fertile district bears to our native island.

The country from Flensburgh to Cappel is delightful, diversified with scattered farm-houses and frequent villages. The gravel roads wind through green lanes, with quick-set hedges, through inclosed fields, and small woods; reminding me so much of my native country, that I almost fancied I was passing through English lanes and English inclosures.

We made this excursion in an open cart, and, as the weather was favourable, enjoyed a constant view of this agreeable and cultivated district. According to the information of the peasant who drove us, the country yields all sorts of grain and flax, and abounds in pasture; the peasants weave sufficient linen and coarse cloth for their own use, knit their worsted stockings, and make their boots and shoes; they procure hats and a better sort of cloth from Flensburgh. Their food is chiefly rye-bread, cheese, eggs, milk, and occasionally meat; they distil spirits from malt, and make cyder, which is their usual drink.

Cappel, a small but neat town on the Sley, contains about five hundred and fifty inhabitants, who are industrious, and carry on some trade, exporting bacon, cheese, butter, eggs, and other commodities to Copenhagen, and supplying the interior parts of the province with coffee, sugar, spices, and other foreign merchandise. The environs of Cappel are quite delightful, being grounds gently rising, sprinkled with much wood, and commanding fine views of the bay.

The dutchy of Sleswic, sometimes called South Jutland, is separated from Holstein, or the king of Denmark's German dominions, by the Eyder. The capital is an irregular town of great length, and contains five thousand six hundred and thirty inhabitants. The houses are of brick; and like the other towns in the country resemble in neatness and manner of building those of Holland: the inhabitants dress also like the Dutch, and many of them speak their tongue, though the usual languages are the German and Danish. Close to Sleswic is the old palace of Gottorp, formerly the ducal residence, at present inhabited by the stadtholder, or governor, prince Charles of Hesse-Cassel, who married Lousia, princess of Denmark. It is a large brick edifice, surrounded by a rampart and moat: from this castle, the ducal line founded by Adol-

phus son of Frederic I, king of Denmark, was denominated Holstein Gottorp, which was lost in the title of emperor, when Peter the Third ascended the throne of Russia.

The church of Sleswic contains the monument of Frederic the First, son of Christian the First. The tomb is a sarcophagus of dark marble supported by six female figures standing on pedestals, Charity, accompanied by two children, her usual emblem; Fortitude, holding a broken column; Prudence, with the serpent; Justice, with her scales; Jurisprudence, with tablets; and Hope, with an anchor: their countenances are Greek, and uncommonly pleasing, and the drapery truly elegant, after the antique. Towards the bottom of the sarcophagus are four beautiful little angels or genii, with their reversed torches, above is placed the figure of the king in armour. At each end are the figures of two women, of the same size and elegance as those which support the sarcophagus; one holds the royal coat of arms, the other a scrole containing Latin verses in praise of the deceased. All the figures are of the finest alabaster, and were probably executed in Italy.

Frederic received as his inheritance the dutchy of Sleswic, and the crown of Denmark on the deposition of Christian the Second. Seated on the throne by the universal suffrages of the nation, he was established in it rather by the zeal of his subjects, and by the co-operating assistance of Gustavus Vasa, his protector and rival, than by his own prowess. He seems indeed to have inherited the mild and pacific virtues of his father Christian the First; virtues which would never have raised him to a throne, had not the general odium conspired to the deposition of Christian the Second. He died in 1533, aged sixty years.

That part of the dutchy which we traversed seemed well cultivated: it was in general flat and open, but occasionally exhibited variegated landscapes of heath, arable land, and pasture, inclosed with quickset hedges, and studded with woods of beech and oak. The farm-houses had the appearance of great neatness. We passed also ranges of new cottages, lately erected for colonists at the expence of the crown; they are spacious, and resemble those of Westphalia, containing, under the same roof, a large barn, with divisions for the cattle on each side, and two rooms at the further end for the family. Each colonist is supplied with ploughs, carts, and other implements of agriculture, two horses, and a pension during three years.

About twenty miles from Sleswic we quitted that dutchy, and at Rendsburgh crossed the Eyder into Holstein, which river is considered as forming on this side the limits of Germany.

Rendsburgh is esteemed the strongest fortress in the Danish territories. The town, which contains three thousand six hundred inhabitants, carries on but little trade, scarcely possessing three vessels. It must soon, however, become a place of importance, as the canal of Kiel will introduce a considerable degree of commerce. The last sluice is to be constructed at Rendsburgh. The Eyder is navigable for large vessels within a short distance of the town, while those of inferior burden land their goods on the quays. The tide, which rises near four feet, brings sand into the channel; and floating machines are continually employed to deepen its bed.

The environs are chiefly a flat barren heath; but as we approached Kiel, the coasts gradually became hilly and more fertile. We passed between the Wetter and Flemhuder lakes, again crossed the Eyder, there only a small rivulet, and arrived in the evening at Kiel. The district of Kiel is that portion of the dutchy of Holstein, which descended to the line of Holstein-Gottorp, and belonged to Peter III, as part of his hereditary dominions. In 1773 the empress of Russia ceded it to the king of Denmark,

in exchange for the counties of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst, which she gave to the prince bishop of Lubeck. This exchange was favourable to Denmark, as the king now possesses the whole dutchy of Holstein; and the intended junction of the Baltic and the North Sea will be formed entirely through the Danish territories.

Kiel possesses an university for the German subjects of Denmark, founded in 1650 by Christian Albert, duke of Holstein Gottorp, and considerably enlarged by the present king; it contains twenty-four professors, and about three hundred students. The town stands on a small peninsula in a bay of the Baltic, and has a very commodious harbour for large ships. It is already one of the most commercial places of Holstein; and the trade will be still further augmented when the inland navigation across the peninsula is finished.

This inland navigation, for the junction of the two seas, is formed across the dutchy of Holstein, by the canal of Kiel and the river Eyder, which passes by Rendsburgh, and falls into the German ocean at Tonningen.

The canal begins about three miles north of Kiel, at the mouth of the rivulet Lewensaw, which heretofore separated Holstein from Sleswic, and will form a new boundary between those two dutchies. The distance from its beginning to the last Sluice at Rendsburgh is twenty-seven English miles; but as the Eyder is navigable about six miles and three quarters above Rendsburgh, and only requires to be deepened in some places, the cut necessary for the completion of the communication between the two seas is only twenty miles and a half.

The canal was begun in July 1777; and in June 1785, when I last examined it, was almost finished. The work was performed by contract; one thousand and twenty-four cubic feet* of earth were taken out for eight shillings; and the whole expence was to amount to about 800,000*l*. Between the Flemhuder lake and the rivulet Lavens is the highest point, on each side whereof the waters take different courses to the Baltic and German ocean; in this part the ground must be excavated to the depth of fifty feet. The perpendicular fall towards the Baltic is twenty-five feet six inches; that towards the ocean twenty-three; and the vessels will be raised or let down by means of six sluices; Holtenau, Knorp, Suckdorf, Shinkel, Niederholten, and Rendsburgh. The breadth of the cut is one hundred feet at top, and fifty-four at bottom; the sluices are twenty-seven feet in breadth, and one hundred in length; the lowest depth of water ten feet. The canal will be furnished with water as far as Steinwarp from the Eyder, and the lakes Flemhuder and Wester, from thence to Rensburgh by the Wetter lake, from which issues a rivulet that joins the Eyder. Merchantmen of about one hundred and twenty tons burden will be able to navigate this canal.

The utility of this important undertaking will be evident from a mere inspection of the map of Denmark. At present even the smallest vessels, trading from any part of the Danish dominions in the Baltic to the Northern sea, must make a circuit round the extremity of Jutland, and are liable to be detained by contrary winds. This navigation is so tedious, that goods shipped at Copenhagen for Hamburg are not unusually sent by sea only to Lubeck, and from thence by land.

The object of those who planned this canal was no less than to draw by Kiel into the Baltic the commerce of Bremen, Hanover, and Westphalia, which is now carried down the Vesper, and by Gluckstadt upon the Elbe to Hamburg and Lubeck, and to facilitate the transport of merchandise from Holland and the north sea to the ports of the Baltic. But the principal impediment to the success of this canal seems to arise from the difficult

* The foot used in this chapter is to the English as 21 to 22.

navigation of the Eyder between Rendsburgh and Tonnigen, on account of the numerous shoals occasioned by the shifting sands, which not unfrequently render the entrance into the Eyder impracticable, and always prevent any vessels from passing which draw more than nine feet of water. Few ships, therefore, which navigate the Baltic, will unload their goods at Kiel, in order to embark them in smaller vessels for Tonnigen, where the merchandise must be again re-embarked. Ships sailing from the Baltic to the English or French ports will doubtless prefer the navigation round the Cattegat, with all its dangers and difficulties. Those destined for Hamburgh, or the adjacent parts, will choose, perhaps, the shorter and more secure passage of the canal. But it is much to be doubted, whether the commerce between Hamburgh and the north will be sufficient to answer the expences of the construction. The trade of Kiel, at all events, will be greatly increased by this canal; but the principal depository of the merchandise will be at Rendsburgh.*

After having examined the canal and town of Kiel, we continued our route, and, in eighteen miles, reached a small village beautifully seated between two lakes, in the midst of a romantic country, interspersed with forests of beech and oak. The largest of these lakes is that of Ploen, the banks of which are adorned with the town of Ploen, the capital of the duchy, which escheated to the king of Denmark in 1761, on the decease of the last duke Charles without issue male. The palace, formerly the ducal residence, rising in the midst of the town, on elevated ground, and overlooking the lake is a picturesque object.

The road from Ploen to Eutin runs along a fertile country, through fields of corn and pasture, enclosed with "hedge-row elms and coppice green," and beautifully interspersed with groves of oak and beech.

Eutin is a town with a palace belonging to the prince bishop, in which he usually resides, and from which he assumes his title. The present prince is brother to Adolphus Frederic, late king of Sweden: it is, like Osnabrug, a secular bishopric. The palace is a large brick building, on the banks of a lake, and contains nothing worthy of observation, except a few indifferent family pictures; amongst which I remarked one of the duke of Anhalt, father of the fortunate Catharine the Second, empress of Russia, and another of Charles, duke of Holstein, father of the unfortunate Peter the Third.

The grounds are laid out in straight walks, with cut hedges, stagnant canals, and jets d'eau; an intermediate plot of ground is called an English garden, and consists chiefly of zig-zag walks, which, according to the opinion of most foreigners, are ridiculously supposed to form the peculiar excellence of our style.

Lubec, the head of the Hanseatic league, was formerly the most commercial city, and powerful republic of the north; her fleet bade defiance to the northern powers, and rode mistress of the Baltic. How are the mighty fallen! she no longer retains a shadow of her former power, has lost great part of her trade, and her commerce, considerably diminished, will suffer still more diminution, if the canal of Kiel should answer the purposes for which it was planned: for by that means great part of the merchandise which

* This canal was opened in 1785, and the following is a list of the vessels which passed through it during nine successive years:

1785— 453 vessels, including 44 foreign				1790— 961 vessels, including 293 foreign			
86—	400	-	67	91—	1250	-	476
87—	645	-	125	92—	1509	-	722
88—	626	-	136	93—	2290	-	1441
89—	1072	-	280				

now passes through this town will be conveyed along the canal, and down the Eyder to Tonningen, and thence by sea and up the Elbe to Hamburg. To counteract these effects, professor Buesch has formed a plan to render the Steiknitz navigable for vessels of burden as far as Lauenburgh. Should this project be carried into execution, the advantages arising to the dutchy of Lauenburgh, as well as to the city of Lubec, are too evident to require an explanation.

The houses of Lubec are built in an ancient style of architecture, the doors being so large as to admit carriages into the hall, which frequently serves for a coach-house. The walls of many houses bear the date of the fifteenth century; and doubtless, at that period, the town was esteemed extremely beautiful.

The quay of Lubec is on the river Trave, which falls into the sea at the distance of fourteen miles, and admits vessels from one hundred and fifty to two hundred tons burden, and sometimes, but rarely, three hundred. I observed about one hundred and twenty merchant-ships destined to Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. The trade is chiefly a trade of commission, drawing from Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, their raw commodities, and supplying them with wines, silks, cloth, and steel ware.

Being unwilling to quit the territory of Lubec without visiting Travemunde, we set off at five in the afternoon, and at seven reached Travemunde, distant from Lubec about nine miles. We found a clean and comfortable inn, good accommodations, and a civil landlord, who spoke English.

Travemunde, or the mouth of the Trave, is the port where the vessels trading to and from Lubec take their station. We hired a boat, and rowed round the port to the road; the port is able to contain sixty-vessels, and sufficiently deep to admit those of two hundred tons burden, the same as ascend the Trave to Lubec. Men of war ride at anchor in the road. Our landlord procured from the pilot a list of the merchant-ships which took their departure from Travemunde in the following years:

In 1778, nine hundred and forty-one ships; in 1779, nine hundred and sixteen; in 1780, eight hundred and three; in 1781, nine hundred and thirty-five; in 1782, eight hundred and fifty-eight; in 1783, nine hundred and fifty-one. Of these he conjectured that one hundred and fifty belonged to Lubec, three hundred were Danish, two hundred and fifty Swedish, one hundred Prussian, twenty Danish, and ten English. Travemunde is defended (if it can be called defence) by a small fortress mounting forty guns, and containing a garrison of fifty men.

We passed through Ratzeburgh, a small fortified town, prettily situated on an island in the midst of a lake thirty miles in circumference; the banks abrupt, and pleasantly feathered with wood. The town partly belongs to the dutchy of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, and partly to that of Saxe Lauenburgh. The buildings are of brick; almost every house is shaded with a tree, which forms a singular and agreeable appearance.

From the lake of Ratzeburgh issues the river Wakenitz, which joins the trave near Lubec, and thus facilitates the water communication between Lubec and these parts. The dutchy of Saxe Lauenburgh belongs to the king of England, as elector of Hanover.

The road winds at a small distance from the lake of Ratzeburgh, commanding diversified views of wood, water, and fields of corn and pasture.

Near Moellen is the navigation of the Steiknitz, which unites the Elbe and the Trave. This water communication is formed by the two small rivulets, the Steiknitz and the Devenau, the former falls into the Trave, and the latter into the Elbe at Lauenburgh; they were united by a canal, cut by order of the government of Lubec, in the fourteenth century, supposed to be the first canal which had double sluice-gates. The average depth of water being only three feet and a half, no heavy laden vessels can pass. The

waterman belonging to some barges carrying corn and planks, told me, that they had employed eight days in coming from Lubec to Moellen, which is only thirty-six miles by land, and did not expect to reach Lauenburgh in less than eight days more. Seventeen locks must be passed between Lubec and the Elbe at Lauenburgh; yet, notwithstanding this inconvenience, about four hundred and forty vessels annually navigate the canal. The environs of Moellen are agreeably diversified with fine woods of oak, beech, and birch.

During my progress through Sweden and Denmark, I remarked, with attentive curiosity, many of those regular circles of stones which are so frequently scattered over the face, not only of these countries, but of our own. According to the plan I have generally followed in the course of this work, I shall first describe those which fell under my immediate observation, and then throw together a few remarks on their probable origin and destination.

In the province of West Gothland, between Kalange and Lidkioping, I observed on the top of an hill two rude masses of red granite, placed upright on each side of the high road. The tallest measured fifteen feet in height, five spans and a half in breadth; the other was about twelve feet high, six spans broad, and both were no more than four inches thick. In a plain near Runneby, in the province of Blekinge, I noted many ranges of stones set up endways, and forming various circles, all of which plainly referred to one general disposition. I counted at least ten of these circles, and among the most perfect, one of eight stones, whose diameter measured five paces, and another of ten, whose diameter was seven; the stones were from two to four feet in height, and the highest did not exceed ten.

Again, close to Skillinge, the nearest post to Carlscroan, are several similar remains on a rocky eminence, consisting of many oval or circular ranges; the greater part were in the rough state; some were hewn flat and broad, and others somewhat resembled pillars pointed at top in the rudest manner. At the summit of the rock several concentric ranges inclosed a space of about ten feet diameter, in the centre of which stood two flat stones, scarcely three feet in height, placed edgeways, and between them was the lower part of a withered trunk, the remains of a tree, which had once flourished in that spot. It appeared to me like an oak; and a person attached to the hypothesis, that such circles are druidical relics, might, with a small degree of enthusiasm, have considered this very tree as the central oak; could he suppose that the religion of the Druids was ever established in these northern kingdoms. The largest of these stones was about twelve feet in height. On the southern side of the village were similar monuments of antiquity, the highest of which measured eighteen feet, and we continually observed remains of the same in our route through Sweden.

In the Danish isles, as well as in Sleswic and Holstein, these circles occurred no less frequently than in Sweden, but none of the stones were large; few which fell under my observation exceeding six or seven feet in height and the greater part were not more than two or three. In some places I noticed two laid edgeways, and upon them an unformed mass of stone in an horizontal position, which is exactly similar to the British Cromlech. One of these monuments is thus described in Colonel Floyd's Journal:

"About three or four English miles from Corsoer, at the extremity of a wood, standing on a promontory, I found one of the most perfect of these ancient monuments. I observed a large mound of earth, on the summit of which large conical granite stones, standing at small intervals from each other, enclosed an oval space of a very considerable extent. In the centre and highest point, a huge, shapeless mass of granite was laid horizontally on four other stones, almost buried beneath the surface of the ground. Near

it was another mound, on the top of which another large stone was placed in a similar manner on four others. I remarked vestiges of trenches; but as the place was covered with underwood, and night approached, I could not trace their direction."

To our inquiries in several parts of Sweden, concerning the origin of these ancient relics, the peasants generally answered, that they were erected by a race of giants formerly inhabiting these countries. We have many similar monuments in our island, and particularly that of the Rol-rich stones, near Burford in Oxfordshire, the Snake's Head of Overton Temple, as described by Stukeley;* some of those which are delineated in Borlase's *Antiquities of Cornwall*, and that circular range in Cumberland, of which Mr. Pennant† has given an engraving in his *Tour to Scotland*, seem most to resemble those which I observed in Sweden and Denmark. I cannot, however, but add, that Olaus Wormius, and other authors, highly exaggerate when they deduce any resemblance between the stupendous fabric of Stone Henge, and these trifling, though genuine, remains of high antiquity, and still more erroneously conclude from that fanciful resemblance, that Stone Henge‡ was constructed by our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, who migrated from these northern parts.

Endless controversies have arisen among the learned concerning their origin and destination; and each author maintains that they were raised by that particular nation, or sect, which best suits his favourite hypothesis. Thus they are styled by different authors, Celtic, Gothic, Danish,§ Saxon, Pictic; and by others have been solely attributed to the Druids, a favourite order of men, under whom we are too apt to shelter our ignorance. Although these rude monuments are undoubtedly of such high antiquity as almost to baffle our inquiries, yet we may infer, from historical evidence, that they had not all the same original destination; some were raised as memorials of ma-

* Stukeley's *Abury*, p. 4. tab. iii. p. 40. and tab. xxi.

† *Tour into Scotland*, and annexed plate.

‡ It is curious to trace the different systems which have been framed concerning the origin of Stone Henge: and to observe upon what vague and uncertain principles each author has founded his hypothesis.

The celebrated architect, Inigo Jones, in a work entitled "*Stone Henge restored*," endeavours to ascertain, but without sufficient proof, that it was a Roman temple, consecrated to Cælus, and constructed between the times of Agricola and Constantine the Great. Dr. Charleton, on the contrary, in his "*Stone Henge restored to the Danes*," entirely overturns the system of Inigo Jones; and contends, with more ingenuity than argument, that it was built in the beginning of Alfred's reign by the Danes, who over-ran great part of England, as a place for the election of their kings.

John Webb, Esq. in "*A Vindication of Stone Henge restored*," refutes, with much learning, the opinion of Dr. Charleton, but fails in re-establishing the system of Inigo Jones. Some suppose it to have been erected in memory of four hundred and sixty Britons massacred by Hengist; a chimerical notion, arising merely from the similarity of the words Henge and Hengist; others, that it was raised in honour of Aurelius Ambrosius, the last British king; and a few that it was a sepulchral monument of Bonduca, by the old Britons.

Dr. Stukeley, in his elaborate treatise on Stone Henge, has completely overturned all these systems of former writers; but is not equally successful in establishing his favourite position, that it was a Druidical temple.

In a word, all that can be collected, from a diligent examination of the several systems, is, that it is a monument of very high antiquity, far beyond the reach of history or tradition; and that there are not sufficient data by which any certain opinion can be formed of its origin.

§ Olaus Wormius, in the true spirit of national prejudice, supposes all these monuments to have been erected by the Danes, because great numbers are found in Denmark, upon which assertion Stukeley observes, their being in Denmark does not prove them to have been founded by the Danes, as they existed in that country long before any mention is made in history of the Danes; but they must have been raised before that people occupied the northern isles, by the Cimbrians, or Goths of old; and if not by them, by whom is not known from story.

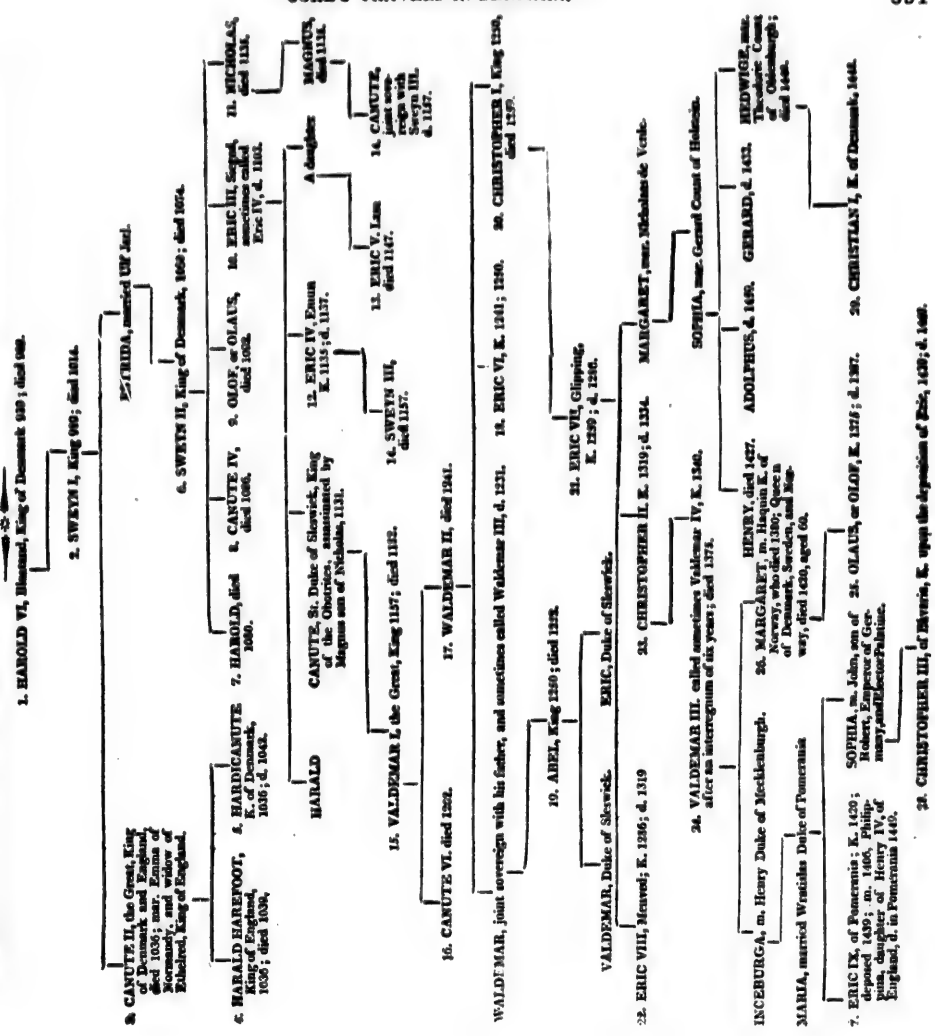
terial events; others as sepulchres; but the greater part were probably places, or * objects, of sacred worship. In the earlier ages of the world, we find that stones were erected for all these purposes, and by different nations; but as it would be tedious to enumerate the several proofs of the assertion, I must refer the reader to Borlase's Dissertations on similar monuments existing in our own country, as the most able writer on this subject. How can we possibly confine to any particular nation, or religion, customs used indiscriminately by all in remote periods, or how can we assign their epoch, since most of them were either raised before the Christian æra, or preceded the introduction of the gospel into those parts, when no certain tradition or literary records were extant, to ascertain their origin?

* Many instances of the worship of stones occur among the ancient Pagans; and it appears that some were held no less sacred in these northern regions. Among others, one was worshipped at Gilia, in Iceland, before the introduction of Christianity: "In Gilia lapis, quem majores eorum religiose coluerant, utpote a genio suo tutelari inhabitari tradentes." *Kristni Saga*, p. 13.

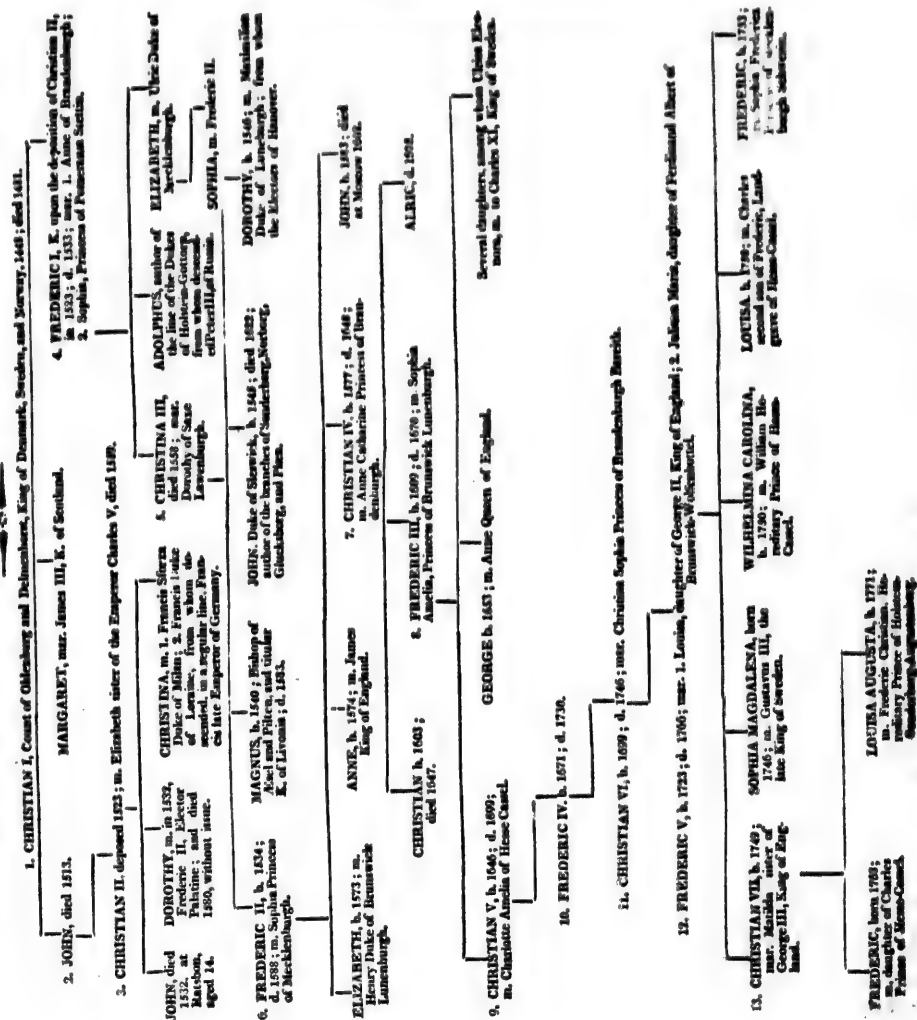
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GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF DENMARK, FROM HARALD BLAATAND TO CHRISTIAN I.



GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF DENMARK OF THE HOUSE OF OLDENBURG.



APPENDIX, NO. I.

LIST OF THE DANISH ARMY.

Infantry....Danish and Holstein....Regulars and Militia.

Foot Guards, reg.	-	486	Bornholm ditto, mixt	-	1778
Danish royal regiment, mixt	-	1778	Sleswic ditto, mixt	-	1778
Norway, ditto, mixt	-	1778	Holstein ditto, mixt	-	1778
King's ditto, mixt	-	1778	Falster ditto, mixt	-	1778
Queen's ditto, mixt	-	1778	Moen ditto, mixt	-	1778
Prince Royal's ditto, mixt	-	1778	Delmonhorst's ditto, mixt	-	1778
Prince Frederic's ditto, mixt	-	1778			
Jutland ditto, mixt	-	1778	Total, Danish and Holstein Infantry		25,378
Oldenburgh ditto, mixt	-	1778			

Infantry of Norway.

Regiment of Sunderfield, reg.	-	1376	First ditto of Bergenhuus, nat.	-	1916
Ditto of Nordenfield, reg.	-	1376	Second ditto of Bergenhuus, nat.	-	1916
First reg. Agerhuus, national	-	1956	First ditto Vertebeck, nat.	-	1916
Second ditto, nat.	-	1956	Second ditto nat.	-	1916
First ditto Smaalchen, nat.	-	1800	Corps of light troops, nat.	-	960
Second ditto, nat.	-	2082	Regiment of artillery, mixt	-	2771
First ditto Drontheim, nat.	-	2082	Corps of engineers, reg.	-	34
Second ditto nat.	-	1916			
Third ditto nat.	-	2089	Total of Infantry of Norway		32,053
First ditto Oplande, nat.	-	2075			
Second ditto, nat.	-	1916			

Cavalry....Danish and Holstein.

Horse guards, regulars	-	161	Funen, mixt	-	582
Royal Danish regiment, mixt	-	582	Sleswic, mixt	-	582
Norway ditto, mixt	-	582	Holstein, mixt	-	582
First regiment of Zealand, mixt	-	582			
Second ditto, mixt	-	582			4817
Of Jutland, mixt	-	582			

Cavalry of Norway.

First regiment of dragoons, nat.	-	1168	Total of Cavalry	-	10,478
First ditto of Sundenfield, nat.	-	1168	Total of Infantry	-	56,431
Second ditto, national	-	1167			
Third ditto, nat.	-	1079	Total of the Danish troops		66,909
Regiment of Nordenfield, nat.	-	1079			

NUMBER II.

LIST OF THE DANISH NAVY IN 1779.

Ships of the Line.

Names.	Guns.	Station.	When built.
1. Christian VII,	90	Copenhagen	1767.
2. Superb	80	Ditto	1768.
3. Sophia Frederica	74	Ditto	1775.
4. Justitia	74	Ditto	1777.
5. Vandal	70	Ditto	1742.
6. Queen Louisa	70	Ditto	1744.
7. Copenhagen	70	Ditto	1744.
8. Queen Juliana	70	Ditto	1752.
9. Prince Royal	70	Ditto	1756.
10. Denmark	70	Ditto	1757.
11. Jutland	70	North Sea	1760.
12. Prince Frederic	70	Copenhagen	1761.
13. Oere Sund	70	Ditto	1766.
14. Northern Lion	70	Ditto	1765.
15. Elephant	70	Ditto	1769.
16. Oldenburgh	60	Ditto	1740. Condemned
17. North Star	60	Ditto	1746. For Parade
18. Zealand	60	Ditto	1750. Ditto
19. Neptune	60	Ditto	1750. Ditto
20. Storman	60	Ditto	1751. Ditto
21. Iceland	60	Ditto	1751. Ditto
22. Victory	60	Ditto	1754.
23. Princess Sophia Magdalena	60	Ditto	1763.
24. Princess Wilhelmina	60	Ditto	1764.
25. Danebrog	60	Ditto	1772.
26. Holstein	60	Ditto	1772.
27. Wagria	60	Ditto	1773.
28. Infoeds Retten	60	Ditto	1776.
29. Ditmarssen	50	Ditto	1742. Condemned
30. Delmenhurst	50	Ditto	1743. Ditto
31. Ebenezer	50	North Sea	1758.
32. Nettleblad	50	Copenhagen	1746. Condemned
33. Funen	50	Ditto	1746. Parade
34. Greenland	50	North Sea	1756.
35. Saint Croix	50	Ditto	1758.
36. Mars	50	Copenhagen	1760.
37. Sleswic	50	Ditto	1766.
38. Disco	44	Ditto	1778.

<i>Frigates.</i>			
Names.	Guns.	Station.	When built.
1. Pearl	34	Copenhagen .	1772.
2. Kiel	36	Ditto .	1775.
3. Bornholm	36	Ditto .	1774.
4. Moen	36	Ditto .	1777.
5. Croneborg	34	Ditto .	1776.
6. Christiana	34	Ditto .	
7. Dockin	24	Ditto .	1750. Parade
8. Moen	28		1752.
9. Blue Eagle	30		1753. Parade
10. Savage	18		1754. Parade
11. Christianborg	34	North Sea .	1758.
12. Sea Horse	18	Copenhagen .	1758.
13. Langeland	18	Ditto .	1758.
14. Falster	30	Ditto .	1760.
15. Syren		Ditto .	
16. Tranquebar	34	Ditto .	1761.
17. Alsen		Ditto .	
18. Christiana	30	Ditto .	1766.
19. Feroe	34	Ditto .	1766.
20. Sanroe	22	Ditto .	1770.

Swivels.

Eagle Royal Yacht	26	Copenhagen .	1756.
Bomb Ketches.....		Bravery; Serious; Comet; Courage; Dragon.	

Condemned
For Parade
Ditto
Ditto
Ditto
Ditto

Condemned
Ditto

Condemned
Parade

TRAVELS IN NORWAY.

BY THE SAME.

CHAPTER I.

*General Remarks on Norway...History...Geography...Benefits of the Norway Law....
Peasants....Climate.*

NORWAY was formerly an independent kingdom, governed by its own hereditary sovereigns. On the demise of Hagen the Fifth, in 1319, without male issue, his grandson in the female line, Magnus Smek, united the kingdoms of Sweden and Norway. Magnus was succeeded on the throne of Norway by his son Hagen the Sixth, husband of the celebrated Margaret; and at his decease, in 1380, Norway was united to Denmark by their son Olof the Fifth; who dying without issue, Margaret herself was raised to the throne by the unanimous suffrages of the nation. On her death it descended, with Denmark and Sweden, to her nephew, Eric of Pomerania. Sweden was afterwards separated from Denmark by the valour and address of Gustavus Vasa; but Norway has continued united to the crown of Denmark.

Norway is formed by nature into two great divisions, Northern, and Southern or Norway Proper, separated from each other by the small Swedish province of Herndahl.

Northern Norway is a long and narrow slip of land, extending as far as North Cape, beyond the seventy-first degree of latitude, the most northern point of Europe; it is divided into Nordland and Finnmark, and comprehended in the government of Drontheim.

Southern, or Norway Proper, is bounded to the north and east by Sweden, and to the west and south by the northern ocean. It is divided into four governments, Aggerhuus or Christiana, Christiansand, Berghen, and Drontheim.

Although Norway comprehends a large tract of territory, yet from its rocky soil and climate, the number of inhabitants is by no means proportionate to the extent of the country. Perhaps the following tables, giving the number of births and deaths during seven years, may assist in forming a probable statement of the population:

		Births.		Deaths.
In 1777	-	23,331	-	15,655
1778	-	23,487	-	15,222
1779	-	23,862	-	20,768
1780	-	24,711	-	18,523
1781	-	24,153	-	16,072
1782	-	23,944	-	17,503
1783	-	21,554	-	19,357
Sum total		165,042		123,100

By dividing one hundred and sixty-five thousand and forty-two, the sum total of births during the seven years, by seven, we have twenty-three thousand five hundred and seventy-seven for the annual average of births; and by dividing one hundred and twenty-three thousand one hundred, the sum total of deaths, by the same number, we have seventeen thousand five hundred and eighty-five for the annual average of deaths. If, on a supposition that in the whole kingdom one in thirty-five dies annually, we multiply seventeen thousand five hundred and eighty-five, the annual number of deaths, by thirty-five, we have six hundred and fifteen thousand four hundred and seventy-five for the population of Norway. Or, if we multiply twenty-three thousand five hundred and seventy-seven, the annual number of births, by thirty, the usual mode* of calculation, we have seven hundred and seven thousand three hundred and ten; and by allowing for omissions, we cannot estimate the probable population of all Norway at more than seven hundred and fifty thousand souls.

The Norwegians, being the same race with the Danes, and long connected with them in religion and government, speak the same language, though with a mixture of provincial expressions. According to Wile,† a native writer, the gentry and inhabitants of the principal towns, allowing for a few provincial expressions, speak purer Danish than is usual even in Denmark, not excepting Copenhagen; the inhabitants of the eastern confines bordering on Sweden, naturally blend many Swedish words; throughout the whole country, the general accent and cadence is more analogous to the Swedish‡ than to the Dutch pronunciation, and the inhabitants on the western coasts, who have a more constant communication with the Danes, partake less of this peculiarity.

The Norwegians maintain their own army, which consists of twenty-four thousand infantry, and six thousand cavalry. The troops are much esteemed for bravery, and like the Swiss mountaineers, exceedingly attached to their country. The horses which supply the cavalry are small, but strong, active, and hardy.

Every peasant (those excepted who inhabit the coasts, and are classed as sailors) not born in a town, or on some noble estate, is by birth a soldier, and enrolled at the age of sixteen. From that year, until he has attained the age of twenty-six, he is classed in the young militia; at twenty-six he enters into the old militia, and continues to serve till thirty-six, at which period he receives his discharge. The militia take the field every year in June, and remain encamped about a month.

Norway is blessed with a particular code, called the Norway Law, compiled by Grieffelfeld, at the command of Christian the Fifth, the great legislator of his country. By this law, the palladium of Norway, the peasants are free, a few only excepted on certain noble estates near Fredericstadt. But the spirit of this law extends itself even to those serfs; for no proprietor can have more than one of these privileged estates, and unless he possesses a title or certain rank, and resides on his estate, he loses his privilege, and the peasants become free.

The benefits of the Norway Code are so visible in its general effects on the happiness and in the appearance of the peasants, that a traveller must be blind who does not instantly perceive the difference between the free peasants of Norway and the enslaved vassals of Denmark, though both living under the same government.

* See Dr. Price on Annuities. † Wile's Reise, p. 28.

‡ The Swedish and Danish languages are both dialects of the Teutonic or German, and are both spoken in a singing or chaunting tone. The Swedes have a more varied and lively pronunciation.

§ This remark was made before the emancipation of the Danish peasants.

Many of the peasants derive their lineage from the ancient nobles, and some even from the royal line: they greatly pride themselves on this supposed descent, and are careful not to give their children in marriage but to their equals in birth and blood.

A curious custom prevails in Norway, called *odels* right, or right of inheritance, by which the proprietor of freeholds may re-purchase an estate, which either he or any of his ancestors have sold, provided he can prove the title of his family. In order to enforce this right, his ancestors and he must have declared every tenth year, at the sessions, that they lay claim to the estate, but are unable to redeem it; and whenever he or his heirs, acquire a sufficient sum, then the possessor must, on receiving the money, relinquish the estate to the *odels*-man. For this reason, the peasants who are freeholders keep a strict account of their pedigree. This custom is attended with advantages and disadvantages. It fixes the affections of the peasant on his native place, and he improves with pleasure those possessions which are so strongly secured to him, while it increases the consequence and excites the industry of his family. On the contrary, the estate loses its value when sold to another person, because, as the purchaser possesses only a precarious tenure, he is not disposed to improve the lands, as if he possessed the freehold.

The Norwegian peasants possess much spirit and fire in their manner, are frank and undaunted, yet not insolent; never fawning on their superiors, yet paying a proper respect to those above them. Their principal mode of salute is by offering their hand; and when we gave or paid them a trifle, instead of returning thanks by word or by a bow, they shook our hands with great frankness and cordiality.

The peasants are well clothed and well lodged and appear to possess more comforts and conveniences than any which I have seen in the course of my travels, excepting in some parts of Switzerland. They wear their ordinary cloth and linen, and they make also a kind of stuff like a Scotch plaid. The coats of the men are principally made of a stone-coloured cloth, and ornamented with red button-holes, and white metal buttons. The women, while employed in their household affairs, frequently, as in Sweden, appear only in a petticoat and shift, with a collar reaching to the throat, and a black sash tied round the waist. Their linen is remarkably fine, and as they are usually well made, this mode of dress displays their figure to the highest advantage.

The common food of the peasant is milk, cheese, dried or salted fish, and sometimes, but rarely, flesh or dried meat, oat-bread called *fladbrod*, baked in small cakes about the size and thickness of a pancake, which is usually made twice a year. I observed a woman employed in preparing it: having placed over the fire a round iron plate, she took a handful of dough, and rolled it out with a rolling-pin to the size of the plate; she then placed it on the plate, and baked it on one side, then turned it with a small stick. In this manner she prepared a great number in less than a quarter of an hour, and I was informed that a woman, in a single day, can bake sufficient for the family during a whole year. In times of scarcity, they also use the bark of trees, generally of the fir; this bark is dried before the fire, ground to powder, mixed with oat-meal, baked, and eat like bread; it is bitterish, and affords but little nourishment. As a luxury, the peasants eat sharke or thin slices of meat, sprinkled with salt, and dried in the wind, like hung beef; also a soup made like a hasty-pudding of oat-meal or barley-meal, which is rendered palatable, by adding a pickled herring or salted mackarel. The use of potatoes has been lately introduced; but those roots do not grow to any size in a country where the summer is so short.

Fabricius strongly recommends, in times of scarcity, the mosses and lichens, and particularly the lichen *islandicus*, which yields a nourishing sustenance, and is commonly used for food in Iceland.

According to a series of meteorological observations by Mr. Wilse, pastor of Sydeborg, near Fredericshall, it snows most in December and the middle of January, rains most in April, August, and October. The clearest weather is from the middle of June to the middle of July, and during the whole month of March. Winds are most violent in the middle and latter end of April, May, and October. The stillest season is in January; from the tenth of June to the eleventh of July, and in the middle of August, a circumstance very favourable to the oat harvest, which of all corn is more liable to cast its ripe grain in windy weather. If we compare the climate of Norway with the climate of London, March at London is like April and the beginning of May in Norway, and the March of Norway is our January. On account of the frequent spring frosts, seeds ought not to be sown in gardens before the twentieth of May, and the frosts of the latter end of August are no less detrimental.

The heat and cold varies so much in Norway, that in June or July, the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer, as observed by Mr. Wilse at Sydeborg, not unusually rises to 88, and on the first of January 1782, fell to—22, or 54 degrees below the freezing point. At Eger according to professor Stroem's observations, it fell on the same day to—36½; and at Kongsberg to—40, or 72 below freezing point, a degree of cold by which quicksilver is congealed. This extreme rise and fall of the quicksilver makes a difference of 110 degrees between the greatest heat and greatest cold at the same place; a difference much more considerable than is observed at Upsala or Stockholm, which lie nearly in the same latitude as Sydeborg.

In some places vegetation is so quick, that corn is sown and cut in six or seven weeks. Tillage cannot generally be flourishing in a country, which is in many parts so rocky as to defy the plough; where the climate is so severe that the hoar-frosts begin in September, and where the cold in the high lands prevents the maturity of the corn. The small vallies, and the intervals between the rocks, are usually provided with a fruitful soil, and the industry of the peasants covers the naked rocks and sandy grounds with a new earth; yet the arable grounds are few, and no parts of Norway yield sufficient corn for interior consumption, except the districts of Hedemark, Toten, and Ringerike.

This deficiency is occasioned by the nature of the climate and soil. In spring, and in the first summer months, the drought and heat are frequently so intolerable, and the vegetable mould so thin, that the roots of the corn and grass are burned up, if a few days of sunshine succeed each other without a rain. The greater part of the soil is also so much blended with sand, that too much rain cannot fall in spring and summer. In autumn, on the contrary, the decreased warmth, and great quantity of rain, prevents the corn from ripening, and not unusually, even in favourable seasons it is almost spoiled by the violent autumnal rains. Also the small quantity of arable land seldom lies fallow, but is sowed every year, and therefore requires more manure than can be usually procured.

All these circumstances counteract the industry of the farmers; even in the most favourable seasons, a considerable importation of corn is annually necessary; but in unfavourable harvests the utmost dearth is experienced in the inland parts, as the transport of the corn from the sea coasts is highly expensive.

In order to dry the corn exposed to the heavy rains, the peasants fix in the ground forked poles ten feet high, place rows of other poles transversely, on which they file the sheaves, the lowermost row hanging about two feet from the ground. They are also frequently obliged to bake the corn in wooden sheds, heated by means of stoves.

As Norway, therefore, does not produce sufficient corn for its own consumption, Denmark enjoys the exclusive privilege of supplying with grain that part called Suden-fields, comprehending the two governments of Aggerhuus and Christiansand. This monopoly frequently occasions a scarcity; but though sometimes attended with great inconveniences and occasional distress, yet will not be abolished without great difficulty, because the Danish nobles, who are at the head of affairs, find their interest in its continuance.

But Norway, however deficient in arable land, is exceedingly rich in pasture, and abounds in cattle. The mode of keeping cows is similar to that practised in the mountains of Switzerland. About the middle of May they are turned into meadows; towards the middle of June driven to the heights, or into the forests, where they continue till autumn. The cows are usually tended by a woman, who inhabits a small hut, milks them twice a day, and makes butter and cheese on the spot. On their return the cattle are pastured in the meadows, until the snow sets in about the middle of October, when they are removed to the stables, and fed during winter with four-fifths of straw, and one-fifth of hay. The horses are usually foddered with hay during winter, and are seldom sent to grass before the beginning of June. In some places the cattle are fed with salted fish.

Agriculture has been of late greatly meliorated, and the landed estates are increased within these last fifty years near one third in value, a circumstance principally owing to the labours and encouragement of the patriotic society, which gives premiums for the best improvements and instructions in every part of farming.

The fisheries, particularly on the western coast, furnish employment and wealth to the natives, and are the means of supplying the best seamen for manning the Danish fleet in times of war. The principal fish, which, dried and salted, furnish so considerable an article of exportation, are the cod, the ling, and the whiting: the livers, besides, yield train oil, and the smallest fish are given as winter fodder to the cattle.

The herring fishery is not so profitable as formerly, as the shoals, which used to frequent the coasts of Norway, in their progress from the North Pole, now keep at a great distance from these shores, and first approach the rocks of Marstrand and Stroemstrand, which has transferred to the Swedes the principal herring fishery in these parts, though still sufficient profit accrues to those enterprising fishermen who venture further from the coasts. Salmon are taken partly in the bays, and partly in the rivers, as they ascend the stream in spring for the purpose of spawning, and are cured by salting, and smoking. Mackarel might also be caught in much larger quantities; but many of the Norwegians are prejudiced against them, from a strange notion that shoals of mackarel often attack and devour the human species, when bathing in the sea.

The extensive forests of Norway, which furnish such riches to the proprietors, and so much employment to the natives, are applied to several purposes. 1, For spars, beams, and planks, which are exported in large quantities. 2, For charcoal, required for smelting ores, for the glass furnaces, and other manufactures. The wood used for this purpose is usually of an inferior sort, and chiefly in the inland parts, where the transport of planks is too expensive. 3, For building, the greater part of the houses in Norway being constructed of wood; for although there is plenty of stone, yet the transport of the materials, and lime, are too expensive for common use. 4, For the roads which in the more northern parts, are almost entirely formed with wood. 5, For turpentine, for which the oldest trees are mostly used. 6, For fencing and enclosing the fields, quickset hedges being almost unknown. The wood used for enclosures is chiefly pine.

or fir, and must be renewed every three or four years. 7, For fuel. 8, For manure, by the same process of burning trees and manuring the soil with the ashes, which is practised in Sweden, and is so destructive to the forests.

Besides these general uses, particular trees are beneficially employed for various purposes. The bark of the pine or fir, and also of the elm, which is not common in Norway, is dried, ground, and mixed with meal, and is boiled up with other food for swine, who thrive much upon it. The birch, which flourishes in these northern regions, is no less serviceable. It is more generally used for fuel than any other wood. The outer bark, or the white rind, on account of its firmness and sap, easily escapes putrefaction even in the dampest places, and for this reason is employed for covering the roofs of the houses. This mode of roofing occasions such a large consumption of the outward bark, that the birch which are felled would not supply a sufficient quantity; it is, therefore, not unusual to strip off the outward bark while the tree is standing, and if peeled with care, it always grows again. The inner bark of the birch is applied like the bark of oak for tanning hides, fishing-nets, and sails, which it renders more durable. This tree also supplies a kind of wine; a hole is bored in the trunk, and the liquor distils into a flask placed underneath. The tree suffers little damage, if the hole is immediately closed by a wooden peg. The twigs of the birch, as well as the elder and aspen, are given to horses in scarcity of fodder. A decoction of oak leaves in beer is used by the peasants as a fomentation for the rheumatism.

The general exports are tallow, butter, salt, dried fish, timber and planks, horses and horned cattle, silver, alum, Prussian blue, copper, of which the celebrated mine of Rorås yields annually to the value of 67,500*l.*; and iron, of which the most productive mine is near Arendal.

Norway abounds in lakes and rivers, more than any country I ever visited excepting Switzerland. It is remarkable for the number and beauty of the bays fringed with wood. Many of the lakes are so large, that they appear like inlets of the sea, and the bays so small, that they appear like lakes; but I am anticipating my journal.

CHAPTER II.

Fredericshall....Fortress of Fredericstein....Observations on the death of Charles the Twelfth....Tistedal....Fredericstadt....Christiana.

SEPTEMBER 4. Norway is separated from Sweden by the bay of Swinesund, which in this part forms a strait between the perpendicular rocks, so narrow as to bear the appearance of a river, yet so deep as to admit ships of the greatest burden. On the Swedish side our passports were examined by a custom-house officer; and on the opposite shore, our baggage was slightly inspected by a Danish officer, who dwells in a comfortable house overhanging the edge of the water.

In a few miles we reached Fredericshall, the frontier town of Norway, standing on the extremity of the Swinesund, at the mouth of the river Tiste. The principal commerce of the town consists in the exportation of planks to England. The wood is floated down the Tiste sometimes above one hundred English miles, from the interior parts of the country, and sawed here; for which purpose thirty-six saw-mills are erected on the banks of the river, which forms a series of cataracts.

The harbour is safe and commodious; but the large quantity of saw-dust from the different saw-mills chokes the river up in many parts, and occasions an annual expence for clearing. The port possesses a few immunities; goods landed for exportation pay

no duty, unless opened for home consumption, and then are charged with the usual imposts.

The town contains three thousand inhabitants; the streets are airy; the houses are built of wood painted red, and a few white.

On the summit of an almost perpendicular rock, which overhangs the town, stands the strong and hitherto impregnable fortress of Fredericstein, rendered memorable by the death of the northern lion, as Charles the Twelfth is sometimes emphatically styled. The spot where he was killed, which was once marked by a pillar erected by the king of Denmark, but pulled down at the request of the king of Sweden, is at the extremity of the governor's garden, at the bottom of the steep rock, on which stands the fort of Gullenlowe. It was to me particularly interesting; for it convinced me that a small ball might have reached Charles, the distance from the nearest bastion being not more than five or six hundred yards. Nor could I avoid remarking, that Motraye's plan of Fredericstein and the adjacent batteries is in many parts extremely defective; and from the best information that I have collected, both his and Voltaire's account of the king's death, and particularly of the wound which occasioned it, are very inaccurate.

But in order to obtain farther and more complete information concerning the probable cause of the death of Charles, I called on Benk Enkelson of Tistedal, a Norwegian, aged ninety-five, who was in his twenty-eighth year when he served as a gunner of the Danish garrison during the siege of Fredericstein. By means of a gentleman of Fredericshall, who politely accompanied me to this old man's house, and condescended to be my interpreter, I procured the following intelligence; which I shall give to the reader, in question and answer, as I obtained it.

Do you think that the king was shot from the ramparts, or assassinated by any of his own troops? From the ramparts undoubtedly. What kind of shot was fired against the Swedish trenches? All sorts, and particularly small shot in cartouches from cannon. Could the king, in the place where he was, be reached by a small shot? Yes, very easily; as a small shot could take effect at twice the distance. Were many soldiers killed near him? Very many; they fell about him like straw, in such numbers that they were buried on the spot. The place was also so much exposed to the fire from the ramparts, that the Swedes could not venture to work in the trenches by day, but only by night. From what fortress do you think Charles received his death: from Oberberg, or from the citadel? Certainly from the batteries of the citadel, which bore upon the place, and not from Oberberg, from which it was defended by an intervening hill. I then served in the fortress of Oberberg; and we did not that night fire a single shot from thence.*

From this circumstantial evidence, given by a person who served in the garrison of Fredericstein at the time of the siege, and who had no prejudices or interest to bias or mislead him, joined to my own observations on the spot, I am convinced that Charles might have been easily reached by a small ball from the ramparts of the citadel; and that the confident assertions of those persons who pretend that he could not be touched by a musket-ball, are totally groundless.

The question, therefore, in regard to the death of Charles, is now reduced to a short compass; and all the vague anecdotes and uncertain conjectures, which, without any foundation, attribute his death to assassination, can weigh nothing against positive fact.†

* This shews the falsity of Motraye's account, which says, that the king was shot from the fortress of Oberberg.

† See book vii. Chap. 3.

Enkelson described Charles as tall and thin; his hair short, thick, and curling, with an animated countenance. He shewed us a wooden chair, in which Charles was sitting when he was shot. The old man recollected to have seen the king three times, once in particular in Fredericshall. Sitting at the window of a house inhabited by one of the magistrates, he observed Charles in the opposite house. While the batteries from the citadel were firing heavily at the enemy's trenches, a young woman, who was looking at the king from one of the windows of the magistrate's house, chanced to drop a ring into the street. Charles taking notice of her, said, "Madam, do the guns of this place always make such an uproar?" "Never," returned the girl, "but when we are honoured with such illustrious visitors as your majesty." The king was much pleased with the answer, and ordered one of his soldiers to take up the ring and return it.

The village of Tistedal is situated three miles from Fredericshall, on a beautiful cataract of the Tiste, which precipitates itself in continued but irregular falls, and turns several saw-mills that form picturesque objects, as they impend over the torrent. Above the village is a villa called Vake, from which we commanded a delightful prospect. Towards the inland parts, a small lake beautifully fringed with pasture and wood; below, the Tiste forming a series of cataracts, then winding through a small valley and between two ridges of rocks, shaded with pines and underwood; the bay of the sea sprinkled with rocky islands; the town of Fredericshall and its castle towering on the summit of a perpendicular rock closing the view.

Fredericstadt, distant from Fredericshall four Norwegian, or nearly twenty-six English miles, stands on the river Glomme, is the most regular fortress in this part of Norway, and contains an arsenal amply supplied with arms for the militia, in case of a rupture with Sweden. It was built in 1567, by Frederic the Second, strengthened by Frederic the Third, and since gradually enlarged and fortified according to the modern system. The ramparts inclose a circumference of three quarters of a mile, and the population of the town, including the two suburbs, amounts to no more than eight hundred souls. A few years ago, the town was consumed by fire, and the houses are mostly new. Close to Fredericstadt is the new fortress of Kongsteen, on a rocky eminence, capable of containing a garrison of three hundred men; several convicts are here condemned to hard labour. The greatest offenders have an iron cap, chains round their arms, legs, and bodies; the chains round their arms are rivetted to a wheel-barrow, which is never loosened. The inhabitants export planks, and a few small masts. The principal commerce is carried on by Messrs. Ankers and Holt, of Christiana.

The Glomme is the largest river in this part of Norway, but not navigable in any part of its course from the lake Mioss to Fredericstadt, the stream being interrupted by such frequent cataracts and shoals, as in some places render it necessary to drag the trees, which are floated down, over the ground. At least fifty thousand trees are annually floated to Fredericstadt.

September 6. We ferried over the Glomme at the gates of the town, and continued our journey, anxious to reach Christiana. The country is in general extremely fertile and agreeable, rises in gentle hills, and though rocky in many parts, is covered with a rich soil, producing abundance of corn, and clothed with forests of firs and pines, intermixed with oak, beech, poplar, and mountain ash. The face of the country is prettily sprinkled with numerous lakes and rivulets, and thickly dotted with cottages, rudely though not unpleasantly situated on rocky eminences in the midst of the forest. These cottages are mostly covered with red tiles, and appeared larger and more commodious than those we had just quitted in Sweden. They were so scattered over the hills, that

we seldom observed a cluster of more than four or five; the churches standing almost singly, their spires rising above the surrounding trees, were picturesque objects.

We stopped a short time at Moss, to examine the iron-works belonging to Mr. Bernard Anker, of Christiana. The situation of Moss is exceedingly romantic; it is divided by a lively torrent, dashing over a craggy bed, and stands on the shore of a beautiful bay, the rising banks adorned with fine hanging woods, a few villas, and numerous farm-houses. The iron-works, which principally support the place, were established in 1705; for some time the proprietors only manufactured bar iron, grates, stoves, and iron utensils; but lately they have cast cannon, which are mostly exported to Copenhagen. The works employ about one hundred and fifty men.

We passed the night at Skydjord, a small village in a most delightful situation, where we found an inn with comfortable accommodations, and two very neat bed-chambers. As we approached Christiana, the country was more wild and hilly, but still fertile and agreeable; and at the distance of two miles from the town, we enjoyed, from the top of a mountain, as fine a view as I ever beheld. The grounds, laid out in rich inclosures, gradually sloped to the sea; below appeared Christiana, situated at the extremity of an extensive and fertile valley, forming a semicircular bend along the shore of a beautiful bay, which being inclosed by hills, uplands, and forests, had the appearance of a large lake. Behind, before, and around, the inland mountains of Norway rose on hills covered with dark forests of pines and fir, the inexhaustible riches of the north; the most distant summits were capped with eternal snow. From the glow of the atmosphere, the warmth of the weather, the variety of the productions, and the mild beauties of the adjacent scenery, I could scarcely believe that I was nearly in the 60th degree of northern latitude. We at length forced ourselves from this enchanting spot, enjoying, as we gradually descended, the scenes before us, and at mid-day reached Christiana.

Christiana is thirty English miles from the open sea; the navigation of the bay is somewhat difficult, but it is sufficiently deep for the largest vessels, having six or seven fathom water close to the quay.

Christiana is esteemed the capital of Norway, because it contains the supreme court of justice. It lies in latitude $59^{\circ} 6' 37''$, and stands in a semicircular form on the northern extremity of the bay of Biorning, an inlet of the sea, forming the northern extremity of the gulf of Christiana, whose rocky shores are overspread with thick forests. The town is divided into, 1, the city, and the three suburbs of Waterlandt, Peterwigen, and Fierdingen; 2, the fortress of Aggerhuus; and 3, the old town of Opsloe or Analoe. The city contains four hundred and eighteen houses, the suburbs six hundred and eighty-two, Opsloe four hundred, including the episcopal palace;* and the number of inhabitants amount to about nine thousand. The city formerly occupied the site of Opsloe, and was rebuilt in its present situation by Christian the Fourth, after a plan designed by himself; the streets are carried in straight lines, and at right angles to each other, are uniformly forty feet broad, and very neat and clean.

The Latin school, endowed in 1635 by Christian the Fourth, is governed by a rector of upper master, a corrector or under master, and three assistants; but contained, in 1784, only thirty-seven scholars. They are divided into six classes, and instructed in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. A collection of six thousand volumes, lately left to the town by Mr. Deichman, a native, will serve to form the beginning of a public library.

* The bishop of Christiana is Metropolitan of Norway.

The castle of Aggerhuus, built on a rocky eminence on the west side of the bay, at a small distance from the city, is a very ancient fortress, and was besieged, in 1310, by the Swedes, according to an inscription over the door of a brick tower. It was strengthened in 1633 by Christian the Fourth; and several other dates and inscriptions shewed, that additional fortifications had been made by the succeeding kings of Denmark. This fortress is small but strong; in peace the garrison consists of five hundred troops, but in war is augmented to one thousand. Aggerhuus sustained a siege in 1717 from Charles the Twelfth in person, who occupied the city and suburbs, but was compelled, for want of provision, to retire. The walls of many houses in Christiana still bear marks of the balls shot from the batteries against Charles, as he rode daily through the streets, with his usual rashness, to reconnoitre the state of the fortress.

The governor of Aggerhuus is the chief governor of Norway. He presides in the high court of justice, called Overhofset, which judges, in the last resort, civil causes below a certain value. In all causes surpassing that value, an appeal lies to the supreme court at Copenhagen.

Christiana has an excellent harbour, and carries on a considerable trade. The principal exports are tar, soap, iron, copper, planks, and deals; allum manufactured at Mr. Cooper's works for about 3000*l.*; iron from the four works of Borum, Edswold, Narkedahl, and Ondahlen, 14,000*l.*; copper from Foldahl, 10,000*l.*; planks and deals, 90,000*l.* principally to England.

The planks and deals are of superior estimation to those sent from America, Russia, and from the different parts of the Baltic, because the trees grow on the rocks, and are therefore firmer, more compact, and less liable to rot than the others, which chiefly shoot from a sandy or loamy soil. The planks are either red or white fir or pine. The red wood is produced from the Scotch fir, and the white wood, which is in such high estimation, from the spruce fir. This wood is the most demanded, because no country produces it in such quantities as this part of Norway. Each tree yields three pieces of timber, eleven or twelve feet in length, and is usually sawed into three planks; a tree generally requires seventy or eighty years growth before it arrives at the greatest perfection.

The environs of Christiana not yielding sufficient planks for exportation, the greater part of the timber is hewn in the inland country, and floated down the rivers and cataracts. Saw-mills are used for the purpose of cutting the planks, but must be privileged, and can only cut a certain quantity. The proprietors are bound to declare on oath, that they have not exceeded that quantity; and if they do, the privilege is taken away, and the saw-mill destroyed. There are one hundred and thirty-six privileged saw-mills at Christiana, of which one hundred belong to the family of Anker. The quantity of planks permitted to be cut, amounts to twenty million standard deals, twelve feet long, and one inch and a quarter thick.

During our stay at Christiana we received great civilities from the Ankers, the richest and most commercial family in Norway. Mr. Bernard Anker, who is a fellow of the Royal Society, speaks English nearly as well as a native, possesses an excellent house in Christiana, elegantly furnished in the English taste, and ornamented with a good collection of pictures, which he purchased in Italy. He lives in a style of magnificence, and receives all travellers with unbounded hospitality. He has an excellent library, a good apparatus of natural philosophy from England, and a curious collection of the minerals and marbles of Norway.

We accompanied Mr. Anker to Vickery, a neat villa belonging to his family, four miles from Christiana, which stands pleasantly on the bay, and commands many pic-

turesque views. The planks are shipped close to the house. From thence Mr. Peter Anker drove in a low phaeton, drawn by two active Norwegian poneys, to Bockstadt, a country-house which he has just built on the banks of a small but beautiful lake, four miles from Vickery, in the midst of an endless forest, and surrounded by mountains. He shewed us his grounds, which are laid out pleasantly, and carried us into his kitchen-garden, which produces all kinds of vegetables, excellent cherries, pears, apples, apricots, currants, gooseberries, and in a favourable season tolerable peaches. He pointed out a small plantation of the principal trees which are indigenous in Norway. I remarked the plane, aspin, ash, mountain ash, oak, elm, beech, birch, alder, willows, and various species of pines and firs, which form the riches of these parts.

Mr. Peter Anker has lately introduced various species of English husbandry; particularly he has sown crops of clover, which succeed well, and has lately cultivated turnips.

CHAPTER III.

Silver Mines of Kongsberg....Cobalt Works of Fossum....Journey into the interior parts of Norway.

SEPTEMBER 10. We quitted Christiana with much regret, after having expressed our acknowledgment to Mr. Bernard Anker for his extreme politeness and hospitality. He also increased our obligations by sketching out a tour through the inland parts of Norway, and by giving us a circular letter, which we found a passport of introduction, and a means of procuring accommodations and information.

A little beyond Gielbeck, the second post-house from Christiana, we passed, near the high road, a quarry of whitish gray marble, which was opened to supply the stones for the new church at Copenhagen, but is no longer worked. In the middle of the quarry stands a marble column, erected in honour of the late king Frederic the Fifth, who visited this spot. The houses, and even cottages, in the neighbouring villages, are ornamented with staircases of this beautiful marble.

From this quarry we ascended through forests of pines and firs to the summit called Paradisberg, or the Mountain of Paradise, so denominated from the fine prospect, but which, in my opinion, was inferior to that we enjoyed from the eminence overhanging Christiana. The general features of this prospect are views of distant mountains rising above mountains; rich and extensive forests, and below a fertile valley watered by the Dramme, with the three towns of Brægnetz, Stromsøe, and Tanger, standing at small distances from each other at the bottom of some rugged rocks, and on the margin of a bay.

These three towns are known by the general name of Dramme, because they are situated on that river. Each has its own church and separate jurisdiction. The inhabitants are industrious, and carry on a considerable trade. The principal exports are timber and planks; the imports, chiefly corn, and lead from England for smelting the silver ore at Kongsberg.

We changed horses at Brægnetz, which lies on the side of the river opposite to Stromsøe and Tanger, and continued our route, coasting the Dramme, through a delightful valley, extremely rich in corn and pasture, so thickly peopled, that every fifty yards we observed a cottage, and for several miles together seemed to pass through a continued village. The sloping declivities which bound this vale are so thickly covered with trees, that at some distance they appeared as if clad with herbage. The inhabitants of this pleasant district chiefly derive their sustenance from the transport of corn and merchandise to Kongsberg, and in carrying back the silver coined at the mint of

that place. Having ferried over the Dramme at Hogs-sund, we quitted this smiling valley, and passing among hills and rocks, and over stony roads, did not, till the dusk of the evening, reach Kongsberg, celebrated for its silver mines, the produce of which has been considerably exaggerated by most of the travellers who have published on this subject.

Kongsberg stretches on both sides the river Lowe, which, in its course through the town, falls in a series of small but picturesque cataracts over the bare rocks. The crags which border the town are in some parts naked, in others clothed with wood, and intermixed occasionally with slips of corn and pasture; but although there are a few agreeable and fertile spots, yet the prominent features of the circumjacent scenery are ruggedness and horror. Kongsberg contains about one thousand houses, including the miners, and six thousand inhabitants. We were accompanied to the mines, which lie two miles from the town, by a merchant who spoke English, and obligingly served as our interpreter.

These mines were discovered and opened during the reign of Christian IV. Six-and-thirty mines are now working; the deepest, called Segen-Gottes in der North, is six hundred and fifty-two feet perpendicular. The matrix of the ore is the saxum of Linnaeus; the silver is extracted according to the usual process, either by smelting the ore with lead, or by pounding. Pure silver is occasionally found in small grains and in small pieces of different sizes, seldom weighing more than four or five pounds. Sometimes, indeed, but extremely rare, masses of a considerable bulk have been discovered, and one in particular which weighed 409 marks, and was worth 3000 rix-dollars (600l.); this piece is still preserved in the cabinet of curiosities at Copenhagen.

Formerly these mines produced annually 70,000l.; and in 1769, even 79,000l.; at present they yield only from 50,000l. to 54,000l. Above 4,000 men were necessary for working the mines, smelting and preparing the ore; but a few years ago, two thousand four hundred miners were removed to the cobalt works lately established at Fossum, and to other mines, which has reduced the number to two thousand five hundred. By these and other reductions, the expence, before estimated at 5,760l. per month, amounts to only 4,400l. or about 52,800l. per annum. Yet even with this diminution the expences generally equal, and sometimes exceed the profits.

Government, therefore, draws no other advantage from these mines, than by giving employment to many persons, who would be otherwise incapable of gaining their livelihood, and by receiving a certain quantity of specie, which is much wanted in the exhausted state of the Danish finances. For such is the deficiency of specie, that even at Kongsberg itself, change for a bank note is with difficulty obtained; the miners are paid in small notes, and the whole expences defrayed in paper currency. The value of 13,000 rix-dollars, or 2,600 in block-silver, is annually sent to Copenhagen; the remainder of the ore is coined here, and transferred to Copenhagen. The largest piece of money now struck at Kongsberg is only eight skillings, or four-pence.

September 11. Having satisfied our curiosity, we departed from Kongsberg in the afternoon, and directed our course to the cobalt works at Fossum. We returned to Hogs-sund; but instead of ferrying over the Dramme, coasted the river for a little way, then turned into so rugged a road with such deep ruts, that we narrowly escaped being overturned, and did not arrive at the place of our destination till past midnight. We previously sent forward a peasant to order beds, expecting to find an inn, or at least a cottage, wherein we might pass the night. To our extreme disappointment, however, we learned that Fossum contained only two or three villages, consisting of scattered cottages, and that the place we stopped at contained only the house of the inspector of the

cobalt works. As it was extremely dark and cold, and at some distance from any house where we could be accommodated, and more particularly as the roads we just passed had proved so dangerous, we ventured to knock at the inspector's door, and request admittance for two English travellers who were benighted. The family being in bed, we were for a short time in anxious expectation for the answer; and no knight errant was ever more agreeably sheltered from darkness, wind, and weather, than we were, on being admitted over the hospitable threshold.

The next morning a good breakfast being spread for us, and compliments delivered from our host and hostess, with an invitation to pass the day with them, announced their attention and civility. We now found that the name of this particular house was Fossum, and a collection of small adjacent cottages was denominated Modum.

The gentleman, who kindly received us at so undue an hour, and without previous acquaintance, was Mr. Bornstein, a native of Germany, lately appointed inspector of the cobalt works. Having paid our respects to our host and his amiable wife, whose politeness we shall ever recollect with gratitude, we strolled about the grounds, and admired the situation of the house, placed near the rivulet Simora, in the midst of a delightful valley, fertile in pasture and corn, hemp and flax, and bordered by high rocks richly clothed with wood.

The inspector himself politely accompanied us to the works: we had an opportunity of observing the whole process, from the first calcination of the ore to its final reduction into the powder-blue, and were surprised to find that it passed through two hundred and seventy hands.

The mine was discovered about eight years ago on the summit of a rocky mountain, near Skuterød, a small village a few miles from Fossum, where the works are established on account of the numerous water-falls which are necessary for turning the mills. A mile from the mine has been lately found a vein of the most beautiful quartz; a fortunate discovery, as quartz is necessary to mix with the cobalt-ore, in order to obtain the powder-blue. The ore being calcined, reduced to powder, and refined, yields the blue powder so much used.

The fabric employs thirty-six men, and the mines three hundred and twenty. In 1783, fourteen hundred or fifteen hundred weight was obtained, which sold, according to its fineness, from 2*l.* 10*s.* to 12*l.* the hundred weight, and yielded 10,000*l.* The expences in that year amounted to 12,000*l.* because the numerous buildings and machines necessary for carrying on the works were still constructing. When these are finished, the expences will not exceed 4000*l.* and the inspector assured me, that he should then be able to make double the quantity that he can at present. Therefore the clear gain to the crown will scarcely fall short of 16,000*l.* per annum. The discovery of this mine is a great acquisition to Denmark, as besides giving employment to many hands, it prevents the importation of powder-blue.

Six miles from Fossum, we stopped at the small village of Skuterød, and ascended the mountain, on the summit of which are the mines of cobalt. There are two mines, called the north and south, each with four pits or openings; the deepest is no more than fourteen fathom, because the ore is still in great plenty near the surface. It is found in veins, and blown up with gunpowder. In our way we passed the fine mine of quartz, which supplies the cobalt works, so necessary, because twelve parts of quartz are mixed with one of cobalt, to produce the Prussian blue. The quartz is as white as alabaster, and contains large veins of marien glass, or Russian talc, which in some countries is used for windows.

The prospect from the summit commands a hilly country, and a distant plain covered in many parts with rich forests, watered by several streams, and by a large lake, which divides into three great branches, Tyrifjord, Holefjord, and Helesfjord; the banks are beautifully covered with fields of corn and pasture, and chequered with wood. Being prevented from enjoying this delightful view by the dusk of the evening, we descended into the plain, crossed the Snarum upon two rafts, made of whole trees lashed together, and came to Oulberg, where we found comfortable accommodations in a peasant's cottage.

The next morning we continued our journey through a most agreeable diversified country, sometimes through extensive forests of pine and fir, interspersed with other trees, sometimes crossing the fields along a more open and fertile district, till we reached Skerendal, a small village in the valley of Skeere, so called from a rivulet which falls into the lake Tyri.

The peasant, who served as postillion, conducted us to a clean and comfortable house, close to a saw-mill, and the maid instantly set before us some coffee, cream, bread, and butter. Having taken refreshment, we demanded what we had to pay? "Nothing," replied the servant; and on expressing surprise, as we took the house for an inn, she added her master was owner of the saw-mill; he was then absent, or would have been proud to receive us; he left constant orders to admit travellers, and furnish them with every thing they demanded, without accepting the least gratuity; and if we would stay and dine there, it would be adding to the obligation we had already conferred by accepting their scanty fare.

After expressing our acknowledgments for this instance of disinterested hospitality, we embarked in a small boat, and rowed across the lake Tyri, which made the principal feature in the prospects we lately enjoyed. This beautiful piece of water is twenty-five miles in circumference, including bays and creeks; the shores are gentle eminences richly variegated with fertile meadows, corn-fields and hanging forests, and backed by lofty mountains towering above each other. Having rowed across the lake, we landed near Hole, a small village in the district of Ringerike, deservedly esteemed the most fertile part of Norway.

From Hole, we continued our journey through a rich plain, the narrow roads winding between corn-fields and inclosures of pasture, and changed horses at Steen, near the picturesque ruins of a church seated on a gentle eminence. Steen contains a few remains of ramparts, which prove it to have been a place of some importance. At a little distance we noticed a mound of earth or barrow, called by the natives the tomb of Halden the Black, king of Norway, and a little further passed the church of Norderhug, famous for a battle between the Swedes and Norwegians. We soon quitted the rich plain, and penetrating into a hilly country, found the roads so exceedingly stony and steep as to require the utmost caution; particularly as the horses in these parts are exceedingly active and lively.

At Setran we again changed horses, and while they were getting ready, made our repast in a peasant's cottage, containing a room with two beds, which for cleanness and neatness would have done credit to a gentleman's house. In the room I observed a print of the unfortunate Struensee in prison, tormented by the devil: these prints were circulated and eagerly purchased by the common people at the time of his fall.

From Setran we passed through a valley, enriched by a fine waterfall, detached farms, churches, clumps of trees, dispersed among the corn-fields and meadows; a river gliding along, and heightening by its transparency and murmurs the charms of this delightful landscape. As we were admiring the beauties of this ever-changing scenery, evening

came on, and I was suddenly struck with a phenomenon, which never occurred to me except in Switzerland, and which I at first mistook for a meteor. It was a gleam of the setting sun, illuminating the snow-capped summits of the distant mountains, and appearing like a flame of fire skirting the distant horizon. The air was clear, the stars shone uncommonly bright, and seemed nearer to the eye than I had ever observed them before, except on the Swiss Alps.

We took up our abode during the night at Van, a village seated on an eminence, and overlooking the Rands-Sion, a lake near fifty miles long, and scarcely more than two miles broad, embosomed in the mountains; the sloping banks fringed with wood, and chequered with scattered cottages. The next morning we ferried over the lake, and coasted it about six miles, the road ascending and descending the precipices which overhang the water. We afterwards rowed over several smaller lakes, which supply streams that fall into the Rands-Sion. I observed much pease and some corn still standing, which the peasants were cutting, and several small patches of hops; goats were browsing on the sides of the rocks, and flocks of sheep pasturing in the vallies, among which many were black.

In these parts the price of a milch cow is from seven to nine rix-dollars (1l. 8s. to 1l. 16s.) and in winter, when fodder is scarce and dear, one may be purchased for 16s. We met during this day's journey numerous bullocks and horses driving for sale to Christiana. The bullocks sell from 2l. to 2l. 8s. per head; and the horses, which are from thirteen to fourteen hands high, and remarkably active and lively, from 4l. to 8l. a-piece.

We next reached Gran or Granewolden, standing on an eminence in the midst of an extensive plain, looking down on several conical rocks, covered with firs, and remarkable for two churches in the same church-yard, called the Two Sisters. These buildings seems of the same date, and at a small distance nearly resemble each other; one is built of stone, the other white-washed. In one, dedicated to the Virgin, divine service is performed only in Lent; in the other, sacred to St. Nicholas, during the remainder of the year. I could not learn by whom, or at what period, these twin churches were constructed.

The stony roads having shattered the wheels of my cart, we stopped to repair it at Dahlin, near the northern extremity of the Rands-Sion, backed by a well cultivated and well-inhabited mountain. This part of Norway is greatly infested with bears and wolves. The bears do much harm, not only killing cattle, but destroying corn: the instances are very rare, which induce them to attack the human species. The shepherds are usually followed by large dogs of the Newfoundland species, armed with collars of iron spikes, to preserve them against the wolves, who frequently attack them, and endeavour to seize them by the neck. The bears usually fly from them.

The roads of Norway had hitherto appeared to us, long used to the Swedish roads, exceedingly rugged, and scarcely passable with carriages, and both my companion and I had been occasionally overturned; but that we now passed over mount Kiolway was so execrable, that the others were in comparison super-excellent. I much question indeed if any cart had ever passed before we ventured to traverse it. We ascended four English miles, and then descended about the same distance, and were obliged to dismount and support our carriages, in order to prevent them from oversetting, which, notwithstanding all our precautions, occasionally happened. During the first part of the way we passed a few cottages; but further on all was wild and desolate, rocks clothed with pines and firs, a dreary but sublime scenery, commanding from the summit a most extensive prospect; to the south of the delightful country we had traversed in our way to Dahlin,

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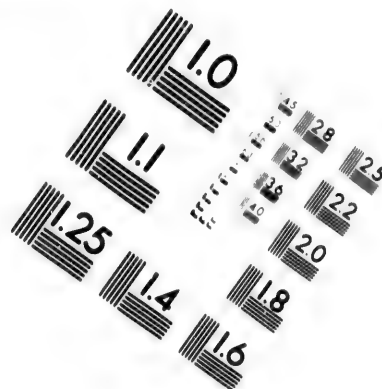
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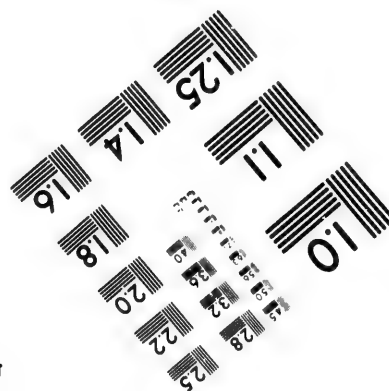
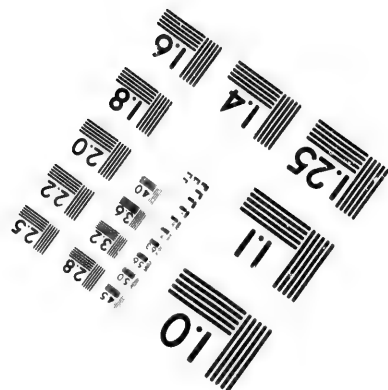
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the Rands-Sion appearing like a broad river winding among the gloomy rocks ; to the north, hills piled upon hills, and mountains towering above mountains ; the snowy Alps of Norway closing the majestic view.

At the bottom of the descent we crossed a lively rivulet called Ana, came to a lake of the same name, and took up our lodgings at the village of Titerud, most delightfully situated on the banks of a small but beautiful lake, forming the calmest and loveliest retreat I ever beheld. In this sequestered spot, we found, besides the rooms appropriated to the family, two neat bed-chambers for ourselves, met with excellent tea and sugar, butter and cream, and supped on a fine trout, weighing six pounds, with which fish the lake abounds.

September 14. At Titerud, we quitted the mountains, and traversed a gently waving country, as fertile and pleasing as the district of Ringerike, well cultivated and well peopled, the roads winding through the fields like garden walks ; we changed horses at Quickstand and Lund, and passing through a lawn planted by the hand of nature, which had the appearance of a park, reached the banks of the lake Mioss.

This lake extends from north to south, is eighty English miles in circumference ; and is in general from twelve to eighteen in breadth. It is divided by a large peninsula, and contains one island ten miles in circumference, fertile in corn, pasture, and wood, and sprinkled with several farm-houses.

The lake on the side where we embarked is bounded by bleak-hills, embrowned with thick groves of pine and fir, whose gloomy aspect reminded me, that we were in the 62d degree of northern latitude, and continued on the opposite side with banks gently rising from the margin of the water, enriched with fields of corn and pasture, and resembling the fertile districts of a more southern climate, the whole exhibiting a rugged perspective, and picturesque wildness on one side, and on the other the cultivated beauties of a milder atmosphere.

We rowed between the island and the peninsula, on the extremity of which stands Nass, a small but neat village, and in two hours landed at Hammer, now a gentleman's seat, formerly a large town containing near two thousand inhabitants. The site of this once flourishing place can now be only traced by some parts of the old walls, heaps of rubbish, and the picturesque remains of a large cathedral, consisting of four Gothic arches, which stand on an eminence overlooking the lake.

Having satisfied our curiosity, we re-embarked, rowed about five miles to a small village, landed, and walked to Giellum. Here we procured horses, and continued our journey through a less peopled district thickly strewn with forests, and ferried over the Glomme, about as broad as the Thames at Henley. This river receives the Worme, which issues from the lake Mioss. We had frequent views of the Glomme, which presented a broad surface, sometimes watering pleasant vallies, sometimes interrupted by sand-banks, over which it frequently shifts its course, sometimes winding between rocky cliffs, and precipitating itself in frequent cataracts.

Being now in the sixty-second degree of northern latitude, and in a mountainous country, we had already experienced the approach of winter. On the 14th of September it snowed ; on the fifteenth was a severe hoar-frost, and the surface of several ponds and stagnant waters were frozen to the thickness of half-a-crown. It was, however, clear and sunny, like a fine day in November ; but this morning, September 17, it is as cold and severe as the beginning of January in England. The pines and firs are so thickly covered with hoar-frost as to bear the appearance of being sprinkled with snow ; and the forest trees have changed their leaves in the space of one night.

This morning having again ferried over the Glomme, here as deep and about as broad as the Thames at Putney, we reached Kongswinger, a strong fortress on the frontiers of Norway, situated on a steep rock, and deemed impregnable. Charles the Twelfth reconnoitred it, but found the position so strong, that even he thought it prudent to decline the attack. It was built at different intervals; the most ancient part was probably constructed above four hundred years ago, and the fortress has been gradually enlarged, particularly by Christian the Fifth and Frederic the Fourth. Some recent fortifications render it a regular fortress with eight bastions. In time of war it requires a garrison of one thousand men; the present complement consists only of one hundred and twenty. Some eminences on the other side of the river command the fortress, and would be the only means by which the works could be attacked with any prospect of success; but, according to the opinion of the officer who accompanied us, these heights are so extremely steep and rugged, that it would be almost impracticable to draw to their summits large pieces of artillery of a size sufficient to batter the walls.

From the windows of the fortress, we commanded a fine view of the Glomme, winding at the foot of a ridge of hills, clothed with trees, and chequered with fields of corn and pasture; the small lake Wingen forming a beautiful feature in the variegated landscape.



TRAVELS IN SWEDEN :

BY M. FORTIA.*

PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR.

THE kingdom of Sweden, a description of which is given in this volume, is, on many accounts, a country of great interest : it presents indeed few beauties to the curious eye of a lover of the arts ; nature there dispenses her bounty with a niggard hand, and the southern provinces alone support their inhabitants without a supply from abroad.

But what places Sweden on a level with the great states of Europe is its laws, its government, and the energy of its inhabitants. The loyalty of the peasantry of Sweden ranks them much above other people. Unfortunately this valuable recommendation is daily on the decline : general corruption has overspread the great towns, and contagion is but too visible in those parts of the kingdom most frequented by strangers. The inhabitants of the northern provinces, with those of the mountains in the other provinces, alone preserve, in all its purity, the character of their forefathers. Notwithstanding the degeneracy, however, which has in some instances taken place, the Swedish peasant, even as he is, is still the most estimable of any in Europe ; at least of those with which we are acquainted.

This volume was (for the most part) printed in 1793 ; circumstances, which the reader will without difficulty divine by reference to that epoch, obliged us to discontinue the work, and wait a more favourable instant for its continuation. To the same cause is to be attributed the great number of typographical errors that occur : luckily, to our satisfaction, they are all of them easy to be corrected by the reader.

We shall observe that the different pieces with which we have been favoured, that is to say, the dissertation on the Atlantica of Rudbeck ; the letters of the king's murderers, and all that regards their trial ; the relation of the death of Charles XII, &c. are inserted exactly as we received them, not allowing ourselves the liberty of making even such correction as certain passages appeared to require.

MODERN WORKS ON SWEDEN.

Memoires sur la Suede, by Cantzler, 2 vols. A work of merit ; the fruit of the most laborious research. The tables are of the greatest service : they are getting old, but the path is laid down ; and, in our opinion, a Swede who should continue the work on the same plan, might with little difficulty do material service to his country.

An historical Abridgment of the present state of Sweden, 2 vols. duodecimo. London, 1748. It treats of the interval between 1680 and 1743 ; very concise, not always correct, and of but small esteem.

* Translated from the French of *Voyage de deux Français en Allemagne, Danemarck, Suede, Russie, et Pologne* ; Fait en 1790—1792. Paris, 1796. 5 vols. octavo.

Tableau de la Suede, by Catteau, 2 vols. This is a rapid sketch, very well written. Abrege de l'histoire de Suede, par Lagerbring, 1 vol. We know not why an abridgment was given in the translation, rather than the work at large: the latter might have been useful, whereas by the manner in which the succession of events is contracted in the abridgement, it is good for nothing.

Anecdotes of the Court of Sweden, 1789, 1 vol. This work treats of such individuals alone as were then in existence. The resemblances are good, and the relations just; the work however is less pleasing than one would expect, arising possibly from its speaking well of all.

Travels in Sweden by a Dutch officer (M. Dreven) 1 vol. in octavo, 1789. This work is full of errors and inaccuracies: from a number of passages one is induced to imagine that the author wrote from memory; for what he describes exists, yet frequently far from the spot he mentions; and sometimes he has seen things seen by no one else.

In our first volume we spoke of works treating of the states of the North. Our readers will perceive that we have left a number of articles as they were composed in 1791, before the death of Gustavus III, of glorious memory.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

Throughout the work, the measures, weights, and money, are Swedish, except where otherwise described; with the value of these the reader may make himself acquainted by reference to Chapter XIX, in which it is given, in English measures, weight, and money, as well as in French.

TRAVELS OF TWO FRENCHMEN IN THE NORTH OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

Entrance into Sweden.... Necessary Precautions for those who travel in that Kingdom.... Helsinburgh.... The Province of Scania.... Carlscroon.... Its Naval Arsenal.... Its Docks.... Road from Carlscroon to Gottenburgh through Smaland.... Gottenburgh.... Its Hospital.... Trade.... Herring-fishery and Customs.... The Landing of the Danes.... Marstrand.

IT frequently takes an hour to pass the Sound; we crossed it in two and thirty minutes. The landing charges are, for a berlin, a rix-dollar; for a chariot, forty skillings, which sum includes the whole expence to the inn: you pay also for every trunk, but however heavy your luggage the charge will seldom exceed 2 rix dollars. In proportion to the facility and convenience of embarkation is the difficulty and danger of unshipping carriages, as there is neither jetty, quay, nor crane, and nothing but some wretched wooden stairs, with heaps of stones at the foot, which prevent the boat from reaching them. The appearance of the Danish coast is much more beautiful than that of Sweden.

The traveller must take care to provide himself with small notes, as he will oftentimes find it difficult to procure change even for one of 12 skillings, and especially if it be not a

bank note. We once were indebted to the joint contribution of six persons, the post-master inclusive, for effecting this object. He will moreover require a quantity of small copper coin to give to the postillions for trinkets, and for other trifling expences. Since the increase of postage in 1790, the price for each horse has been 8 skillings per mile;* they are low and strong, but accustomed to draw none but light carriages; so that when the carriage is either heavy of itself, or much laden, they harness to it four or six horses; the drink money for the postillions is a gratuity; if you give them at each change of horses a skilling and a half, they are very well satisfied; you give besides one skilling to the holkar (the ostler who seeks and puts the horses to the carriage.) It is absolutely requisite you should send forward a courier five or six hours before you to order horses, as they are not kept at the post-house, but about the neighbourhood, and sometimes at a great distance. This precaution may however prove unnecessary, provided you travel with no more than one or two horses, since in general you will find as many at the post-house.

You should travel with your own harness, the Swedish postillions using none but cords, which it is sometimes long before they can adjust, if you have many horses, and which frequently break. It will not be amiss as well to take a servant with you, who may know how to drive, for notwithstanding the roads be in general excellent, there yet are certain parts of them on which you would rather be driven by some one in whom you might have confidence, than by a country lad who perhaps will never have drove aught before but his plough. Should you have a heavy carriage, apt to jirk forward, provided you have clogs to the wheels, we advise their being frequently used, although this measure will not always prevent the postillions from going at a full gallop. If you have no servant to send forward, you give a note, on which is expressed the number of horses you require, and at the time at which you compute you shall want them, which is carried by a countryman from post to post, to the spot at which you mean to stop, which must be expressed on the note. For this you pay the expence of one horse, and the trinkets of the countryman, the same as the postillion: you may also send by him such part of your luggage as you wish to be disencumbered of. This in short is the only mode of transporting effects in Sweden, public carriages being things unknown. No instance has ever been adduced, notwithstanding the frequent change of the carriage by which it will have been conveyed, and its different conductors from every stage, of a box being ever lost, much less broke open; nay it has happened, that when any have come open from accident, the contents have uniformly arrived safe, and without diminution, untouched: this tribute of justice is due to the Swedish peasantry, as it tends to exalt them much above that of every other country. At every post-house the traveller is presented with a dag-book (day-book) in which he inserts his name and quality, whence he comes, whither going, the number of horses he takes, and if he be satisfied with the previous postillion, &c. and every month this book is given to the governor of the province.

It is absolutely requisite you should carry provision with you. Frequently do you go ten or twenty miles† without finding any thing but milk, wretched beer, brandy, and bread baked some months before; this is the case even in some towns, but certainly not all. Of lodging you are constantly secure, every post-house, without exception, being

* Formerly the price was 4 skillings; during the war it was doubled. We are not informed whether or no it has been reduced as it ought to be, and as the peasantry have requested; who perceive that there is less travelling since, than there used to be before the augmentation.

† The Swedish mile, which is that used through the work, is six English miles, and $\frac{1}{10}$ ths.

obliged to furnish a separate apartment with one or two beds for travellers. We found, indeed, at some of the post-houses in the interior, that this law was but indifferently observed, yet such instances were very rare. Provided with a servant who may speak the Swedish language you will avoid much inconvenience. In Sweden you may travel without any apprehension, in perfect safety, either by night or day. Unless the frost be well set in, especial care should be taken to prevent the postilions quitting the high road; they are constantly disposed to take the shortest cut, to save a quarter of a mile or less, driving over lakes not sufficiently frozen, or which begin to thaw. As these are frequently covered with snow, you sometimes sink into, without perceiving, them. Accidents of this description are so common in Sweden that the number of persons annually drowned thus by imprudence, is rated at two thousand.

All the houses out of the towns are built of wood, and this even in Sania, notwithstanding the contrary assertion of *Le Voyageur Hollandais*. Many consist of the ground-floor alone. A house of this description, of a good size, costs a hundred rix-dollars building.

Helsinburgh is an extremely small town, such as elsewhere would rank as a village; it contains at most but twelve hundred inhabitants. On arriving at the post office at Helsinburgh, you shew your passport. They are not very strict at the custom-house; if you give a note of 24 skillings to the officer, he will be satisfied without examining your trunks.

From Helsinburgh to Carlsroon is twenty-three miles and a half. Christianstadt is a small town tolerably well fortified; the king's regiment is there in garrison. In 1772 the revolution began in this town, owing to which, colonel Hellicus, who commanded there, obtained the name of * *Gustafaskiold* (Gustavus's shield.) Christianstadt is famous for its manufacture of gloves. As you leave the town you pass over a raised causeway of some length, made over the marshes, which on this side render the town difficult of access, from the facility with which they may be inundated. Carlsham is a small town, badly paved, yet pretty regularly built of wood. You pass the limits of Scania, which you will have traversed, before you arrive at Nory, and enter Bleking. The division of the two provinces is denoted by two boundaries of granite, on which the arms of each are engraven, and by a small stream which runs a few paces from the spot.

Scania is the mildest of all the provinces in Sweden, the horses, oxen, and all animals are larger and stronger in this part than in any other. Many gentlemen pass the summer, and some live here all the year; but a ridiculous pride diminishes the pleasure which otherwise might be enjoyed from residing in the province. The visits of gentlemen are always visits of ceremony, in which they are accompanied by a number of servants, and horses, that are all maintained by their host for several days. After making a tour in this manner, they return to their homes, and live in seclusion during the rest of the year. Their nobility is so strongly grafted on their minds that they pay no regard to women of the second class, even though they should be married to men of the highest rank. The sea coast is extremely pleasant owing to the different prospects it affords, which are superior to those on the shores of Zealand. Here is situated the greater part of the houses of the nobility; yet along the high road we did not distinguish a single one worthy of remark. On every side, as you proceed, are blocks of granite laying on the ground, or in rocks, and trees which have split the stone in working themselves a

* *Ki ki* in Swedish, sound like *chi chi* in English; *ski* as *schi*.

passage to the light. All these stones afford strong ground for presumption, that the sea at some period overflowed this spot. The whole of this road is beautiful; it constantly winds, and frequently affords most charming prospects. In 1790, even at the close of December, there were no sledges used for loaded carriages, yet the road was not less excellent. This province contains mines of coal, alum manufactories, and yellow amber; but the spots where they are found are at a distance from the course of the road. At Rang, near to Skanor, in the southern part of the province, yellow amber is found in large pieces. Andrarum and Rafunda adjoin each other on the road from Christianstadt to Ystadt (where you embark to go to Stralsund.) At the former of these two places is a quarry and manufactory of alum; at the latter yellow amber is met with. At Boserup, near Lund, is a coal-mine.

At a short distance from the boundaries of Scania, on the road to Carlsroon, there are many ascents and descents, down which the peasants drive with great hardihood at a violent rate. You cannot be deceived as to distance on the high roads in Sweden, there being posts or stones to mark it at every half and quarter of a mile. Villages in Bleking are more numerous and large, but for the most part make but a wretched appearance. In this quarter you see a number of lone houses spread about the country, but very few of brick, as asserted by many travellers.

Carlsroon was a pretty well built town before the fire which happened in 1790, when it contained from fourteen to fifteen thousand inhabitants. At present it is almost wholly ruined, not one house in eight remaining. The naval arsenals, being separated by a wall from the town, were luckily preserved; a high wind spread the fire so as to make it general, and almost all the men who might have rendered assistance were at sea on board the fleet; add to which (for what reason is unknown) there was in many houses a quantity of gunpowder, the explosion of which consequently increased the disorder inevitable on such an occasion. This town is situated on an island, and built on the rock itself, which has rendered unnecessary the paving of many of its streets, but which at the same time makes it very unpleasant, as well for those in carriages as such as go on foot. The port is an excellent one, defended by two forts, as well as by its position; there is held the department of the royal navy. The old dock is cut out of the rock, and would certainly be worthy of notice, were it not for the excellence of the new one, which is above all praise, and which the Romans at the height of their celebrity would not have blushed to acknowledge: it is composed of thirty-one basins, calculated to contain twenty sail of the line and eleven frigates; the basins are cut in the solid rock, and are covered so as to shelter the vessels completely: only one of these basins are completed; some of the rest are however began, but it seems doubtful whether a work of such immensity will ever be completed, the advantage of such an establishment not being likely to compensate its vast expence; for it does not yet appear evident that vessels are better preserved by being under cover than exposed, or at least that their duration is likely to be so far prolonged as to make the difference counterbalance the cost of the undertaking. A foreigner travelling to Carlsroon will find it necessary to write to some correspondent to procure him lodgings, as otherwise he must put up with such as the post-house affords, which are wretched in extreme. Luckily the naval department, which cannot be removed, will secure the speedy re-edification of the town. The fleet is very conspicuously discernible as you pass along a wooden bridge, on both sides of which are the ships of the line and frigates. We counted sixteen of the former (their number being diminished by more than a third part in course of the war.) The frigates suffered less. Independent of these, three or four are always stationed at Gottenburg, and several at Sweaburgh.

At Carlscroon there are one thousand four hundred and seventy-five marines divided into twenty-nine companies, one of which consists of seventy-five men, and thirty-two of fifty each, the drums and fifes not included; besides these, at Gottenburg there is a company of one hundred men, and twelve thousand sailors registered for the grand fleet, who in peace time employ themselves as they will. Their allowance from the department is six stivers a day and two pounds of bread. Each vessel takes on board ammunition sufficient for sixty broadsides.

STATE OF THE SWEDISH FLEET IN 1766.

At Carlscroon.	At Stockholm.	At Gottenburg.
<i>Ships of the Line.</i>	<i>Galley.</i>	<i>Frigates.</i>
1 of - 100 guns	12 of 44 oars, carrying 4 six-pounders, and 1 of twenty-four pound on the poop.	1 of - 36 guns
1 of - 96	28 of 40 oars, armed in the same manner.	1 of - 30
1 of - 84	6 of 36, the large cannon, twelve pounders.	1 of - 24
2 of - 74	4 of 32, do.	—
3 of - 70	4 of 28, do.	3
2 of - 66	—	—
3 of - 64	54	<i>Galley.</i>
6 of - 60	<i>Praams.</i>	5 of 28 oars, 1 twelve-pounder, and 4 six-pounders.
1 of - 54	4 of 24 oars, and 24 large guns.	<i>Brigantines.</i>
1 of - 50	1 of 24 oars, and 16 large guns.	2 of 20 guns and 6 pair of oars.
—	<i>Advice Boats.</i>	4 Demi-gallies.
23	3 well armed, with 32 oars.	<i>Galliot.</i>
<i>Praams or Floating Batteries.</i>	<i>Galliot.</i>	1 armed with mortars and 2 six-pounders.
4 of 20 guns and 24 oars.	1 armed with 3 large mortars and 2 six pounders.	
<i>Frigates.</i>	<i>Brigantine.</i>	
1 of - 40 guns	1 of 20 guns and 6 pair of oars.	
1 of - 36		
2 of - 30		
2 of - 24		
2 of - 18		
1 of - 13		
—		
9		
<i>Galliot.</i>		
4 carrying 2 mortars and 2 six-pounders.		
<i>Transports.</i>		
6 of large tonnage for masts and timber.		
14 smaller ones.		

RECAPITULATION.

Ships of the line	23
Frigates	12
Galley	10
Demi-galleys	4
Galliot	6
Brigantines	3
Praams	9
Transports	21

STATE OF THE FLEET IN THE PORT OF CARLSCROON IN 1775.

<i>Ships of the line.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Ships of the line....continued.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
The King Frederic	70	Fredericus Rex	60
Adolphus Frederic	70	The Hesse Cassel	60
The Queen Louisa Ulrica	70	The Brehme	60
The Prince Gustavus	70	The Finland	60
The prince Charles Frederic	70	The Prince Charles	60
The Lion of Gothia	70	The Frederic Adolphus	60
— 6		— 12	

Ships of the line....continued.

	Guns.	
The Sophia Albertina	60	lost in 1782.
The Sophia Charlotte	60	
The Frederica Amelia	60	
The States of the Realm	60	
The Liberty	60	
The Union of Concord	60	
	— 18	

Fifties.

The Upland	50
The Sudermania	50
The Sparre	50
	— 3

Frigates.

The Black Eagle	38
The Prince Gustavus	36
The Phoenix	34

Frigates....continued.

	Guns.
The Falcon	34
The Illerim	34
The Iramas	34
The Vulture	34
	— 7

Brigantines.

The Pollux	of 18 guns.
Goia	of 10

Galley armed as before stated.

The Carlscroon
The Cronenberg
The Malmœa
The Bleking

Praams.

The Achilles	26 guns.
The Hector	26

*Remark.....*The Elephant, of 124 guns, was the largest vessel that Sweden ever had; it was in being under the reign of Eric XIV.....At the time of the landing of Charles XII, in Zealand in 1700, the Swedish fleet consisted of thirty-eight ships of the line, exclusive of frigates, fire-ships, and praams.

Expence of the Swedish Navy at the periods adverted to.

	1696. Silver dollars.	1764. Do.	1768. Do.	1772. Do.
For the admiralty and corps of cadets at Carlscroon	-	-	-	624,763
Ballors	-	1,139,815	-	53,793
Fleet of Gallies at Stockholm	-	-	-	138,817
Flotilla of Finland	671,498½	21,866	1,404,304	276,647
Vessels on the stock	-	-	-	458,329
Dock-yard at Carlscroon	-	-	-	175,000
Naval evolutions	-	-	-	50,000
Charges of Convoy	-	550,000	-	-
Coasting pilots	-	649	-	-
	671,498½	1,712,330	1,404,304	1,777,381
If to this last sum be added the expence of the provincial regiments in 1772,				1,171,190
and that of recruits, with the general expences of the said year,				2,708,880
the sum will shew the whole expence of the Swedish forces that year in silver dollars,				5,657,421

According to the report laid before the secret committee in 1772, the whole expence of the army, as detailed in the tables above (exclusive of the charges incurred by the works on the sluices of Trolihetta) amounted to 5,540,957 dollars, which at three per rix-dollar, give 1,846,985 rix-dollars banco, which agrees tolerably well with the sum above noticed.

By the statement of field-marshal count de Ehrensværd, relative to the royal navy, it appears that the galley fleet at Stockholm, during the time it was under the direction of the board of admiralty, cost annually 223,893 silver dollars; and that under the direction of the said field-marshal, the flotillas of Stockholm and Finland conjointly cost no more than 101,020 dollars per year. Owing to the management of this general,

the flotilla is constructed of armed ships, which are calculated to serve, as circumstances may require, either as frigates or galleys.

The towns and certain farms in the maritime provinces are obliged to furnish the king with sailors; so that the navy is upon the same footing as the provincial army. There are besides some volunteer sailors, who for a moderate sum engage themselves on board the fleet, and who at intervals enter the merchant service.

The whole naval force consists,

In sailors furnished by the towns, to the number of	-	-	-	8400
The rotar, doubled	-	-	-	8300
Recruits	-	-	-	700

Total 17,400

But according to Cantzler, when the rotar is not doubled, which only happens in time of war, when the volunteers, the recruits, the sailors from the towns, and the boys, who are rarely called upon, are not employed, there remains on service no more than

For the towns	-	-	-	-	800
The rotar	-	-	-	-	6200

7000

The staff of the Swedish navy consisted, in 1773, of a grand admiral, two admirals, three vice-admirals, four rear-admirals, one rear-admiral, the president of the dock-yards; six colonels, twenty-six lieutenant-colonels, nineteen majors, sixty-two captains, ninety-five lieutenants, one aid de camp-general, a warehouse keeper, a captain commandant of artillery, a roll-master, two captains of the dock-yards, five lieutenant-captains, a captain commandant of pilots and coasting pilots, and a lieutenant of pilots. In all two hundred and thirty-two officers.

Expences of the royal navy according to the statement of 1787.

	Rix-dollars in specie.		
For the board of admiralty	16,058	16	
the fleet and dock-yards	472,191	30	9
the squadron at Gottenburg	7,389	26	
loan to the sailors	14,597	38	6
the equipage of the Swedish fleet and flotilla	36,841	13	9
of the Finnish flotilla	53,448	38	
			90,290 3 9
The commissariat			66,666 32 0
			Total in rix-dollars 667,194 2 0
To this if the expence of the army for the said year be added, for the particulars of which see Table III, equal to			1,064,996 18
The total expenditure for the year 1787, for the army and navy collectively, will be			1,732,190 30 0

From Carlsroon to Gottenburg is thirty-seven miles and a quarter; you return by the road you have already passed as far as Runnebu; but half a league beyond, you turn to the right. There is another road by Killerid, but it is longer and less pleasant. Between Skieurgue and Diuramola, you leave Bleking to enter Smaland; the roads are constantly good, but hilly; the country wild: water is rarely found at the post houses, instead you must be content with bad beer and brandy wine; there are many forests of fir and pine, which, however, are frequently of stunted growth, and here and there lakes. That near which the town of Vexieu is situated, is rather considerable. Vexieu is a very small town: notwithstanding it be the residence of the governor of the province, and a bishop, nothing is to be had, and the necessity of carrying your own provisions is as evident here as in the most inconsiderable hamlet; one of the streets is lined with trees, but this is far from being the case with all of them, as some travellers relate. On leaving Vixieu, you cross over bridges, several times, a river which has its origin in the lake, and empties itself into the Baltic about a mile from Carlshem; it is called the Morunso: afterwards you coast along the lake for some time. Succeed a number of woods more flourishing than those passed before: the consequence doubtless of their greater distance from the sea, which begins to be considerable. The whole of this road is mountainous; if your luggage be heavy, it will not be amiss to take the road for Jonkeeping upon arriving at Eura, for although it be rather the furthest way, it is by much the most agreeable, and passes through several towns to Gottenburg, whereas by the former road you go through none. You traverse the whole of Smaland, a province which gives title to the king's second son: its inhabitants are reputed to preserve all the frankness with all the rudeness of their ancestors; they consider themselves much superior to their neighbours, with whom they rarely intermarry, which circumstance has not a little contributed to the preservation of their ancient character. This province yields a considerable quantity of hops. In its southern part, much iron is extracted from the lakes and marshes. The gold mine of Adelière, the only one in the kingdom, is in Smaland; it is little productive, so little, as not to pay the charges of working; it is situated at a distance from this road, but you go near it on passing from Calmar to Eskieu. From Horiau to Bor there are many ascents and descents, which during frosty weather are somewhat dangerous. As you leave Vernamo, you cross the Laga over a bridge, where you pay a toll of two sous for each wheel; after which the road to Stockholm is on the right, and beyond, a very steep ascent; here it is that you cross the high road to Helsinburg. On this stage the eye is treated with nothing but sandy plains, heath, and stone, with here and there some streams. The fair of Vernamo has great reputation in the country; the stalls are permanent as well here as at other places where fairs are held, and are frequently conspicuous. From Gronhult to Tosstorp there are large forests of pine and fir: on this stage there is abundance of heath, with little or no cultivation. The four last stages are the worst; on the last you travel over a great steep by a road cut through the rock, on the border of a small lake. Along all this road you will find it frequently necessary to apply the drag to the wheels. As we made this journey about Christmas time, called in the northern languages Youl, and which has been kept in this country from time immemorable, we found provision in every house; each individual had decorated the inside of his apartments with cloth, stuff, or whatever most valuable he possessed, and the floor was covered with straw, which nevertheless did not prevent the inhabitants letting lighted fire-brands fall on it without paying any regard to their extinction, a neglect which will readily account for the frequency of conflagrations. We did not remark, as is affirmed by Mr. Coxe, that the beds are commonly one above the other; but almost every where did we observe trunks ranged

circumstances

the king
There
on board

8400

8300

700

17,400

is in time
the boys
no more

800

6900

7000

admirals,
the dock-
two cap-
a captain
lieutenant-
of pilots

90 3 9

66 32 0

94 2 0

996 18

90 30 0

around the room, serving as seats by day, and in lieu of bedsteads by night. Before you enter Gottenburgh is a custom house, at which the officers are very rigid: it is not however difficult to obtain allowance for one to attend at your inn, where you may dismiss him, according to custom, at the expence of 24 skillings. Complaint is made that the officers of the customs here are, as almost everywhere, insolent, knavish, and countenanced in their insolence.

Gottenburgh. At the post-house you meet with indifferent accommodation, but will find better, although at a greater expence, at the Miss Mullers'. This city is very pretty, it is the second in the kingdom, but much inferior to the towns in France of the third order: it contains at most but fourteen or fifteen thousand people, for although five hundred and eighty persons died here in 1790, this number comprised many soldiers who returned sick from the army: the births were four hundred and thirty-six. The town is intersected by canals, which are planted with trees, and which in some places give it the appearance of a Dutch town; yet the houses are far from being of equally good construction, few being of brick; nevertheless the appearance of the new town has in it somewhat pleasing. The suburbs is built on an eminence: here the sailors reside, who are very numerous, as well owing to its being the station of the East India Company's vessels, as of a number of king's frigates.

Its hospital was founded by Mr. Sahlgren, a wealthy individual; its revenue is 1500 rix dollars; it contains thirty beds, two of which for lying-in women; this number however, in case of necessity, is augmented by two, and the whole has occasionally amounted to seven at once. Any woman in this condition may ring at the gate at any hour of the day or night, and be gratuitously admitted. In this house forty-five abandoned children were born in the year 1789, and in 1790, thirty-six. The sick have each a bed to themselves, and the whole establishment appeared to us to be well attended: when we saw it, it contained but thirteen invalids. If desirous of sending thither a Gottenburgher, you pay six skillings per diem, if a stranger, eight: patients afflicted with venereal complaints are the only ones not admitted. The sick are not allowed tea. There is one physician belonging to the hospital, who is at the same time both director and treasurer, and one surgeon. The most common and most dangerous maladies of the country are millary fevers: those of an inflammatory nature are very rare; the hospital is seldom full, unless in May, which is the unhealthy month. The fluor albus is very common; it is attributed to the frequent use of tea, the cloth drawers which women are accustomed to wear, and the want of cleanliness. All the beds in the hospital are without top covering even when the curtains are drawn, in order that the air may have free circulation. All the kitchen utensils are of cast iron.

Cabinets. The count de Sparre has about three score paintings, eight of ten of which by Teniers, Wouvermans, Gerard Dow, &c. are worthy of attention.

Mr. Næurn the director of the custom house, possesses a very complete collection of Swedish coins and medals; his cabinet consists of none besides: among other valuable coins he has one of count Oxenstiern, which is extremely rare: notwithstanding this collection was only begun in 1783, it already comprises three thousand distinct pieces.

Refineries. There are three sugar refineries here, but on no very large scale, two of them without the town; the third, belonging to Mr. Jacobson, is on an island formed by a canal, and separate from any other building for fear of fire; it has four boilers, which however are not at all times employed; it seldom works more than two hundred and fifty hogsheads per annum. The sugar from it is extremely white and lustrous, but not very sweet, and sells at from 10 to 13 skillings per lb. according to quality.

Commerce. The commerce of Gottenburgh is very considerable, and may be looked upon as constituting a seventh part of the whole exports, and one fourth of all the imports of Sweden; the island of Marstrand in its neighbourhood, ever since 1775, has been a free port. In spite of the convention between France and Sweden in 1784, by which an entrepot was to be granted to the former in exchange for the island of St. Bartholomew, there is but one single French merchant established here (M. Fournier;) but this convention has not been executed in every point, and upon this may be observed that the Swedish government has taken advantage of the situation of France, too much occupied with concerns of a greater magnitude to attend to those of such trivial nature, and has neglected to fulfil all the stipulations of a treaty, so binding in itself, as to condition, that in case of non-conformity on the part of Sweden with its various articles, France is to resume possession of St. Bartholomew; in a word, it may be said, that one of the parties is in full possession of the grant made to it, the other not. In this town there are about a dozen English houses; the English are better looked upon here than any other nation. Gottenburg is a long mile distant from the North sea, and on the Gœutha, which is here a very broad river. In the year 1790, there entered its port seven hundred and seventeen foreign, and five hundred and ten national ships; thence sailed for foreign ports seven hundred and seventy-nine, and five hundred and fifty-three to different parts of Sweden. Out of the seven hundred and seventeen which entered this port, but sixteen were French (the same number as arrived at Stockholm.) The number of merchant vessels belonging to Gottenburgh is, as stated at present, two hundred and fifty; it is our opinion however, that it does not exceed two hundred and ten.

East India Company. This company, notwithstanding it has the privilege of trading likewise with India, dispatches one or two and sometimes, but rarely, three ships in a year to China alone. In January 1791, it possessed seven ships in good condition, and one on the stocks. This company is managed in an admirable manner; it has four directors, one of which is president (Mr. Hosterman) and four others at Stockholm, who are only honorary members of the direction; no one, not even the king himself, has any right of inspection into the affairs of this company; the warehouses, notwithstanding they are large, cannot contain more than three cargoes. The vessels in general sail for China in the month of January; they are obliged to saw through the ice to get to sea. If any order be sent to China, a very exact model of what is required must go with it, for the Chinese copy minutely, even defects. Ostend and Antwerp hold many shares in this company.

The following is a table of the exports of produce from Gottenburgh, in 1790; which may be looked upon as less than a common year. The war having lasted to the middle of it, and shipments in consequence were not so numerous, the sea being open but a few months of that year; for notwithstanding the belligerent powers had no cruisers at sea, the scarcity of sailors, from so many being employed on board the navy, must have had a sensible effect on shipment.

EXPORT OF PRODUCE FROM GOTTENBURGH, IN 1790.

	Iron in bars.			Pig Iron.			Steel.			Boards.	Tons of Salted Herrings.	Value of India Goods.	
	Sch.	Lips.	lbs.	Sch.	Lips.	lbs.	Sch.	Lips.	lbs.			Rix.	Sch. R.
To Amsterdam,	589	12	10	75	7	10	62	16	0	7	710	231,351	0 3
Anclam,											290		
Berghen,											400		
Cadix,										345		3,438	22 4
Colberg,											154		
Dublin,	637	10	0							43			
Dunkirk,												38,289	23 0
Elbing,											380		
Elseneur,											150		
England,	34,506	6	10	1164	9	10	63	0	10	9034		1,711	30 0
Northern parts,													
France,	1,962	5	13	718	19	5	503	18	5	2323	160		
Gence,				110	0	0				53			
Griffswald,											1330		
Hamburg,	701	3	10	7	0	0				365	690	91,010	1 9
Ireland,	5,739	6	0	600	6	5				665	2670	25	0 0
Copenhagen,	1,324	15	10	34	1	5	12	3	5	54	285	8,034	25 0
Liebau,											331		
Lisbon,	76	5	0	2	10	0				11		53,269	41 5
London,	749	19	10	112	10	0				140			
Lubeck,	446	19	10				0	15	0	1389			
Marstrand,												208	0 0
Mediterranean,	1,591	4	0	589	4	15				236	600	126	45 5
Memel,											900		
Newcastle,	599	12	0	145	15	0				578			
North Sea,	230	0	0								710		
Norway,	3	4	0	5	3	15					400	447	16 0
Nieuport,										90			
Ostend,												61,060	16 10
St. Petersburg,											900		
Pillau,											1400		
Randers,										293			
Revel,											914		
Rostock,										20	58		
Scotland,	32,518	14	5	458	15	10	2	5	0	10428		381	14 0
Stettin,											2833		
Stralsund,				1	2	0					30		
St. Ubes,				50	7	5				580			
The Baltic,	32,595	4	10	4940	19	5	491	1	10	10096	34008	107,667	45 10
The Indies,										7	2410		
Other Parts,	525	4	0				6	7	15	144	143,728	2706	31 11
	104,797	4	10	9033	11	3	1142	17	5	36900	195,480	599,471	1 10

SPECIFICATION OF THE INDIAN MERCHANDISE, OF WHICH THE VALUE IS GIVEN IN THE TABLE.

1,110,143 lbs. of tea; 149 pieces of silk of thirteen French ells in length, and five quarters wide; 15,899 pieces of nankin; 5014 lbs. of raw white silk; 3197 lbs. cinnamon; 4918 lbs. rhubarb; 215 lbs. sago; 957 lbs. rotin; 7756 lbs. galanga; 7 cans and a half of arrack; the can holds twenty-one bottles; bamboo fans to the value of 2438 r. d. 22 sch.; porcelain, to the value of 10,332 r. d. 44 sch. The whole of these goods formed but one cargo. To this is to be added, likewise, what is consumed at home, and what is smuggled out, which is to a large amount.

Herring Fishery. This important branch of commerce, which for a while was annihilated, owing to the disappearance of the herrings, has now resumed its wonted briskness; the sale amounts at present to six hundred thousand barrels of salted herrings, and thirty thousand barrels of oil. Ten or twelve barrels of herrings yield about one barrel of oil. The price of a barrel of fresh herrings is generally four silver dollars; the expence of salting them, cask inclusive (which costs about* 16 or 20 skillings) is five or six dollars: the price of a barrel of salted herrings is from twelve to thirteen dollars, thus leaving a profit of from a dollar and a half to two silver dollars per barrel for the curing. The barrel of oil sells for 12 rix-dollars, it contains an awm;† that is to say, about one hundred and eighty common bottles. All the casks are gauged, and uniformly contain from a thousand to twelve hundred herrings. The fishery begins in October, and lasts till February, and even March, according to the season. The greater part of its produce is exported to different places in the country, the coasts of the Baltic, and the Mediterranean; they export also (particularly to the southern nations) dried and smoked herrings; these are of higher price than the former. Some adventurers at this place have attempted the whale fishery, but without success.

Generally, if asked to dine, it is an invitation for the day, and supper as well: this is the custom throughout Sweden, and even at Stockholm, but there it is confined to the secondary ranks in society. Grace before and after meat, and a bow to the master of the house, are customary every where: so is indeed, the length of this ceremony, and the serious countenance assumed by the Swedes, would incline us to laughter but for the intervention of reflection. At ceremonial dinners, healths are drunk in an enormous goblet full of Rhenish wine or Champagne; the goblet is handed round, and each takes a sip; there are certain formalities to be observed, in which you are instructed on the spot, and the penalty, in case of omission, is to empty the goblet; to our minds rather an arduous undertaking: we were present at the ceremony for the first time at the house of the bishop of Gottenburgh, a well informed, and very amiable person: he is considered the best scholar in Sweden, and is indebted to himself alone for his eminent station in life, being the son of a peasant. Apothecaries at Gottenburgh are men of better information than in other countries, and what is singular, they are held in higher esteem than either surgeons or physicians.

It is customary for the band of the regiment in garrison to come and play under the windows, or even at the door of strangers who arrive: you dismiss them at the expence of a rife, or without giving them any thing (as we were recommended to do) by desiring them on their beginning to go about their business. There is no other than yellow bougies at Gottenburgh, and it struck us as somewhat singular, that at a grand supper, to which eighteen or a score persons were invited, given by the richest merchant in the town, who is reputedly worth 400,000 rix-dollars, and who in 1791 built a wooden house which cost a fourth of that amount, there was none but tallow candles on the table. Many articles are dear in this town, if compared with their price in towns of similar dimensions in France.

Landing of the Duke in 1788. The prince of Hesse came to Gottenburgh in 1788, shortly before the landing; on this occasion he was received with the greatest demonstrations of civility by the governor, and the duke of Sudermania, who was there at the time: he took advantage of this to acquire such information respecting the place, as might be useful to him. He could easily have plundered the whole of the East-Ind-

* Vide table of Swedish money.

† See table of measures.

of India
Goods.
Sch. R.

551 0 3

438 23 4

289 25 0

711 30 0

1010 1 9

25 0 0

6034 25 0

3269 41 0

208 0 0

126 48 0

447 16 0

61060 16 10

331 14 0

07,667 46 10

2706 21 11

99,471 1 10

VALUE IS

gth, and five

197 lbs. cin-

nga; 7 cans

the value of

hole of these

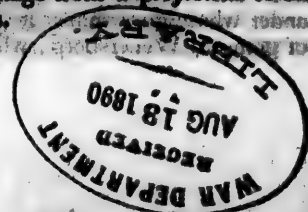
consumed at

dia company's warehouses, the merchandise in which was valued at two millions of rix-dollars; but delaying too long, the firmness of Mr. Elliott, the English minister, and the arrival of the king, whom none knew where to find, and who suddenly arrived from Dalecarlia, put a stop to all he might have done, and obliged him to retire. The king on his arrival visited the place, and found no preparations of defence: the balls were not of fit size for the calibres of the guns, the artillery officer was ignorant of the range of his bombs, &c. Yet notwithstanding these impediments, the king resolved on defence; he collected together as many volunteers and troops as he could muster, and resolved on giving battle to the Danes in a plain before the town. On the other hand, general Armfeldt arrived with ten thousand men, and it is highly presumable that the bravery of his troops, joined to the presence of his majesty, would have insured victory to the Swedes. Beyond a doubt the city, and particularly the East-India company, which had most to lose, owed their salvation to their sovereign; yet, will it be credited, that finding himself in the greatest distress, and requiring from the company a sum of money of no considerable amount, he was unable to obtain from them but a part of what he asked? The city of Gottenburgh had a medal struck in commemoration of its deliverance in 1790, owing to the appearance of his majesty, which however is not one of the best executed by Fehrman.

Between Gottenburgh and Marstrand, you pass through Kunghill and Kjusfhill; for the first stage the road is along the river Gœutha, which flows between two ridges of rocks, the feet of which are in some parts cultivated. Near Bohus (a strong castle seized upon by the Danes in 1788) you are ferried over two arms of the river, without unharnessing, and for a very moderate expence.

Kunghill, formerly very considerable until destroyed by the Vandals, is now a very small town, where two thousand Danes were quartered in 1788. During their stay, they gave no cause of complaint to its inhabitants. From Kjusfhill, you proceed on foot to the sea side over a stony rocky path: there is a house here where you must show your passport, an indispensable article with which you must furnish yourself at Gottenburgh: it is usual to give eight skillings to the clerk both going and coming, although there be no obligation. The distance across to Marstrand is about three French leagues: it took us an hour and a half to go thither, and nearly three hours returning, owing to calms and our being continually obliged to use oars. The passage lies between a number of islets, or rather rocks: there is an abundance of water fowl, which none are allowed to shoot for fear of frightening the herrings. For the use of the boat going and returning (waiting a day at Marstrand) you pay two or three rix-dollars: but you must make your bargain beforehand at the post office of Kjusfhill.

Marstrand. This town possesses nothing interesting, except its herring fishery, which employs the major part of its inhabitants. Notwithstanding it be a free port, it is but little frequented, and its population is very inconsiderable, in spite of the privileges granted by government to such as establish themselves here. The castle built on a rock serves as a state prison. The commandant has been in the French service, and it is no difficult matter, particularly for a Frenchman, to obtain permission from him to see the interior; if he be absent, it is a more difficult affair, as the officers under him dare not take upon themselves to permit the entrance of foreigners; this happened to be the case with us: it has nothing however to recommend it, except the prospect it affords, which is highly picturesque, owing to the number of isles and rocks seen from it, and even this prospect may be seen with little inferiority of advantage from a projection of the rock, without entering the castle. You lodge at Fyrber's.



CHAPTER II.

Cataracts of Trolhætta.....Road to Stockholm through Nericia and Westmania.....

Objects on the Road and in its Neighbourhood interesting to a Naturalist.

ON our return to Kunghill we continued our journey, as described in the itinerary. At Ströum you take a sledge, or a peasant's cart, as the season happens to be, to go to Trolhætta, where those cataracts are situated, so worthy the attention of travellers; as far as this stage you keep alongside the river, which is on your right, and see some cultivated plains, particularly hop grounds. From Ströum you continue the high road to Wenersborg for about six hundred paces; leaving it then to the left you turn to the right hand directly towards the river which forms in this spot a small basin, the water of which is as still as the surface of a lake, although at but a small distance from the cataracts: you cross the river in very light boats, paying for the fare four sous each person: for the space of a quarter of a mile you then follow the course of the river on the opposite bank, along a road made of planks, constructed for the conveyance of iron, from the spot where the river ceases to be navigable, to that where it begins to be so again. You may also, by making a longer circuit, or in case of going from Wenersborg, pass the river above the cataracts; for it is absolutely requisite you should keep on the same side as the hamlet of Trolhætta, as nothing is visible from the other on account of the mountains which form the side of the river: at the spot where you pass the Gæutha (below the cataracts) is the iron warehouse, which consists of a tolerably large building on the ground floor, with different apartments, numbered. If desirous of avoiding the walk of a quarter of a mile, you will find, after crossing the river, carriages peculiar to the country, which will take you to Trolhætta and bring you back again, charging, on account of the time they stop, a mile, notwithstanding the distance be no more altogether than half as much. We were conducted all the way to Trolhætta by the waterman who ferried us over, and gave him for his pains eight skillings, with which he appeared well satisfied. We advise beginning from above, near the village of Trolhætta itself, where the saw-mills are, and descend again to below the cataracts: thus obtaining a prospect of the whole, which is highly picturesque, not only on account of the different falls, but of the rocks likewise which are seen on every side: we were there on a fine sunny day, and the earth was covered with snow, which perhaps added to the beauty of this point of view: great expence has been incurred in the attempt to make this part of the river navigable, and thus opening a communication between lake Wener and the North Sea; but it is apprehended with much reason that this undertaking will never be brought to a favourable issue: it would, perhaps, be a much certain and less expensive plan to dig a canal, which leaving the river above the cataracts might terminate in the basin before alluded to: the distance would be little more than a quarter of a mile, and a number of locks might remedy the inequality of the ground. Your curiosity satisfied, you return the same way back to Ströum, and arrive at Wenersborg, which possesses nothing remarkable but its iron market, this town being the entrepot for all that the province of Vermeland sends to Gottenburg: it is situated on the spot near which the Gæutha issues from lake Wener. There is a raised way of great length over the canal of Carlsgraff: it is arched at intervals, the same as a bridge, and is the road to Norway: it has a parapet (for what reason we could not conjecture) on one side only: in the middle is a stone bearing an inscription which designates under whose government it was constructed. All this however but ill repays the pains of going to Wenersborg; wherefore when at Kunghill you will do well to retrace

the Gœutha, make for Lahall, follow the course of the river as far as Trolhätta, and thence take the road to Stockholm by Borated, &c. Near Wenersborg, on the opposite side of the Gœutha, are mounts Halleburg and Huneberg, in which are found quarries of alum, trapp, black chalk, and lapis suillus in abundance. From Wenersborg to Stockholm is forty-three miles and five-eighths. The whole of this road is excellent, particularly from Mariestadt: in the middle of January we were not under the necessity of using a sledge before we arrived there, and even afterwards on account of want of snow; at the last stage we were obliged to take our carriage off and travel on wheels; for on the 15th of January we saw verdure at the very gates of Stockholm. You pass through the small town Lidköping and Mariestadt. You do not change horses at these towns, which are neither worth the trouble of stopping to examine. They are pleasantly situated upon lake Wener, which is visible from the great square of Lidköping. After passing Hoava you enter Nericia, where is a custom-house. The province of Skaraburg, which forms a part of Westrogothia, and which we have been traversing, has certain spots which the amateur of natural history may visit, and will find some curious minerals, such are Kinnakulle, a quarry of alum and calcareous stone; Billingen, a quarry of alum. This mountain is situated near the town of Skieufde, between Falkköping and Mariestadt, three miles and a quarter from the former, and five from the latter. At this mountain many curious minerals may be procured; but, as it is of great extent, it will require some time to examine all its remarkable parts. Black alum is discovered here in slates, frequently enclosing petrified enthomolithes, lapis suillus in balls, both great and small, solid, sparkling, granulated, and frequently encasing small enthomolithes and petrified shells. Spar of a conic form. Indurated and lamellated marl; clayey slate; black solid trapp, granulated with fibres like ears of corn. Solid calcareous stone of a red, brown, and gray colour, in which are frequently found petrified orthocerathites and enthomolithes. Calcareous stalactites both white and yellow, scarcely at all porous within, although formed by deposits in layers, and undulated at the surface: in these sometimes leaves are found enclosed. Lamellated gypsum, both white and striated, in exceeding thin sheets between slates of alum. Free-stone of many various sorts. Coal, solid and shining externally, met with at times between slates of alum at Multorp. In order to collect as many of these minerals as possible, you should constantly give the preference in your search for them to those places where they have been found before, such as Timurdala, Multorp, Ulunda: Beck, Hallevad, &c. Mysseberg, and Olleberg near Falkköping. Here are found argillaceous slate, mixed with various petrifications, enthomolithes, and petrified shells; lapis suillus, both solid and granulated; solid red calcareous stone; slate of alum, &c. In this province are a number of quarries of alum. None of the spots above-mentioned are in the neighbourhood of the above noted road except the first, whither you may easily go from Kalangen. All the towns along this road are wretched, notwithstanding Öurebro and Arboga be capitals. After passing by Lidköping you enter into forest land. Öurebro is situated on the extremity of lake Hielmer (at the mouth of a river that has a trifling fall, visible from a stone bridge) which lake communicates with Møler. Beyond Arboga you perceive the canal which joins the two lakes; there are some very handsome looks which are deserving of notice. You enter Westmania between Fellingsbro and Arboga. From Arboga through Kieuping to Skinskatteberg is six miles and a quarter; hence you make a short excursion to Riddar-Hittann, the copper mines. Here yellow copper is found mixed with ore of black iron; martial pyrites; galena, ore of bismuth in scales, in a rocky granulated stone; ore of cobalt, steely grained, of a rare description. At Stalsten you meet with red ore, semi-transparent, crystallized in small druses; mineral

pitch; white and blue spar; potter's earth. Basencs grufvan, another copper mine belonging to Ridder Hittann, is situated a short league from the others; here you find yellow copper ore; ore of bismuth in large scales; scaly molybdene; tungsten, or heavy stone; amianthus, sometimes blended with yellow copper, which gives it a beautiful hue; quartz in slender druses; potter's earths, &c. as the copper ore is frequently mixed with ore of black iron, it is rather difficult to fuse.

From Mariestad to this place, you travel over plains in an excellent state of cultivation, and tolerably well peopled. This, in many respects, is one of the best districts in Sweden: all Nericia is full of forges and mines. The following are the principal places: Quisbräu, an iron mine; Winterosa, copper and iron mine; the first abandoned; Axberg, an iron foundry; Jarboas, Nora, Linde, iron mines in the neighbourhood; in the two latter, which are near each other, the following varieties are found: ore of black iron, solid, granulated, crystallized in octaedra, dispersed in potter's earth; hematites of a bluish cast, lamellated, micaceous and sparkling; cloudy topazes in druses; several varieties of druses in quartz, and calcareous spar. Near to Nora is a small mine of copper, in which is found solid copper ore, of steely grain; galena; granulated ore of cobalt, crystallized amid the copper ore; calcareous stone, &c. A mile and a half distant from Örebro, is Dylta, a large manufactory of sulphur and green vitriol. The sulphur is extracted from martial pyrites, which abound here; it is distilled in cast iron vessels; the residue is lixiviated, and produces by evaporation, and crystallization, green, or martial vitriol: the ferruginous ochre which remains, affords a red colour, with which the houses are painted. At Glandshammer are quarries of calcareous stone, and silver mines abandoned. At Garphyttann, two miles farther, is a large alum manufactory; the slate quarries are not far distant and well deserve attention; here, black alum, in slates, is found of a bituminous quality, so that instead of roasting it, according to common practice, before it is lixiviated, it is used instead of wood, with much success, for heating cauldrons; martial pyrites, solid, globular, and crystallized in great variety; indurated marl, frequently of a globular shape; calcareous stone; calcareous spar crystallized in pyramids; lapis suillus, brown and gray, sparkling, granulated, sparry, rhomboidal, striated, prismatic, and crystallized calcareous stone, of a red and brown colour, &c. From Garphyttann, by Sanua to Hesselkulla, is a mile and a half; here you find an iron mine, the ore consisting of black granulated iron; calcareous spar, white, yellow, and of a violet hue, of a pyramidal shape, covered with hexagonal calcareous crystals in druses; rocks of granate, crystallized granate; and green earth of Hesselkulla: all the spots where these are to be found, are near enough to Örebro; the following are much more distant, and those desirous of visiting them must dedicate several days to the purpose on that account. Ljusnarburg, or Nyakopperberg, contains copper ore, formerly very rich, but at present very poor; it is gray, azure, and yellow; the mine yields, also, galena, blend, white, violet, coloured, and green spar; schoert, fibrous, starry, and crystallized in many different shapes; potter's stone, &c. Hellefors has many mines of silver, which have been worked for a long time, but at present are nearly exhausted, yielding very little; of minerals: galena, in steely grains, in small cubes, and micaceous; yellow copper ore, blend; arsenical pyrites, solid, and crystallized in needles; martial pyrites; calcareous spar; rock pebbles, red, brown, and black. From Hellefors to Saxan is one mile, thence to Onshyttä another. This stage is precisely at the foot of mount Persberg, which is full of veins of iron ore: by visiting these mines you may procure solid black iron ore, in small and large grains; martial pyrites, granulated, crystallized in octaedra cubical, and in polygons in druses; leafy ore of bismuth; amianthus; potter's stone; schoert, fibrous, in spur, starry, crystallized, and

prismatic; rock garnet; garnet in druses; steatites; starry asbestos; calcareous stone, solid, and in grains; calcareous spar; quartz; druses of quartz; mica; and rock pebbles, in several varieties. From Onshytta you proceed to Philipstadt, a town a mile distant: provided you have time to spare you may visit several interesting spots in the neighbourhood. Longbanahitta, two miles distant, contains a rich iron mine, the greatest part of which is in hematites: here many curious minerals are found, blue hematites in solid grains, steely grains, sparkling, micaceous, and lamellated in leaves; black iron ore of fine grain, fibrous, and crystallized in octaedra; martial pyrites granulated, crystallized in druses; sparry stalstein of very rich quality; manganese, white, globular, and starry within; calcareous spar; ferruginous gypsum, white and sparkling; druses of spar, calcareous, in pyramidal crystals, irregular, capillary in thin hairs; red and brown jasper, sometimes with small veins of iron ore: it takes a beautiful polish; rock garnet; druses of garnets crystallized; calcareous schoerle in stars of large rays; green and yellow serpentine; ophites of serpentine, and calcareous stone; mountain leather; mountain cork, and amianthus. From Philipstadt to Normarck, is two miles: this is a mountain full of very ancient iron mines, but does not abound in minerals: the iron ore is black, in small and large grains; crystallized in thin druses; galena in small cubes; calcareous spar which doubles the object, and crystallized in double pyramids; joined to each other at their base; mountain leather; mountain cork; schoerle, fibrous, and starry. Taberg is another mountain which contains iron mines, and is a great league distant from Normarck; it is famous for the quantity of amianthus it yields: here you may obtain iron ore, more or less granulated and tessellated; blend with large shining sides; martial pyrites, granulated, and crystallized in cubes; calcareous spar; micaceous and leafy steatites; brown mica; amianthus, gray, hard, almost cold, coarse, white, of a finer quality, lamellated in fine fibres, and blended with calcareous spar; schoerle, in fibrous ears; sometimes fine specimens of amianthus are found; iron ores, pyrites, and mica, united with calcareous spar; so that here a very handsome collection may be made.

You return to Philipstadt, and on the road may examine the iron mine, Agegrufven, which adjoins the road: you find here black iron ore, granulated and solid; schoerle in friable grains, and crystallized in prisms; mountain cork, sometimes sprinkled with garnets; calcareous spar of several colours. In the western part of this province, away from the road, are the copper mines of Glafva and Gunaraskog, at present abandoned.

From Arboga you proceed to Kongäsur, a small town, or borough, pleasantly situated at the extremity of lake Mejer; we arrived there at eight o'clock in the evening, and notwithstanding the precaution we took, of sending before for horses, we had to wait for them till two o'clock in the morning, owing to the ill will of the post-master: such delays are very frequent in the evening, on account of the post-masters being desirous of engaging you to sleep at their houses, and the dread to which the country people are liable of driving by night. At times it has occurred that, with the six horses we required for our carriage, six postillions came, and at others only one. In Scania and in Bleking, they are more resolute. On the evening of our arrival there happened to be an assembly at the very house at which we stopped. Our dress appearing, doubtless, strange to them, the whole company came in files, of three or four at a time, into our chamber, to take a view of the foreigners. After this ceremony, which served to amuse us, and exhibited the whole of the beauties of the neighbourhood (unfortunately but few) we signified our desire of participating in an entertainment so much at hand; our request was readily granted, and from all the company we received the greatest civilities; at supper-time, but for our pertinacious resistance to the challenges made us, we should have been unable to conti-

nue our journey; unfortunately, it so happened that none out of the whole number understood any other than the Swedish language; signs were, consequently, of much service to us; this inconvenience excepted, we passed the six hours we stayed in the most agreeable manner imaginable, and imbibed a very favourable idea of Swedish hospitality.

At Torshälla, you see from the bridge a number of small cataracts, which have a very fine effect. Between Malmby and Lågestrok, the castle of Gripsholm is situated, of which a description at length shall be given. Near to Gripsholm is Oker, a cannon foundry, and near to Torshälla Eskelstuna, of which, also, more shall be said in another place: past which nothing more is met with worthy attention, before you reach Stockholm.

CHAPTER III.

Arrival at Stockholm....General account of that city....The court of Sweden....The royal castle....Play-houses.

The entrance into Stockholm by no means announces a capital: we arrived by the southern suburbs. The city, properly speaking, is very small, and situated in an island at the point of junction of the sea and lake Mælar: the southern and northern suburbs are very large, since from the north to the south gate is half a mile, but parts of the streets are either without houses, or covered with such as have only a ground floor, which is the cause why Stockholm, notwithstanding the great space it occupies, does not certainly contain more than 75,000 inhabitants: part of the houses are of wood; some in the suburbs wear the appearance of wretched cottages. Queen-street, and Regency-street, in the northern suburbs, are the handsomest, and best inhabited of the whole plain: in the southern suburbs some merchants reside, but not a single man of rank. The north square will make a very good appearance when the bridge in contemplation is finished, and in case of their changing the front opposite the castle. The opera and the palace form the two other sides, and are very handsome buildings.

Few cities in Europe are so badly paved as Stockholm, which is the more disagreeable from the royal garden being the only promenade within the city; and on account of that being damp and unhealthy, except in the height of summer, you have no other place for walking.

The situation of Stockholm is singular, and highly picturesque, and is comparable to that of no other city; as it affords, from many spots, most charming points of view, in which you see a mixture of steeples, houses, rocks, trees, lakes, and the castle, which is distinguished from every quarter, and has a most admirable effect. This capital, as we have before observed, is built by the sea, and lake Mælar: the locks on the south (which are a very handsome work) dividing them.

The port is handsome, spacious, and safe, but difficult of access; it frequently takes several days to get to sea, or to arrive thence at Stockholm, on account of the course to be taken between numberless banks, to effect which, particular winds are requisite. The quays are of astonishing breadth.

Police. The city is but badly lighted; the police is tolerably good; a consequence rather of the tranquil nature of the inhabitants, than an care that is taken. In the winter of 1792, some disagreeable occurrences took place, on the part of Russians it is true; but some time elapsed before means were discovered of stopping these disorders, the existence of which, likewise, the police had some difficulty in crediting, notwithstanding they were repeated often enough to put the matter out of question: frequently it imputes excesses that may be committed, to liquor, and this is the first instance we

have met with of such an excuse being admitted by the police: it must indeed be allowed that those who admit this plea are often drunk themselves.

Society here is dull; it is limited to tea parties at five o'clock: the ladies have their set days; and at seven o'clock all doors are closed, those of merchants alone excepted, who are yet accustomed to give suppers, and from whom an invitation to dine is an entertainment for the day. Through the whole of winter we never but once supped with a Swede (the grand master Bonde:) sometimes dinners are given, but very rarely; the ministers alone keep an establishment, properly speaking, and even the greater part of these do not really so. The minister for foreign affairs, alone, gives regularly a dinner once a week, at which the diplomacy meet for conference, and to which strangers are constantly invited. The discontent of the nobility, a part of whom has retired to their distinct provinces, has greatly contributed to the diminution of the company found in this city. Society (that is to say, of persons liable to invitation on days of ceremony) is so scarce, that it does not exceed one hundred and fifty persons; whereas it amounts to two hundred and fifty at Copenhagen; and at Berlin, to two hundred and twenty or thirty.

The foreign ministers had a club in the north-square, called *La Societe*, where strangers and persons well known in Stockholm were admitted. Here you read the papers, might play (but only at round games) and dine and sup at an ordinary at a fixed price, always sure of meeting with good company. We are uninformed whether or not this society continues to exist; should it not, we pity the foreigners who may visit Stockholm, as this formed the chief, and frequently the only resource for them throughout great part of the day.

The inns are miserable; a stranger, in case of remaining here any time, cannot absolutely dispense with hiring furnished lodgings; for three rix-dollars a week, you obtain tolerably comfortable apartments, and at a less rate in case of taking them by the month. Very little wood is required to heat the rooms, the stoves being of an excellent construction. Good *laquais de louage*, as well here as elsewhere, are very rare, particularly such as speak French. You may hire glass coaches at two rix-dollars and a half per day, or at from 50 to 55 per month, which indeed is the only way to be secure of having such as are decent, for generally they are both old and incommodious. You pay three copper-dollars for a ride from one spot to another, in a hackney-coach, a *plotte* for the first hour, and four copper-dollars for each succeeding one; but hackney coaches are not to be found at all times.

Society, which ought naturally to be gay, particularly that of women of a certain class, is serious and dull. These ladies affect to give themselves airs, expect to be treated in the same manner as ladies of the court, and are fond of your kissing their hand. It may easily be conceived how greatly this assumption of dignity, in every respect so ridiculous, must affect the pleasantries of society.

Although we have extolled the natural probity of the Swedes, we do not pretend in this character to include the cities, particularly the capital. That bears a perfect resemblance to other cities of the first rank: every thing is very dear; here as elsewhere are robbers, adventurers, and sharpers; in one word, it is as corrupt as a city can be that is filled with inhabitants of all nations.

The court of Sweden. Presentations at court take place every fortnight on Sundays, at the instant of the king leaving his apartment: which is usually about seven o'clock. The etiquette of this court much resembles that of the court of Versailles formerly, and in many things is absolutely the same. The king is always preceded by his grand

officers; he walks round the company, embraces the wives of the senators, and speaks to every one without distinction; but longest to the ministers and foreigners; on our very first introduction, he conversed with us on the French revolution, and without hesitation alluded to that of Sweden in 1772, and the factions in his own country. Conversation ended, you set down to play; the game is a sort of loto, at which every one stakes two and a half rix-dollars in paper, neither gold nor silver being seen at the table: the queen only has a separate table, at which she plays at cards; the prince royal is by the side of the table, standing, the same as at the levee, and retires as soon as the game is done. Afterwards you go to supper, at which every thing is conducted the same as it was at the French court; each princess has her officers behind her; the gentleman carver cuts for all, and hands the plates: a balister of wood separates a third of the apartment; here the public is allowed to be: the ladies of the senators have stools to set on, which is the only seats to be seen. When the king is desirous of speaking to any one, he addresses him by name, and dismisses him by a nod of the head. Supper concludes between ten and eleven o'clock. Strangers that have already been presented, place themselves by the diplomatic corps; it is customary to remain to the end.

The queen embraces the wives of the senators upon their stooping to kiss her hand; foreign ladies kiss the hands of the queen and the princesses.* We were presented to the queen immediately after having been introduced to the king; as for the princes and princesses you attend on their day, and are presented to them in their apartments.

The following is an anecdote but little known. Charles XII, wrote from Bender for an exact account of the ceremonial of the court of Louis XIV, which was sent to him. A fugitive ruined prince, who breathed nothing but war, to require the etiquette of a court the most brilliant in Europe; what a singularity!

Even before you go to the king, you visit and are presented to the prince royal; he always speaks to foreigners, and makes the circuit of his apartment in the same manner as the king. On Thursdays, the prince dines in public at one o'clock, at which time you pay your court; we never met with any ladies on these occasions. His mode of conduct is the counterpart of that of his majesty: the ministers are constantly with him, although they appear before his majesty but once within a fortnight; they visit the prince three times in that space, which is somewhat singular. He is drest in the Swedish manner, without a cloak, his hair cut close round, and without powder. The countenance of this young prince is interesting, and bespeaks a weak state of health, notwithstanding he is very well; he is extremely forward considering his years, and highly engaging. His hours of study are exactly regulated; every day he has eight or ten persons to dine with him, and every thing about him is in the simplest style. The prince never dines with his father unless when in the country; he is restrained from this privilege until he assumes the sword, which he will do shortly; this however did not prevent his father (on his journey to Aix-la-Chapelle in 1791) from declaring him regent, and upon our making this to his majesty, he replied, "Gustavus Adolphus took a town before he was invested with the sword." This required no answer.

* Some years ago, the lady of the imperial ambassador refused to submit to this ceremony, and exposed herself to a disagreeable affair at the exchange ball. Without entering into the merits of her motive, whether good or bad, it is our opinion, that he acts most prudent who follows the customs of the country he is in, and that all are particularly bound not to draw on themselves in public, any odium by an untoward disposition. Be that as it may, from that period the ambassadors from the emperor no longer present their ladies at court.

We have observed that the prince dines on Thursdays, in public; he takes a circle round the room both before and after dinner. We saw one day a Dalecarlian who had placed himself behind every one; the young prince perceiving and recognising him on account of his characteristic dress, made way through the crowd, and coming up, took him by the hand and conversed with him for some minutes. As soon as he quitted him, we perceived this man affected by such a mark of condescension, fall back to the window and shed tears of delight; on this occasion we made reflection, which every one has done a thousand times before, of how little it costs princes to be beloved, how much the slightest kindness in them is valued, and consequently how guilty, or ill advised they must be, where they fail of procuring for themselves a pleasure so gratifying and so easy, as the blessings of the lowest class of their subjects. Gustavus III, enjoys this happiness, and his son follows his steps: he cannot have a better guide; too young as yet to calculate upon the advantage of being cherished by his people, a day perhaps may come, when he will perceive the value of their affection for him. He is called to reign over a free people, and will learn from his father not to suffer this liberty to increase at the expence of his own; like him will he unite courage with prudence, and that proportion of policy necessary to a throne, raised within these few years on the wreck of aristocracy, and we dare prognosticate he will flourish; besides he will have the advantage of having studied under an excellent master, and thus be enabled to fix that irresolution of the mind natural in a matter of such serious consequence.

That this article was written before the king's death, will be evident; we were far from imagining that such an atrocious crime would so shortly deprive the prince royal of a support and counsellor so necessary for him: what was yet far more difficult for us to foresee, was that such an abominable action would meet with its defenders.

Suppers of the Court. The king gives a supper at least twice, and frequently three times a week; on opera nights in the opera chamber; the other days at the castle or Haga. Foreigners admitted to his company are constantly invited. The king is seated between two ladies most commonly at one end of the table. At Haga you do not wear a sword, but must always be either full dressed, or in uniform, the same as in the city. In the summer time, a part of which the king spends at Haga, he invites foreigners likewise to dine with him, which invitation is generally for the whole day. In order to be entitled to dine with his majesty, it is requisite for a Swede that he should at least be a lieutenant-colonel. The king indeed, sometimes admits young people to this honour, who are not of such high rank, but this is esteemed a special favour. As for the king's suppers they are without ceremony, even when the royal family is present, which are frequently the case at the opera; the queen and princesses seating themselves at the middle of the table without distinction. You are waited upon by pages, the principal ones at the king's table are officers, and bear as such a distinctive mark (a handkerchief tied round the arm) as is the case with the chief page of the dutchess of Sudermania, and the king's sister.

The two princesses each give a supper once a week, at which foreigners, who have been once admitted, require no invitation; they play at quinz; there is also a lotto, at which you may game very low, if so disposed.

The education of the pages is much neglected, at the king's table they wait on every one, those who are officers only excepted, who wait on none but the princesses. Those latter have none of their own.

You take your leave severally of all the court, conducted by the minister of your nation.

First audience of foreign ministers. During our stay at Stockholm, a new envoy from Prussia had his first audience of the king and royal family; the following is a description of the ceremony. A carriage belonging to the court, in which was the master of the ceremonies, went to bring the minister from his hotel at about half-past seven at night; the minister got in; beside him sat the minister from Holland, and in front the master of the ceremonies. In a following carriage was the charge d'affaires of Prussia. Upon his introduction into the great dining-room, where there was a large company collected, it was announced that the king was ready to receive the credentials of the new minister; upon this the doors of the audience chamber, which adjoined, were opened. The king had his hat on; he was seated on an arm chair of crimson cloth, the back of which was ornamented with the arms of Sweden, carved in wood and gilt; he was addressed in French, and answered in the same language with inexpressible grace and dignity: he had five or six of the principal officers of his court about him. Upon the minister from Prussia leaving the presence, he was afterwards conducted successively to the prince royal and the other princes and princesses. We followed him to the young prince, who made his speech with all the nobleness of manner and confidence that a sovereign the most accustomed to these forms could possibly shew; we were the only spectators upon the occasion. The minister was re-conducted to his hotel in the same manner, and in the same carriage, which, by a pleasant chance, has preserved the name of a Dutch minister of whom it was purchased, and is known by no other appellation.

The coaches of ambassadors and senators only enter the court of the castle, which is very inconvenient for others, the open piazzas under which you walk not sheltering you from the wind.

The royal castle is situated within the city proper, on an eminence, so that it is visible from every quarter, and forms a striking object. It is not large, but its architecture is good, and it is altogether one of the prettiest modern palaces in existence. Le Voyageur Hollandais asserts, that it is larger than that of Copenhagen, but not so handsome nor so elegantly furnished; precisely the reverse is the truth. It is built of brick, cased, the roof a Mansard, was begun by Charles XI, and entirely finished by the late king; it forms almost a perfect square. The interior court is two hundred and sixty feet by two hundred and twenty-four, and has seventeen windows by fifteen; it is four stories high, three of which are lofty and one low. The entrance court is semicircular; the front has twenty-three windows in a row; ten Doric columns, joining the wall, support an equal number of Ionic corymbes, and above them are ten small Corinthian pillars, which reach the top of the building. The south side, or that of the theatre, has six large Corinthian pillars half immersed, crowned with trophies, twenty-one windows, and as well as the opposite side, is three hundred and twenty-eight feet long. The fourth side, which fronts the sea, has twenty three windows, and is three hundred and sixty-four feet long; is six stories high, three of which are lofty, and three small in the wings alone. The corps de logis, which is of nine windows, is but of four stories, three of which are lofty, one low, with three arcades in the midst. To the corps de logis there are Composite pillars, and at each window of the first story two small Ionian pillars. To the principal corps de logis in the court are nine arcades, the pillars of the Corinthian order, and two small columns to the windows, the same as in front; the opposite side is the same. The breadth of the building at the corps de logis of the principal entrance, and at two others, is 52 feet; at the two remaining, an arch serves as a gateway. The depth of the building on the side of the declivity is but forty-two feet; at the extremities of this slope are two large lions in bronze. Before one of the fronts of the castle is a

small terraced court, of two hundred and sixty feet, from one pavilion to the other, by one hundred and thirty-eight; this ought to be a garden: it has handsome marble balusters as well on the quay (or lower) as on the opposite or higher side. The pavilions to one story have nine windows inside and as many on the quay; the lower part of the pavilions was intended for an orangery, but is appropriated to other uses; it is in arcades.

The chapel is very handsome, and well ornamented; it is one hundred and twenty-five feet by forty-two, with a gallery all round; the staircase leading to it is of marble. The stairs are mostly very handsome; the slabs of stone of which the flights are formed (some of them marble) are very beautiful.

The chamber of the states is opposite to the chapel, and is precisely of the same dimensions; it is ninety-five feet from the door to the throne, which is thirty feet distant from the extremity of the room. The throne is ascended by eight steps, owing to the rows of seats with which the chamber is furnished, being raised one above the other, as in an amphitheatre, from the entrance. The nobility occupy the right of the king, the clergy, burgesses, and peasantry the opposite side: it is entirely surrounded by a gallery with seats; this apartment is both elegant and noble. Adjoining is that in which the orders of knighthood meet, which is succeeded by the two chambers in which the senate formerly assembled. In the former of these three rooms are four pictures in tapestry, which represent the battles of Charles XI, given to that monarch by Lewis XIV.

The king's apartments. The apartment in which the king has his coucher in the evening is composed of a grand square saloon, adorned with pillars of wood-gilt, on which are two statues. Apollo and Venus Callipygi: the face of the latter is that of countess Høpken: these statues are of the natural size in marble, and were sculptured by Sergell. They front each other, with their backs towards looking-glasses. To this succeeds a large saloon, the furniture of which is of French velvet; this is an elegant apartment, contains a number of plates of glass, and six busts of the reigning family by Sergell. From this saloon you enter a small closet, which serves as a passage into the gallery; in it is a basin of marble, supported by three feet of a couchant lion, a very ancient piece, and three antique statues, Piscennius Niger, Juno, and a young man with a swan holding a serpent in its beak; the gallery contains a number of fine paintings. Two children by Rubens. The Judgment of Paris by Coypel. Venus and Adonis by Le Moine, which with the preceding make a pair; both are beautiful, and do honour to the French school. The four Evangelists in the same picture, by Vandyke or Valentin, very fine. The Virgin by Giordani, the colouring rather too high. Sigismund on horseback, by Rubens, exquisite. It was bought at an inn by Mr. de Tefin for a ducat. A dead partridge, a finished performance of Hondcoeter. Venus and Adonis, by Vandyke, appears as if the painter had had some other intention on beginning the piece. Adonis has very much the appearance of Jesus dead, and being carried to the sepulchre; the head of Venus resembles that of the Magdalen by Le Brun. A number of very pleasing Flemish pieces; some by Wouvermans. St. Jerome by Vandyke; this painting had received considerable damage, which has been repaired: Ulysses and Ajax persuading Achilles to take up the cause of the Greeks; a very fine painting, by Lairease. A philosopher with a book in his hand, a precious jewel of Rembrandt; in this is given a most beautiful effect of light. Mercury, said to be by Rubens, bought at the custom-house at Antwerp. A fine piece of gamesters playing, of the school of Vandyke; it is said to be a representation of the family of Charles I. A butcher ripping up an ox, by Teniers, a subject which he has frequently treated. A likeness of De Witt, the grand pensionary, a very handsome painting, attributed to Vandyke. The family of Rubens,

by Vandyke. Some birds extremely well executed, by Vanacht, 1664. An old woman, by Rembrandt. Mercury and Argus, by Simon de Pesaro. Mutius Scævola, by Poussin; it is a pity this little picture should have suffered so much injury. Susannah, by Rubens, on wood. The birth of Erichonius, a sketch of Rubens. The Virgin, by Vouet; an engraving has been made from this. Two beautiful landscapes, by Berghen. A Virgin, attributed to Holbein. A child, said to be by Titian, somewhat damaged. Give unto Cæsar, &c. a fine painting by Lanfranc; the colour in some places is faded; the heads in it are beautiful. Besides these, this gallery contains thirteen antique marble statues; but that incomparably the most valuable is Endymion, in the middle of the room. This is a piece of exquisite beauty, and worthy of being matched with the most celebrated pieces of antiquity. He is in a lying posture; one leg and one arm have undergone repair, which might indeed have been better done. The king bought this superb jewel at Rome in 1784, for the trifling sum of 2000 ducats. Undoubtedly the pope would never have consented to its removal from Rome, had it not been for this prince. The nine Muses, bought likewise at Rome with three other pieces for 3000 ducats, on account of the king; although the whole nine be not of equal merit, or in the most beautiful antique style, they are not the less valuable for the study of the art, each possessing some fine touches, particularly for the instruction of the natives of the country, who are destitute of a single Greek or even Roman antique without the palace of his majesty. The drapery is the best executed part of these statues. Polyhymnia and Terpsichore are superb. Euterpe, Erato, Clio, and Urania, handsome pieces. Melpomene and Thalia, but ordinary. Calliope is the worst of the whole. There are other paintings, which certain journalists have highly extolled, particularly the three Graces, and the nuptials of Amphitrite, attributed to Rubens: these we have not noticed, from our conceiving them to be only of the school of that master, forming our opinion upon that of certain connoisseurs as much attached to their country as men can be, and as well inclined to publish whatever might justly tend to its glory. There is an Apollo playing on the lute, which for a length of time was taken for a woman, the head being lost; this statue has been engraven as such by Cavacippi. The pope finding a statue in an entire state with similar attributes, the error occasioned by his disguise in woman's apparel was made evident. An ancient Priestess. A Fawn couchant, a small statue by Sergell; the body is extremely beautiful; it is perhaps the master-piece of that famous sculptor. Leaving the gallery you enter a closet, which serves as a passage: here are two Fawns carrying wine budgets, with a woman holding a goblet. Succeeds a parlour, containing a number of paintings. The gratitude of Achilles to the daughter of Nicomedes, a pretty piece, attributed to Wanderwerff. The presentation at the Temple, by Tiepolo the younger. The birth of Christ, as a companion, by the same hand. The triumph of Amphitrite, said to be by Rubens, but more truly by Diepenbeek, his pupil (this is the painting we have previously noticed.) A Madona, attributed to Corregio. The conspiracy of Ziska, after the manner and certainly from the school of Rembrandt. A portrait of Cromwell, very handsome, and in good preservation. A head, the wife of the Parmesan. A head of Christ, by Albert Durer; in which the red predominates too much. Silenus, by Rubens, with an episode of rather a loose description, has greatly suffered; it is engraven, and is to be found in many collections. Besides these, there are a number of other paintings. Some statues and some busts are to be seen. Silenus drunk, a small statue. Achilles when a child, which has undergone repair. Two small antique Muses. Columns of marble in shape of the trunks of trees, two dog's tongues in marble, a fluted pillar, with a basket for a capital. Two hyppogriffs. A small antique goat, well executed. A large cornucopia sculptured, ending

with a boar's head; this is placed over different pieces of antique sculpture, which form a very pleasing whole. Two blocks of granitella, on one of which is deposited an urn, or rather a vase, on which children and birds are sculptured, by a nice hand; on the other is a piece of porphyry, formed into the shape of a tub. In another apartment is the portrait of Charles I, by Vandyke. Four beautiful heads, by Nogari. Christ being crowned with thorns, a large painting, taken from a church, the author of which is unknown; it is minutely beautiful. An urn with compartments, supported by four lion's feet. An antique marble seat. A large urn; on the cover a young lion is seen devouring a bull. Two small baths, with hermaphrodites. A small statue of Paris, with one knee on the ground before the apple. A large modern vase of granite, unfortunately broken. A handsome antique vase, with ears to it, of very elegant shape and well preserved. Besides these, you find on the tables or mantle-pieces of these apartments, vases, busts, and bronzes, either antique or copies. In another apartment are a number of large dishes of earthen-ware, known by the appellation of *Raphaël* ware; of it there is a great collection; vases of Swedish porphyry, of an elegant form and fine workmanship; some busts, and a small statue of the god Pan. The whole of this suite of apartments is superb; at the end is a tolerably large dining-room, which, however, does not correspond with the rest. On the side is a small theatre, where formerly plays in French were acted; at present it serves as an occasional music room. We heard a woman sing here, who must needs be sixty years of age, since she sang at the consecration of his majesty's father in 1751; notwithstanding this her manner of singing was excellent, and much superior to that of the singers of the opera of the present time.

From the first square saloon which we have previously noticed, you pass through a narrow passage to the king's bed-chamber, in which is the bust of madame de Brionne; this chamber has a communication with a small apartment, ornamented with the portraits of the kings and queens of France, done with a pen; the portrait of a lady in black, and that of the baron d'Armfeldt, in a warrior's dress, by Vertmuller, a Swede, member of the royal academy of France. You afterwards ascend, by a very narrow staircase, to a small room between the two floors, the ornaments of which are perfectly beautiful; the designs by Masreiller: it contains a number of bronze figures from the antique, prettily distributed in little niches: from this room you pass into a chamber which the king calls his *divan*; it is extremely small, and decorated very richly in the Turkish style: it is lighted by two lamps of much taste, supported by tripods from three to four feet high. When lighted, this *divan* is beautiful. As we entered these apartments we left our swords.

The second story consists of a number of rooms; in one of them the king holds his levee, the case commonly every other day from eleven to twelve. The apartment has a grand and smaller entrance, and every thing here is regulated upon the system of the court of Versailles. Afterwards follows a very long gallery, in which the court assembles on Sunday evening every fortnight, and next the card-room; the grand gallery communicates with the queen's apartments; from the anti-chamber, through which you enter to the levee, and in which their majesties dine in public, you pass into the council-chamber; this contains a number of paintings; one of size, a very fine piece, by Lairease, representing the detection of Achilles. The four fathers of the church, in one beautiful piece by Rubens. Susannah and the elders, by the same, very natural, fine, and well preserved. The family of Darius at the feet of Alexander, by Treviani, one of his best works. The portraits of Gustavus Vasa, of Charles XII, and a beautiful one of Christina, by Beck. A bust of Gustavus Adolphus, and the prince royal,

by Sergell, about whom a child on foot encircles a garland. A bronze bust of Charles XII, by Bouchardon the younger. This apartment was to be enlarged; the designs for the purpose, projected by Masrellier, were shewn to us. It is to be connected with the neighbouring chamber, that contains a painting by Gagnerot, which represents the pope accompanying the king to the Museum.

It is in contemplation to establish a royal Musæum, which is to hold all the collections made by the celebrated Nicodemus Tessin, to whom are owing the handsomest buildings in Stockholm; by his son Charles Gustavus, of equal celebrity as a connoisseur of the arts and statesman; by queen Louisa Ulrica, the worthy sister of the great Frederic; and by Gustavus III, the first king who travelled to promote the arts, which formed his chief delight. In this Musæum is to be deposited the whole of the antique specimens collected by them, than which, out of Italy, it would be difficult to produce a more precious collection. The Endymion, Apollo, Minerva, and the nine Muses, will form its chief beauties in sculpture. It is to contain paintings; drawings by great masters, of which there are thirteen enormous volumes; engravings, mostly proofs; the best works on the arts; Etruscan vases, bronzes, medals, and ancient and modern coins, the number of which amounts to twenty thousand, the union of three valuable collections, &c.

From this prospectus one can but form a favourable idea of the intended Musæum. Mr. de Fredenheim, whom we shall shortly mention, is occupied with this establishment, as intendant of all the king's collections in the department of the arts. This appointment does him honour, and will certainly not be blamed by those who, like us, have the happiness of knowing him.

Theatres. They have four theatres. The grand opera in the Swedish language, at which there are performances on Mondays, and occasionally on Thursdays; the actors are pretty good; Mr. Kasten is the first singer, who is of imposing appearance, and plays in a noble style; notwithstanding which one still feels there is somewhat in his manner to look for. Madame Muller is possessed of great talents, but withal has a Danish accent, in our opinion, very disagreeable: her husband is an excellent violin player. The dancing part, managed by a Frenchman, is very tolerable. Mademoiselle Bassi (who, however, we believe has since left them) was the first dancer; she performed at Paris some years back. The dresses are extremely rich, and propriety of costume most critically adhered to; as for scenery, they may in this article vie with the most elegant theatres; and in point of machinery, the most difficult spectator has nothing to condemn. Within five months, that is to say, in course of two or three-and-twenty nights' representations, we were present at nine different operas, three of which national. Gustavus Vasa in particular is extremely curious: the scenery of the first act, which represents the court of Christiern, is exquisitely beautiful. The subject is, for the natives of the country, of a very interesting nature, and is composed by him the best qualified to appreciate the great qualities of this prince.* The music of the piece by Naumann, is frequently very fine; of the merit of the composition we were unable to judge, but were told that the verses were excellent. In the opera of Electra, likewise, there is a beautiful scene; one of a new description, and extremely rich in Thetis and

* The king has framed the skeleton of several operas and many Swedish pieces; he is extremely partial to the stage, is well acquainted with it, and an excellent judge particularly of French pieces; often is he the only person who feels and applauds certain passages; much of the delicate strokes of a language escaping those who even speak it fluently, unless it be fundamentally acquired; but the king understands the French language equally well with the best informed Frenchman. (This article we have left exactly as it was originally composed.)

Peleus, a very old opera, the music of which is but indifferent, notwithstanding the production of an Italian, but remarkable on account of its being rehearsed on the evening of the memorable day on which the revolution took place in 1772, at which rehearsal the king was present till eleven in the evening, evincing the greatest tranquility, and apparently intent on nothing but the opera, so much so, in short, that many persons who had heard a rumour of it, could not be persuaded it would take place on the morrow.

For the chief seats at the opera you pay thirty-two skillings. Provided you have no seat in the boxes, it is usual to sit in the pit; but a foreigner of any notoriety easily obtains a place either in the box of the minister of his nation, or in some other. In the winter on those days on which there are performances, the king sups at the opera, with a great company, and those strangers admitted to his society, are constantly invited. He has reserved for his own use a very elegant apartment there, in which is a painting by *Depres* (an artist of whom we shall speak as we proceed :) it represents the emperor *Joseph* and the king of Sweden in the church of St. Peter, at Rome, with the pope officiating. A number of figures are very striking likenesses.

The theatre is handsome, and the coup d'œil it affords very pleasing; the stage is large. This building forms one of the sides of the north-square, and has a very fine effect. The palace of the princess *Sophia Albertina*, the only one who has apartments within the palace, is opposite, and in architecture perfectly corresponds. The capitals of the columns of the front are of iron, founded by *Asplund*. In the vestibule are to be columns of granite, now polishing near the north-bridge.

The French theatre is only comparable to one of our provincial stages; but for a Frenchman it must be pleasing to meet with performances of his nation, in the very bosom of the north. *M**** was for a long time the principal actor at this theatre, and it was imagined that the unmeasured bounty of the king would have induced him to remain, but *M**** has demonstrated, that sense and considerable talents can be united to a corrupt heart, and the foulest ingratitude. His behaviour towards the king, and the manner in which he left Sweden (to pace the boards of the fifth play-house in Paris) would have disgraced any one but himself. They play on Wednesdays and Fridays at the French theatre. On the other days of the week, in the same house which is built of wood, is very mean and very inconvenient; * the company of national actors perform; this company was lately composed under the auspices of his majesty, and has already arrived at a singular degree of perfection, the shortness of the time considered; the king interests himself greatly in the improvement of the actors, to which circumstance the speed of their progress is to be attributed. Costume is always rigidly attended to among them, and their dresses are very good. They perform both tragedy and comedy. For the chief places at them, as well as the French performances, you pay twenty-four skillings. The latter company, since the death of the king, has been dismissed.

The fourth theatre may be compared to that of our boulevards, as well for the place itself, as the company which resort to it; at this they play trifling pieces and comic operas.

In summer they only act once in a fortnight, as almost every body at this season is in the country; this is but a slender privation.

During carnival a masqued ball is given every Friday, at least this was the case during our residence there; the price of a ticket of admission is twenty-four skillings. You cannot enter the theatre unless in a mask or domino, but may go into the upper boxes,

* It was destroyed in 1792.

whence you enjoy every thing, that is to say, plenty of dust, and scents; these are not resorted to by good company. The king never missed a masked ball: although soon distinguished, he was friendly to the licence afforded under a mask, and was not displeased when directed on himself.

The wardrobe of the opera is immense. In no theatre are the actors, dancers, &c. better dressed; nay many of the characters, habited in serge at Paris, are dressed in silk here. The orchestra is composed of more than forty musicians, who play tolerably well; without including these, there are nearly two hundred persons attached to the theatre as actors, chorus-singers, dancers, &c. The corps de ballet alone, is composed of ninety performers, who all appear when necessary. This play-house occupies, almost continually, ninety tailors.

This was the state of the theatres in 1791. We cannot answer for changes which may since then have happened, and have no doubt that many will have taken place since the death of Gustavus III; views of œconomy (certainly very wisely conceived) will have induced the regent to diminish expences, regarded as futile and ill-placed by the partizans of the present government, willing, upon all occasions, to condemn what was instituted by the last. They cannot imagine that the sums of money, employed in supporting several theatres, are as wisely expended as upon mistresses; yet must it be allowed, that by the first method of squandering more people receive advantage than by the latter.

The Abbe Vogler, in general, leads the band at the opera; he possesses a great portion of talent; is an excellent musician, but excentrically original, nay even to charlatanism. To give an idea. We were present at a concert (absolutely given by himself) on the organ of the German chapel; among other things announced was, the people's love for a patriot king, which he pretended to express on the organ.

The following are the exact dimensions of the opera:

It was erected between 1776 and 1782. It is a square building, two hundred and ten Swedish feet in length, by one hundred and fifty in width, and fifty-seven high. Its front is with columns and pilastres of the Corinthian order. The theatre is in the middle of the building, and on each side are apartments. It is in the shape of a truncated ellipsis, the greatest diameter or length of which is fifty-six feet, the smaller diameter, which makes the breadth, being forty-eight; there are four rows of boxes, each row consisting of twenty-one; the stage is eighty-two feet deep, and as many broad.

On each side of the theatre is an apartment for the king, one for the director, one for the manager, two tiring rooms, and twenty-four closets for the actors; a painter's room, a carpenter's, two coffee-rooms, and a tavern.

This theatre, with all its appendages, cost building 180,000 crowns banco,* (nearly a million French) the machinery, the furniture of the king's apartment, and the scenery of the first opera, included.

In 1792 the building of a new play-house was begun, to replace the French opera, the destruction of which has had a good effect for the prospect of the square before the castle. The new theatre is to be in the ancient arsenal, near St. James's.

* 40,000l. sterling.

CHAPTER IV.

State of the Arts and Sciences.....Academies....King's Library....Cabinet of Natural History....Cabinet of Models....Gymnasia....Public Schools....Academy of Painting....Patriotic Society

It cannot be dissembled that the number of learned Swedes is very inconsiderable; people read but little in general in Sweden, and are at very little pains for information; the nobility especially may be looked upon as ignorant; the clergy there, as almost every where, are the best informed; yet in this class few are conspicuous. The late king, however, left the sciences in a far more improved state than that in which he found them; the academies, gymnasia, and schools, all felt the benefit of the enlightened taste of the sovereign.

The academies of Stockholm are three in number, exclusive of that of painting.

The Academy of Science, founded in 1739, consists of a hundred Swedish members, and a considerable number of foreign associates. Every three months it publishes its memoirs in the Swedish language; its president, likewise, is nominated every quarter; it has no honorary, that is to say useless members, a singularity we much admire. It has two perpetual secretaries; the cabinet of natural history, and the observatory, of which we shall speak presently, belong to the academy. The only fund it receives from government, consists in its exclusive privilege of selling almanacs, which produces annually about two thousand rix-dollars: its other revenues are derived from the generosity of a number of citizens in easy circumstances, among which M. Sahlgren, of Gottenburg, stands foremost. A part of the library of the academy is a donation of M. Rosenadler; it contains some valuable works: a Swedish Bible, in small folio, printed at Upsal, in 1541, with wooden prints; a New Testament, in quarto, Stockholm, 1549; wooden prints, very rare; a New Testament, the first printed in Sweden, Stockholm, 1521, very rare; this is a small folio, has suffered from fire, and is not complete: the Battles of duke Charles (Charles IX) rare on account of its being prohibited; the whole of its first apartment is filled with books in the Swedish language. It is affirmed, that it contains all the works published in that tongue, but for this we are far from vouching. In a small room adjoining, are the memoirs of different academies, some voyages, works on natural history, physics, &c. Such as treat of astronomy are at the observatory.

The cabinet of natural history is confided to the care of M. Sparmann, Doctor of Physic, known by his travels in Africa, and his researches into natural history; he has enriched this cabinet with a number of curious objects collected in his travels, either when by himself or with captain Cook. The cabinet is classed according to the system of Linnæus. When any subject occurs which is positively new, M. Sparmann explains it at the sittings of the academy, at which the Swedish language alone is spoken.* In this collection we saw a great number of animals preserved in spirits of wine. The member of a rhinoceros. *Mus pumilio* from Africa. An amphibious mouse. The

* We remarked before that the transactions of the academy were published in the Swedish language. It is our opinion that the Swedish language is not sufficiently diffused, not well enough known, even to the literary world, to justify the omission on the part of the academy, of publishing them in two languages, or at least in one more generally known. Many Swedish authors have to attribute to this circumstance the small sale of their publications, and the little fame they acquire. If Linnæus had written in his own tongue he would not have had less merit it is true, but certainly less celebrity.

foetus of a Hottentot. *Lacerta sputator*. The venomous lizard of Africa. A flying lizard. *Rana typhonia* with large ears. *Rana paradoxa* in its different progressions, from its first formation to its perfect state. A lizard, which M. Sparmann informed us he was unable to kill by piercing its heart and brain several times with a sharp piece of steel; nor could he succeed but by immersing it in spirits of wine. *Lacerta Amboinensis*, very rare. A Foetus. A mouse. Several cases of lizards and frogs. Serpents from America, the Indies, and the South Sea, many of which of the most venomous kind, with very flat heads. Fish. Flying fish from the Red Sea (of Egypt) and others. Worms of all sizes, a very complete collection. Scorpions. Heads of African wild boars, with ivory horns, brought by M. Sparmann. Pieces of cloth made from the bark of trees from Otaheite and North America. Boxes of stones taken out of the bladder. Animals. Elephants' teeth. Elephants' tails with branches of hair at the end, very rare. Insects of Japan in copper, so well painted and imitated as to deceive examination. Shells, a small collection, but which comprises nothing curious. Arms of the islanders of the South Sea. A large piece of red coral. In this same apartment may be seen the *Musæum Carlsonianum*, a very valuable work; it is the collection of birds of M. Carlson, engraved and illuminated with the nicest care: many birds to be seen there were never drawn before. In 1791 four volumes were published, each volume at 10 rix-dollars. In another room we saw shoes, caps, &c. of Americans and Hottentots, Chinese instruments, a box of Chinese medicines, with an explanatory book by a French missionary; arms, jewels, and ornaments of Hottentots, the inhabitants of New Zealand, and the South Sea. A necklace made of the legs of the red parrot, &c. The cabinet and library are in the house belonging to the academy in the city.

The observatory. Is at a distance in the northern suburbs, and placed on an inconsiderable eminence: M. Nicander, the astronomer, has the direction of it. Its horizon is of no great extent, scarcely commanding a scope of more than a Swedish mile, on account of the rocks with which the neighbourhood is surrounded. The instruments are on the ground floor; they are contained in several apartments, are few in number, and none any wise notable; a fourth apartment, which is very small, holds a library analogous to the institution but of no great extent. Wintry nights are the best for observation, the sky being seldom free from clouds at any other time; the excessive cold however is an obstacle which frequently impedes the necessary attention to observations, on account of there being no fire allowed. There are no funds attached to the observatory; it participates (as forming part of the academy) in the produce of the sale of almanacs; the professor had not a single student.

Extract of the Meteorological Observations made at Stockholm, according to the Thermometers of Celsius and Reaumur. The first marks nothing at the freezing Point, and 100° at that of boiling Water; that is to say, that 5° of Celsius make 4° of Reaumur.

THE GREATEST COLD AND HEAT FROM 1770 TO 1790.*

Years.	Dates.	Degrees of cold.		Dates.	Degrees of heat.	
		Celsius.	Reaumur.		Celsius.	Reaumur.
1770	16 March,	23	18½	9 Aug.	27	21½
1771	7 Feb.	21	16¾	7 June,	27	21½
1772	14 Feb.	26	20¾	30 July,	28	22½
1773	3 Feb.	16	12¾	22 July,	29	23½
1774	17 Jan.	23	18¾	18 June,	28	22½
1775	25 Jan.	19	15¾	7 Aug.	29	23½
1776	27 Jan.	22	17¾	27 July,	31	24½
1777	20 Feb.	20	16¾	28 May,	27	21½
1778	26 Jan.	19	15¾	22 July,	29	23½
1779	22 Jan.	10	8	10 Aug.	28	22½
1780	12 Jan.	19	15¾	23 July,	27	21½
1781	24 Jan.	18	14¾	12 Aug.	31	24½
1782	15 Feb.	23	18¾	27 July,	24	19½
1783	19 Jan.	19	15¾	30 July,	31	24½
1784	30 Jan.	23	18¾	9 July,	29	23½
1785	27 Feb.	27	21¾	1 July,	27	21½
1786	5 March,	22	17¾	29 June,	29	23½
1787	27 Jan.	11	8¾	14 June,	25	20½
1788	3 March,	23	18¾	15 July,	29	23½
1789	12 Jan.	24	19¾	15 June,	30	24½
1790	5 March,	11	8¾	30 July,	23	18½

The greatest variations of the barometer take place in the four first and four last months of the year: they are between 24° 20' and 26° 46': the scale of the barometer being divided into digits and hundredth parts. It must however be remarked that these digits are such as are used by the engineers and geometers, and of which the Swedish foot contains ten; workmen divide the same foot into twelve digits.

* Note of translation. The scale of Celsius is in use in Sweden, partly in Denmark, and in some other countries of the north; that of Reaumur in France and many parts of the continent. As in England the scale of Fahrenheit is principally in use, its correspondence with that of Celsius is given below.

The freezing point of Celsius is 0°, and that of boiling water 100°; as therefore the freezing point of Fahrenheit is 32°, and that of boiling water 212°, making a difference of 180°; it follows that the degrees of Fahrenheit's scale will be in addition or subtraction from 32°, as 180° to 100°, or as 9 to 5; upon which computation the subjoined scale is calculated.

Years.	Dates.	Degrees of cold.		Dates.	Degrees of heat.	
		Celsius.	Fahrenheit.		Celsius.	Fahrenheit.
1770	16 March,	23	92½ below 0	9 Aug.	27	80½
1771	7 Feb.	21	54½ below 0	7 June,	27	80½
1772	14 Feb.	26	14½ below 0	30 July,	28	82½
1773	3 Feb.	16	31°	22 July,	29	84½
1774	17 Jan.	23	92½ below 0	18 June,	28	82½
1775	25 Jan.	19	21½ below 0	7 Aug.	29	84½

THE SAME OBSERVATIONS MADE AT UPSAL HAS GIVEN THE FOLLOWING
RESULT.

Years.	Dates.	Degrees of cold.			Dates.	Degrees of heat.		
		Celsius.	Reaumur.	Fahrenheit.		Celsius.	Reaumur.	Fahrenheit.
1774	17 Jan.	15°	12°	5°	15 June,	28°	22½°	82½°
1775	25 Jan.	26	20½	14½ below 0	7 Aug.	31½	25½	89
1776	27 Jan.	21	16½	5½ below 0	8 July,	31½	25½	88½
1777	19 Feb.	27	21½	16½ below 0	28 May,	28½	22½	83½
1778	26 Jan.	23	18½	9½ below 0	22 July,	31	24½	87½
1779	22 Jan.	14½	11½	6°	21 July,	28	22	82
1780	5 Feb.	25	20	13 below 0	4 Aug.	28	22	82
1781	25 Jan.	26½	21½	15½ below 0	7 Aug.	33	26½	91½
1782	15 Feb.	27½	22	17½ below 0	20 June,	25½	20½	77½
1783	29 Dec.	22	17½	7½ below 0	20 July,	30	24	86
1784	4 Jan.	25½	20½	13½ below 0	4 June,	28	22½	82½
1785	27 Feb.	27	21½	16½ below 0	25 June,	25	20	77
1786	7 Jan.	24	19½	11½ below 0	22 June,	29	23½	84½
1787	27 Jan.	15	12	5°	12 June,	26	20½	78½
1788	17 Dec.	26	20½	14½ below 0	22 June,	30	24	86
1789	12 Jan.	28½	22½	19½ below 0	8 July,	29	23½	84½
1790	18 Dec.	22½	18	8½ below 0	30 July,	26½	16½	79½

The mean height of the thermometer for the whole year at Upsal, is nearly $+5\frac{1}{2}$; it varies between $+7$, 26 and 4 , 43 °.

Academy of belles lettres, history, and antiquities. From its title this academy ought to have full employment; it is however far from being much occupied, if report speak true; it corresponds with our academy of inscriptions, to which it may be compared, with this difference only, that in our opinion we have the advantage in the number of good works (respect being had to proportion) which have been published by the two societies.

TABLE.....CONTINUED.

Years.	Dates.	Degrees of cold.		Dates.	Degrees of heat.	
		Celsius.	Fahrenheit.		Celsius.	Fahrenheit.
1776	27 Jan.	22	7½ below 0	27 July,	31	87½
1777	20 Feb.	20	4 below 0	28 May,	27	80½
1778	26 Jan.	19	2½ below 0	22 July,	29	84½
1779	22 Jan.	10	14°	10 Aug.	28	82½
1780	12 Jan.	19	2½ below 0	23 July,	27	80½
1781	24 Jan.	18	½ below 0	12 Aug.	31	87½
1782	15 Feb.	23	9½ below 0	27 July,	24	75½
1783	19 Jan.	19	2½ below 0	30 July,	31	87½
1784	30 Jan.	23	9½ below 0	9 July,	29	84½
1785	27 Feb.	27	16½ below 0	1 July,	27	80½
1786	5 March,	22	7½ below 0	22 June,	29	84½
1787	27 Jan.	11	12½	14 June,	25	77
1788	3 March,	23	9½ below 0	15 July,	29	84½
1789	12 Jan.	24	11½ below 0	15 June,	30	86
1790	5 March,	11	12½	30 July,	23	73½

* Corresponding to $9\frac{1}{10}$ ° of Fahrenheit for the mean heat, and 13 ° and 8 ° for the extreme variations in different years.

The academy of eighteen. This was founded by the late king in 1786, on the model of the French academy: it has frequent meetings in the great hall of the exchange; the king is generally present, and, notwithstanding visible to all, is considered to be in a close box. These assemblies are badly attended, at least such was the case the day on which we were present, although the king was there, and it was his birth-day: a poetical work received a crown. This academy is composed as all academies should be, not a member but is a man of sense and intelligence.

The king's library is at the castle, in an angle of the small court which forms a terrace towards the river; it is open to the public, and consists of three galleries of tolerable length. Its situation will doubtless be changed, as it is not that designed by the king for this collection; it contains no more than about five hundred manuscripts, and twenty thousand volumes. The most valuable manuscripts are, *Codex Evangeliorum*, bought at Madrid in 1690, and esteemed a work of the ninth century; it is generally called *Codex aureus*, on account of the number of golden letters it contains; the leaves are alternately purple, with gold letters, and white; the capital letters are all of them black. This manuscript was bought by Sparwenfeld, a Swede, who travelled by order of Charles XI: he journeyed as far as Africa in search of monuments which might elucidate the history of the Goths and Vandals. Two other very curious manuscripts of which we shall speak at large at the close of this article. Of the books the most valuable are, the Vulgate used by Luther; the margin and every part which could be written on, covered with notes in his own hand writing; it was printed at Lyons in 1521, and taken at Wittenberg. The first edition of Homer, printed at Florence in 1488, in good preservation, the margin most beautiful on paper. *Speculum humanæ salvationis*, with figures in wood, painted on one side only. *Cicero de officiis*, on vellum, 1466, Mentz, by Fust and Schæsser. The fourth volume of the *Atlantica* of Rudbeck, as far as page two hundred and ten, the rest wanting, 1702; this volume is excessively rare, the work being burnt in the printer's hands; at most there are but three copies of it extant (presently we will give a dissertation on this work.) *Liseri Polygamia triumphatrix*, printed at Lund in 1682, and publicly burnt at Stockholm.

By the side of the library is a small chamber, in which are thirteen large volumes in folio, containing original drawings of different schools, classed; the most ancient are of the school of Florence, by Giotto, born in 1276; of that of Sienna, the adoration of the kings, in bistre, a capital design of Balthazar de Sienna; of that of Bologna, of Francis Francia; of the schools of different cities of Italy, of Francis Morazzone in the sixteenth century; of the Genoese schools, the Neapolitan, and Spanish, of Luca Cangiassi, born in 1527; of the Flemish, German, and Dutch schools, of Albert Durer in 1470, and Lucas of Leyden in 1494; of the French school, of Vouet, born in 1522. Of the Roman school are twenty-six pieces by Raphael, sixteen by Giulio Romano; the Lombard, six by Corregio; the Bolognese, fifty-five by Annibal Carracci, ten by Lewis, thirty-two by Augustin, twenty-seven by the Guido, four by the Dominici, thirty-six by Guercino. Of the Venetian school, sixteen by Titian, five by Tintoret, and twelve by Paul Veronese. Of the Spanish and Neapolitan, one of Salvator Rosa, three of Solimene, one of Murillo. Of the Flemish and Dutch, twenty-two of Rubens, twenty-one of Vandyke, and ten of Teniers: there is one of Rembrandt's. Of the French, twenty-three by Le Poussin, a hundred and twenty-seven of Callot, nine of Le Seur, twenty of Le Brun, seven of Le Moyne. The whole collection consists of three thousand and twenty-five pieces. The most ancient drawing made in Sweden, in 1631, by Philip Lembke, is of the number.

We promised to speak of two very curious manuscripts; these the librarian had the discretion to prevent our seeing: what we have to say of them, was communicated to us by the abbe Abertrandi, the librarian of the king of Poland, whose knowledge of bibliography can leave no doubt as to the exactitude of the detail: they are both in Latin.

The first of these manuscripts is of an extraordinary size, such in short, that the vellum on which it is written can have been made of nothing but ass's skin. It consists of forty quires, each of four sheets; the two leaves being of a single sheet make eight leaves, consequently sixteen pages, and altogether six hundred and forty.

Nearly two leaves are wanting; the history of the deluge is in the first page. The order and number of the books it contains are as follows. The singularity of the distribution appeared to us so extraordinary, as induces us to give the whole. The Pentateuch. Joshua. Judges. Ruth. Isaiah. Jeremiah. Ezekiel. Daniel, the two last chapters of which are included. The twelve Prophets. The book of Job. The four books of Kings. The book of Psalms, a different version to that of the Vulgate. Proverbs. Ecclesiasticus. The two Parallipomena. The book of Esdras, which includes the two of the Vulgate. Tobit. Judith. Esther. The two books of the Maccabees. Twenty books of the Hebrew Antiquities of Josephus. This translation has many passages which differ from that of Gelenius, and contains the celebrated passage respecting Jesus Christ. The wars of the Jews by the same Josephus; this translation exactly corresponds with that attributed to Ruffin. To this succeeds Sancti Isidori epistola ad Branlionem. His etimologiæ libri XX. Isagogæ Johannis, Johannis Alexandrini discipuli tegni Galieni de physica ratione. 4 Evangelia. Acta Apostolorum. Epistolæ Jacobi. Petri duæ epistolæ. D. Johannis tres epistolæ; in the first, thus runs the celebrated passage: * "Et spiritus est qui testificatur quia Christus est veritas, quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant, Spiritus, aqua, et tres unum sunt." Epistola beati Judæ. Apocalypsis. Pauli epistolæ ad Romanos, ad Corinthios, duæ ad Galatos, ad Ephæsiolos, ad Philippenses, ad Thessalonianenses duæ, ad Colocenses, ad Timothæum duæ, ad Titum, ad Philemonem, ad Laodicenses: it is well known this last is apocryphal.

At the end of this work is a confession in red letters on a brown ground; it speaks of an infinity of abominable sins, without detailing the number or circumstances, other than the following; Peccavi in fornicatione diversa cum animalibus multis excepta cane. Afterwards follows a superstitious exorcism. Cosmæ Pragensis chronica Bohemiæ libri tres: Monasterii Bremnowiensis, et in Bramow Martinus abbas misit hunc codicem Pragum versus, 1594. This manuscript was doubtless taken by the Swedes at Prague, and comes from that convent. In the calendar Sanctus Benedictus is written in large letters, which gives reason to conjecture that the convent in which it was found was that of St. Benedict. St. Adalbert is marked in the calendar, but St. Stanislaus is not there. The visitation, the commemoration of the dead, and the festival of Corpus Christi, are wanting. Easter and Whitsuntide are inserted, it therefore must be† posterior to the establishment of the moveable feasts in 1260 or 1264. It contains moreover signatures of a number of princes and lords.

The second manuscript is entitled: "Magistri Johannis Arderum de Stewark, de arte physicali et de chirurgia, quous ego prædictus Johannis fervente (doubtful) pestilentia, quæ fuit anno domini millesimo CCCXLIX, usque annum Domini M. CCCCXII, mo-

* And it is the spirit, that bears witness that Christ is the truth, for there are three which give testimony, the spirit, water, and blood, and the three are one.

† The author appears to have put posterior for anterior.

rem (or moram) egi apud Newerk in comitatu Slothingui, et ibidem quamplures de infirmitatibus subscriptis curavi." This manuscript is in vellum; it is rolled up, is of great length, and divided into columns thus,

Representations of the sick persons.	Account of their complaints and remedies.	Anatomical figures, &c. for labours, &c.	Account of diseases.	Figures.
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By the side of each representation of a sick person, the nature of the malady is described, with the remedy used. Above the representations of labours, are explanatory notes.

In the number of complaints, of which he has written pretty much at large, few are omitted. One is mentioned, rather extraordinary for the time in which it was written, the following is an exact copy of the original text: *Pro morbo qui dicitur chaud pisse*, (the adjective in the masculine gender.) The author thus speaks of a cure that he effected. *Quidam miles nobilis Ducis Lancastrie apud Algeris (in Hispania) Historia curate a Johanne Arderiam torturæ oris.*

Cabinet of natural history; it is under the direction of M. Engestrœum, before whose appointment there was none; he is a professor of chemistry, and has to teach gratis four pupils: at the time we were there he had but one, which tends to confirm what he observed to us, that chemistry and mineralogy, sciences of the utmost importance to Sweden, are very little regarded. This cabinet when we saw it, was not yet arranged: it is in the building where the mint is kept, the edifice is new, tolerably spacious, and situated at the end of the bridge, at the entrance of what is, properly speaking, the city: the portal has four columns sunk in the wall, without any pedestal: they are too large for the building, and fail of effect. In the same building is the magazine of polished porphyry and granite; the former from the quarries of Elfdel. The council of mines also hold their sittings here. In the hall are the portraits of Charles XI, the founder, and of all the presidents of that department. In one of the anti-chambers are a number of paintings representing different views of the inside of Swedish mines: the artist has managed the subject extremely well, and so as to have a very fine effect. In order to obtain a select collection of Swedish minerals, you have but to address yourself to Mr. Engestrœum, if the specimens be small the price is four skillings each, if large, sixteen skillings, or a plotte. A thousand specimens form a very handsome collection.

Cabinet of Models. This is adjoining the church of Ridderholm, in the former palace of the king, a place which now serves for a court of justice. This cabinet consists of a spacious hall, in which are ranged the models of various inventions, of greater or less antiquity, and of improvements to different previous discoveries: among the economical models, you see mills, machines for sowing grain, threshing, cutting straw, &c. There are hydraulic engines, furnaces used in the mines, plans of the manner the pumps are acted upon, and the mineral drawn up. Models of light-houses for the security of navigation. An arm chair, in which you may readily wheel yourself about. A machine which points out the range of a shot or bomb when fired from gun or mortar, and many others too tedious to enumerate, but which merit observation. Many pieces are the invention of the famous engineer Polheim, and a still greater number by M. Norberg, father of the present director, who has travelled a great deal in Russia, particularly in Siberia, and is considered as very well informed in whatever regards mechanics. You pay 24 skillings to the porter on admittance to the cabinet.

Gymnasia. Gymnasia are established in almost all the provinces, and are general in the capital. Young people in these, study an abridgment of the theological works

of Benzelius, and to learn latin, explain Virgil, Titus Livy, Quintus Curtius, and Sallust. The inspection of the gymnasia, and other subaltern schools, is the province of the bishops. The progress of the scholars depends very much on the attention paid to their charge by the ecclesiastics: proofs of which we saw. The course of study in these gymnasia was appointed by Frederic the First in 1724; those persons called professors in universities, are here called readers; each gymnasium has seven or eight, they are paid from the corn which the king receives out of the tythes paid by the farmer, of which tythes two thirds belong to the king, the remaining third to the rector.

Public Schools. Each parish church has its public school: the Swedish schools are subject to particular inspection, divided by dioceses, and are independent one of the other. The German school at Stockholm is under the inspection of two German pastors; in these are taught religion, geography, the Grecian and Roman history, and the French language. One general law regulates the whole of the Swedish schools with regard to instruction; the course to be pursued in the education of the pupils is prescribed, and the salary to be paid is established, although it varies according to the description of schools. Scholars are admitted at eight or nine years of age, and remain until eighteen or nineteen. The young people generally go from these to college, and particularly to the university of Upsal: rarely finishing their studies at school. The current charge of education is from one to two rix-dollars per quarter; families in easy circumstances, instead of paying any rate, make presents to the professors or inspectors.

Academy of Painting. This was founded by count Tessin; the director goes out every three years, and is nominated by the members of the academy. It has four professors, each of whom acts during his quarter, and receives, during this service, 100 liv. monthly. The professors in 1791 were Messrs. Masrelie, Sergell, Guilbert, and Pasch. The regulations of this academy are modelled pretty closely after those of Paris; the distribution of prizes is after the same manner precisely. It is a gratuitous school, the pupils providing themselves only with crayons and paper; the king gives 12,000 livres annually to this establishment; the house was left as a legacy by Mr. Meyer, the same who cast the statues of Gustavus Vasa, and Gustavus Adolphus. The latter was so badly cast, that it would possibly have been cheaper to have re-founded it, so much chipping did it require. The academy has a most beautiful collection of models from the antique in plaister, presented to Charles XI, by Lewis XIV, and part of the bas-reliefs of Trajan's column, which were modelled entire by order of the king of France. During our stay, there was an exhibition of paintings; among them were eight or ten portraits by Breda, the chief merit of which were their resemblance. Except these, there was not one picture worthy of notice. There were many architectural pieces of designs and studies of the pupils, and a handsome picture in embroidery, representing a naval engagement, an astonishing performance.

Certain amateurs at Stockholm have founded an academy of Music; for some years it has sustained itself, which is as much as can be said. During part of the winter months, it gives a concert once a week at the exchange hall.

Patriotic Society. This was founded by individuals, and is occupied in æconomical matters alone. The acting secretary in 1791, was Mr. Fischerstrœum; he was employed on a large æconomical dictionary, three volumes of which had made their appearance. The transactions of this society fill several volumes in 8vo. in the Swedish language; the number of its members is unrestricted; the society augmenting it at pleasure. Its revenue is derived from the annual contributions of its members; each upon his admission specifying the sum he can afford. The number is pretty consider-

able, as the society has established a correspondence with many provinces of the kingdom. It distributes prizes annually among husbandmen and servants.

We deem this a proper place for the insertion of the following dissertation on the Atlantica of Rudbeck, a work but little known out of the sphere of the learned.

Ol. Rudbeckii Atlantica, Pars I....IV....Upsalæ, 1675....1702, folio.

Olf Rudbecks Atland Mer Manheim etc. Olavii Rudbeckii Atlantica five Manheim, vera Japheti posterorum fedes ac patria, ex qua non tantum monarchæ et reges ad totum fere orbem reliquum regendum ac domandum stirpesque suas in eo condendas, sed etiam Scythæ Barbari, Asæ, Gigantes, Gothi, Phryges, Trojani, Amazones, Thraces, Libyes, Mauri, Tusci, Galli, Cimbri, Cimmerii, Saxones, Germani, Suevi, Longobardi, Vandali, Heruli, Gepidæ, Teutones, Angli, Pictores, Dani, Sicambri, aliique virtute clari et celebres populi olim exierunt. Upsalæ. exudit Henricus Curio, S. R. M. et Academiæ Upsal, Bibliopola. A. 1675, in folio, pp. 891, exclusive of the dedication and preface in three pages.

Olf Rudbecks. Atlands eller Manheims andra deel. &c. Olavi Rudbeckii Atlantica sive Maheimii pars secunda, in qua solis lunæ, ac terræ cultus describitur, omnisque adeo superstitionis hujusce origo parti Sueo niæ septentrionali, terræ puta cimmericorum vindicatur, ex qua deinceps in orbem reliquum divulgata est: idque scriptorum non tantum domesticorum, sed etiam externorum, maxime vero veterum atque doctissimarum fabularum fide, quarum explicatio genuina nusquam ante hanc nostram in lucem prodiiit. Accedunt demonstrationes certissimæ quæ septentrionales nostros in maxime genuinum solis ac lunæ motum, indeque pendentem accuratissimam temporum rationem, multo et prius et felicius, quam gentem aliam ullam olim penetrasse, ac etiam alia multa ad hanc usque diem incognita declarant. Upsalæ excudit Henricus curio S. R. M. et Acad. Upsal. Bibliopola. anno 1689, in folio, pp. 672, without the preliminary matter.

Olf Rudbecks. Atlands eller Manheims tredje Deel &c. Olavii Rudbeckii Atlantica seu Manheimii pars tertia, in qua vetustissima majorum nostrorum Atlantidum lapidibus, fago atque cortici Runas suas incidendi ratio, una cum tempore quo illa primum cœperit, exponitur. Deinde aurei numeri singulis annis tributî, et signorum cœlestium, quæ hinc ad Græcos et Latinos sunt translata, vera origo ac significatio traditur. Tum sex illæ a diluvio Noachi proximæ ætates, atque in illis prima Atlantidum nostrorum reipublicæ forma describuntur; quæ migrationes et bella sub Boreo seu Saturno ejusque filio Thoro seu Jove gesta sunt recensentur: et denique Scytharum, Phœnicum, et Amazonum hic ducibus in Indo. Scythiam et Phœniciam seu Palestinam a Sueonia factæ expeditiones enarrantur. Quibus omnibus Mythologiæ per plures, quarum sensus in hunc usque diem incognitus heic demum delectus prodit, jucundæ sanæ et perquam utiles adjunguntur.

"Photius ex oratione Diogenis in quemdam Cappadocem: non venit Scythia telo vectus per Istrum aut Tanaim, sed in universam terram et mare."

Upsalæ, Typis et impensis auctoris. Anno MDCXCVIII. (1698) in folio, pp. 762, exclusive of preliminary matter.

Olf Rudbecks Atlands eller Manheims, fjerde del. Olavi Rudbeckii Atlantica seu Maheimii, pars quarta (Upsalæ typis et impensis auctoris, 1702) in folio, pp. 210.

Johan. Mølleri ad Sueciam litteratam Js Schefferi Hypomnemata, page 415. Bibliotheca historica Struvio-Buderiana 2d book, page 1602. Lenglet du Fresnoy, catalogue des principaux historiens, methode, &c. Paris 1735, in quarto, tom. 4, pp. 285. Nicéron, mémoires, tom. 31, p. 159. S. J. Baumgarten's Nachrichten von Merkvür digen Büchern,

2 Band, Halle, 1752, in 8vo. pp. 98. Jo Vogt, catal. libror. varior, p. 589. Joh. Ihre. dissert. duo de causis raritatis librorum, Upsal, 1743, in 4to. page 19, 20. Dan. Gerdes Florilegium libror. varior. Groningæ, 1747, in 8vo. p. 313. Biblioth. Uffenbach. univers. libri 2, pp. 478. Bibliotheca Selectissima (Jo. Theod. de Schoenberg) Amst. 1743, in 8vo. liber. 1. p. 88. lib. 2, p. 584. Biblioth. Breitenaviana Lubeca, 1747, in 4to book 2, p. 427. Catal. biblioth. Voogianæ. Dresden, 1755, in 8vo. p. 465 and 597. Biblioth. Ad. Rud. Solger, p. 1. Norimb. 1760, in 8vo. p. 130. Catal. libror. Comit. Caroli Ehrenpreus Holm, 1761, in 8vo. p. 11.

I have actually before me two copies of the first book of the *Atlantica* of Rudbeck, one of which is dated 1675, the other 1679, in vain have I turned over the leaves from beginning to end; I have been unable to distinguish any difference except that at the bottom of the title page of the copy dated 1679, the following is printed: *Editio secunda, multis in locis emendata et avita. Accedunt judicia et variorum doctorum insignium*: in every thing else the two copies perfectly resemble, corresponding with each other, page by page, and line by line, as well in the Swedish language, as in the Latin version; nor is there any addition, corrections, or opinions of learned men. It may, therefore, be the case as asserted by Struve, and after him by Vogt, that nothing but the title page has been renewed, first in 1679, and afterwards in 1684. I have not, indeed, hitherto seen any copy bearing the latter date, but, on the other hand, I have seen one in which the year of its being printed was entirely omitted. Possibly these copies might have been intended particularly for foreign countries.

However that may be, for certainly it was in contemplation in some part of Germany, to reprint the first volume. This impression, however, is unknown in Sweden, where I was unable to ferret out any more than a single copy. It was in the possession of Mr. Baumgarten, who informed me that it contained the Latin version only, and that especial care had been taken to indicate in the margin, the pages of the original edition.

The dedication at the head of this volume is addressed to Olaus Verelius, a celebrated antiquary, and particular friend of the author. Rudbeck in this explains the motives which induced him to undertake this work, and annex a Latin version, the labour of which, he allows, was participated by one of his friends. In Joach F. Felleri, *Otium Hanoverianum*, Lips. 1718, 8vo. p. 146.; the illustrious Leibnitz is stated to have said, "*Rudbeckius curabat per Schefferum sua omnia verti latine, non enim libenter hac lingua scribebat, Germanica libentius.*" I know not from whom Leibnitz received this anecdote, but it appears to me a bold charge; for however poorly informed on subjects of literature, it is known to the merest novice, that Rudbeck and Verelius were far from being on friendly terms with Scheffer: moreover, should Scheffer have acceded to the request of Rudbeck, to translate his *Atlantica* into Latin, it would have been impossible he could have given more than the first volume, as he died the 26th April, 1679. On my part I should more willingly credit with the famous Eric Benzelius, that professor Andrew Norcopensis, since known by the name of Noordenhielm, was the translator at least of the first volume, the succeeding one being attributable to another friend of Rudbeck's, that is to say, Peter Salan, mentioned by M. Celsius, *Histor. biblioth. Upsal*, p. 116.

Bayle and Tentzel have given extracts from this volume; the former in the *Nouvelles de la Republique de Lettres*, Jan. et Feb. 1685; the latter in *Monat. unterredungen*, Feb. and March, 1690.

I ought not to omit that several geographical and chronological charts belong to this volume, with several engravings from wood. As both one and the other are of much larger size than the book, they are bound up by themselves, and form a separate volume.

The second book of the *Atlantica* was published in 1689. The dedication to Charles XI, and the preface fill seven pages; at the end of the book four pages are reserved for the emendata, as well of the first as the second volume. The table of contents for the two volumes fills thirty-six cyphered pages.

It is commonly at the beginning of the second volume, that the opinions of different learned men on this work of Rudbeck are collected. In the copy in my possession it fills thirty-eight pages, fifteen of them in small type, in double columns: at the head is a sort of preface, signed H. Z. that is to say, Heitrig, an officer in the guards, afterwards ennobled under the name of Riddarstiern, a man well versed in the history and antiquities of Sweden. V P. Salani notæ ad Egilli et Asmundi historiam. Upsal, 1693, in 4to. p. 169.

This collection was also printed separately, at Frankfort, in folio, in 1692, under the following title: "Judicia et testimonia illustrium atque clarissimorum virorum de celeberrimi Sueonis Olavi Rudbeckii (Senioris) medicinæ professoris Upsalensis *Atlantica*, aliisque incomparabilis ingenii Rudbeckiani monumentis. Recusa Francoforti juxta exemplar Upsalense, anno MDCXCII." 1692.)

As the advertisement to the printer, at the head of this collection, contains some literary particularities, I shall copy the whole of it; it is conceived in the following terms:

"Admonitiuncula typographica ad lectorem benevolum.

ATLANTICÆ RUDBECKIANÆ tomus 1. edictus est Upsalæ, anno 1679, in folio Suedice et Latine, una cum peculiari volumine tabularum geographicarum, aliorumque curiosæ antiquitatis monumentorum. Tomus 2 lucem vidit itidem Upsalæ, anno 1689, in folio, insertis figurarum tabulis in ipso operis contextu. Quæ hic sequuntur judicia de labore herculeo, ATLANTICÆ RESTITUTÆ aliisque clarissimi Rudbeckii meritis in rempublicam literariam collatio, per amicum quemdam veritatis in gratiam antiquarii Adorphii et aliorum quorundam nobilissimi Rudbeckiani nominis osorum atque obrectatorum, Upsalæ Sueonum publicata sunt. Prima vice anno 1681, duabus chartis, in folio. Postea semel iterumque novo cum auctorio et classe alia testimoniorum de solertissimi Rudbeckii ingenio atque laboribus anatomicis, botanicis, physicis, mathematicis, edita sunt ibidem non modo seperatim, sed et in fronte tomi secundi ipsius *Atlantica*. Tandem elapso integro decennio multo auctiora nunc prodeunt, et oculis benevolis lectoris subjecta vel consensum ejusdem desiderant in exorandis magni Rudbeckii meritissimis elogiis, vel correctionem expectant doctam atque candidam, si forte uno vel alio loco præ magna estimatione in tam longinquo incertæ atque fallacis antiquitatis itinere aberraverint auctoris oculi. Vale mi lector, et vitam valetudinem que longam Rudbeckio nostro precare, ut reliquos *Atlantica* tomos atque stupendi operis botanici magna volumina, quæ multis jam annis sub manibus ejus suda-verunt, felici auspicio in publica orbis eruditi commoda edere possit antequam pedem cymbæ Charontis intulerit nunquam nos postea revisurus elysius ille Atlas hyperboreorum, &c. Makelos Reipublicæ literariæ ornamentum."

Extracts from the second volume of the *Atlantica*, are to be seen in Tentzel. Monat. Unterred. May and July, 1690. and in L'Histoire des ouvrages des savans par Basnage, Dec. 1690. Theoph. Sincerus, otherwise J. G. Schwindelius, reviewed the two first volumes. Voehente. Nachrichten von alten und neuen Büchern. 1747, in quarto, p. 78, and following.

The third volume of the *Atlantica* was not published before 1698; it was dedicated to Charles XIII. The dedication, table of contents, and preface, take up thirty-four pages. The authors of *Nova literæ Maris Balthici*, summarily point out the contents in their journal of the month of December, 1698, and in the *Nachrichten von merk wür-*

digern Buchern, of S. J. Baumgarten, book ii. p. 318, and following pages, is found a sufficiently ample and impartial extract of these three volumes.

The fourth volume of the work of Rudbeck has no distinguishing title: it was set to press in the author's own printing house, but scarcely was the third sheet of the second alphabet completed, before the printing office and all its contents were consumed, owing to a fire, which destroyed a considerable part of the city of Upsal, in the month of May, 1702. Not only were all the remaining copies of the third volume (of which but very few had been delivered) burnt in this conflagration, but also the different sheets already struck off the fourth volume, together with the manuscript of the author. Of the sheets printed, three or four copies were saved according to some, according to others, five. V. Hamb. Beytraege, 1741, p. 458. One is preserved in the king's library, another in that of count Ehrenpreus, and this copy, which I frequently had opportunities of seeing, was sold in 1761, at an exorbitant price, to Mr. Rosenadler, counselor of the chancery.

The curious, in order to render this work as complete as possible, cause it to be copied in manuscript. Mr. John Thierry de Schoenberg, a Saxon gentleman, possessed a manuscript copy of this work; in the Biblioth. Selectissima, Amst. 1743, in 8vo. book ii, p. 584, this part of the Atlantica is improperly stated to be inedita et pre-co-parata. Another manuscript copy of the same fourth book is quoted in the Catalog. biblioth. Woogianæ, p. 597. Mr. Boze moreover shortly before his death had farther a copy sent him from Stockholm, to my knowledge.

Rudbeck in the two first chapters of this fourth volume, treats de consensu sacri codicis et Scriptorum profanorum in rebus ultimæ antiquitatis; in the third chapter he treats of matters relative to the 1800th year of the world; and in the fourth, which however is not complete, de iis quæ Nachori Tarachi atque Manni et quæ proxima sequebatur ætate ad A. M. 1900, illustriora habentur. He has added to this a chronological and geographical illustration of the system he endeavours to establish.

As the Atlantica of Rudbeck was difficult to be met with, and very expensive, a bookseller of Rotterdam, named Hofhout, conceived the design of publishing a new edition of the Latin alone, so reducing to two volumes, the three of which he had any knowledge, being utterly a stranger to the fourth. The prospectus he published for the annunciation of his intention, was as follows: "Sciagraphia Atlanticæ sive Manheimii Olavi Rudbeckii; Duo volumina, in folio, cum tabulis varii generis, et figuris innumeris antiquitatem tum Suevicam tum Gothicam pectantibus. Ut et conditiones quæ elegantioris humanitatis cultoribus proponantur et ad quas de novo in publicum prodibit. Rotterdam, &c. 1726, in quarto, pp. 12. In the France littéraire of the Berlin edition, 1757, in 8vo. p. 131, this prospectus is attributed to M. Cartier de St. Philip, who probably had engaged to superintend the edition, and correct the proofs. This project was not carried into execution.

Of the fourth volume it has several times been in contemplation to give a new edition. The first person who projected this was the author's own son, as may be seen in the Acta liter. Suecicæ 1820, p. 57, and by a letter of the celebrated Wolfius, of Hamburg, written the 14th October 1722, and inserted in the Thesaurus epistolicus Lacrozianus, b. ii. 181, and following pages. It appears that doctor Heubel, of Kiel, had the same intention. Neither the one nor the other succeeded any more than the printer Salvius, at Stockholm, who attempted the same afresh in 1743. Some years afterwards Mr. de Westphalen, chancellor of the court of Holstein, Gotterp, determined on re-printing these sheets, for the purpose of enriching one of the volumes of his grand collection, en-

titled : *Monumenta inedita rerum Germanicarum*, &c. but whether he changed his mind, or some other cause prevented him, M. de Westphalen died without fulfilling his intention, and the printed sheets of the fourth volume of the *Atlantica* are at present as rare as they were sixty years ago.

Many learned men, principally in Germany and Denmark, such as Præschius, Leibnitz, Tentzel, Spener, Loescher, Keisler, Vachrer, Beyer, Dithmar, Mœuller, Sperlingius, and others, have upbraided Rudbeck with being blinded by an ill-founded zeal for the glory of his country, and attributing to Sweden prerogatives and advantages of which it was never in possession. Notwithstanding this censure many of these gentlemen have followed his steps and profited by his labours. The author of the observation, *de incertitudine historica*, which was inserted in the *additamenta ad observationes Hallenses*, book ii. p. 156, is not more favourable to Rudbeck, and more recently, to wit, in 1745, a counsellor in Pomerania, of the name of Hoen, formed a similar design of refuting our antiquary, and specially demonstrating in a publication, that all which the learned Swede alleges in favour of his own country, is only suitable to the provinces in the north of Germany, along the shores of the Baltic. I am ignorant whether this book, advertised in our literary news as ready for the press, has ever come to light ; but I am persuaded that if it should have been published, it will in no degree have injured the work of Rudbeck. The celebrated Sperlingius has gone still farther, and, on account of the *Atlantica*, has nearly been prompted to condemn the whole Swedish nation, as may be seen by reference to some of his letters to Gisb. Cuper, printed in the fourth volume of Jo. Poleni *Thesaurus novus antiquitatum*, Venet. 1737, in folio.

Two celebrated French writers have examined with more judgment and equity the work of Mr. Rudbeck. The first, Mr. Freret, a member of the royal academy of inscriptions and Belles Lettres, says : "it must be allowed that Rudbeck frequently goes too far through an ambition of rendering his country illustrious ; nevertheless, not all his conjectures are on this account undeserving ; some of them are certainly ingenious, and some far from improbable." See the *Transactions of the academy* alluded to, book ix. p. 340, of the Amsterdam edition. The second is the abbe Banier ; he thinks "that few will follow the system of Rudbeck ; a system which after all, addeth he, is so strongly supported by conjecture, that notwithstanding one may be of a different way of thinking from the author, one cannot yet refuse him the honour of having employed the most profound erudition for the purpose of glorifying his country." This opinion is given in *les Melanges d'Histoire & de Literature*, by Mr. de Vigneul Marville, book iii. p. 5, and following pages ; Paris edition, 1725, duodecimo : and I attribute it not to Vigneul Marville, or as that author was properly called, D. Bonnaventure d'Argonne, but to the abbe Banier, on account of the third volume of *les Melanges* being almost wholly written by that learned man, according to the abbe d'Artigny, *Nouveaux Memoires d'Histoire*, &c. book. i. p. 312.

I shall not repeat the praise which the *Atlantica* of Rudbeck has acquired in Sweden ; let it suffice to observe, that our most modern historians have given it attention. Bæurner is of opinion : *cuius diligenti et frugi antiquario omnino convenire diurna nocturnaque versare manu incomparabilis hujus viri Atlanticam*. Mr. Wilde, a competent judge, esteemed it highly, notwithstanding he differed from him occasionally, particularly with respect to ancient geography. M. Dalin, even although he varies still more than Mr. Wilde in opinion from Rudbeck, and notwithstanding he follows a system of chronology perfectly opposite, yet allows that he throws great light on different points of history in the early ages, and that none can read the *Atlantica* without admiration of the profound genius of the author, his prodigious learning, and keen penetration.

Olaus Rudbeck, the father, doctor and professor of physic in the university of Upsal, born at Westeros in 1630, died at Upsal the 7th September 1702. His funeral oration was read by John Esberg, professor of theology, and printed in 1703, in quarto. It is to be seen in Christ. Nettelbladt. Memoria virorum in Suecia eruditissimorum rediviva Semi-decas, I, Rostock, 1731, in octavo, p. 161, 208. Father Nicéron has made use of it in giving the life of our Rudbeck, Memoires, book xxxi. 153, and following pages. Being a foreigner, father Nicéron has committed some errors, which require rectification.

Fifty one years after the death of Rudbeck, a small medal was struck in honour of him, on one side of which was a profile of that learned man, encircled with this inscription: Olaus Rudbeck pater. prof. Upsal; and on the other, the constellation of the lesser bear, with these words: Tot Fulgent Lumina in Uno. On the exergue is written, VIVO DECR. HONORES REDDITI A° MDCCLIII. AB. EXITV. LI.

This article, relating to one of the rarest works that has appeared in Sweden, and designed for the library of the late Mr. Clement, under the head of

RUDBECK (Olaus) the father,

was composed by Mr. Charles Gustavus de Varmholtz, aulic counsellor of his majesty the king of Sweden, the greatest bibliographer that ever was in Sweden; he died the 28th March 1785. It has never till now appeared in print; and the undersigned, who is in possession of the original memoir, has the honour to present this copy to Messrs. B. . . . and F. . . ., on their travels in the North, knowing them to be curious respecting rare editions. Stockholm, 18th June 1791.

(Signed) Charles Gjoerwell, librarian to his majesty.

N.B. It is plain that the article of Mr. de Bure, in his Bibliography, No. 5578, is not correct, any more than that of Cailleau in his Bibliographical Dictionary, p. 522, book ii.

CHAPTER V.

Learned Men....Artists....Cabinets of Individuals.

MR. LUDEKE, pastor of the German chapel, is a very learned man; he resided a length of time at Constantinople, and has gathered some valuable information respecting Turkey: he has published several works in the Swedish and German languages, and possesses some valuable books. Orationes dominicæ, Orationes ferme centum: Bero-lino. (Berlin.) Composed and published by the possessor's great uncle. Biblia Malabarica, Tranquebar: the first part 1723, the second 1727; the interior title is Biblia Damulica. The New Testament, printed also at Tranquebar in 1715, although of the same size as the Bible, and in the Malabar language, the characters are of a larger type than those of the Bible; the whole forms three volumes in quarto. The first edition of the New Testament in the Finnish tongue, in quarto Stockholm, 1548. Bible Francaise, in folio; Stockholm, 1642. A fine manuscript of the Alcoran on vellum, with the various readings in the margin.

Mr. Swartz is the director of the king's cabinet of natural history at Drotningholm: although very young, he has yet travelled a great deal, and has added considerably to the knowledge of mosses, which has been his principal study; he possesses the most perfect collection of them in existence: he has published a work entitled, Nova genera et species Plantarum, seu prodromus descriptionum Vegetabilium, in maximam partem incognitorum, quæ sub itinere in Indiam Occidentalem, annis 1783, 1787, divenit Olaf

Swartz: M. D. Holmiæ, 1788. He has specified more than three hundred sorts of lichen, one hundred and thirty of which only are described by Linnæus. A small number is peculiar to Sweden, no more than five or six. *Vulpinus*, a kind of moss found in Finland: the country people make use of it to poison wolves; it is found in Sweden alone, and yields a very pretty green colour. *Tartareus*, a moss which the English formerly purchased to extract a dye: a manufactory thereof has been actually established at Stockholm. *Impressus*, a new species, found hitherto no where but in Sweden, gives a red colour. Mr. Vestring, a doctor of physic at Norkœeping in Ostrogothia, has made a number of experiments on the colouring principles of moss; he is shortly to give a dissertation on the result of his researches, which will be read at the academy of sciences. Already from different mosses the following colours have been extracted; yellow, red, and green of different shades, brown, black, and violet. Hitherto none has been discovered that have given blue, which appears a difficult matter to find. Mr. Swartz imagines, dyes among them may be found capable of vying in brilliancy with cochineal; experiments tried on silk and wool have succeeded, but not with cotton. The *raugiferinus*, & *islandicus proboscideus* serve for food. The Laplanders eat the *raugiferinus* boiled in water and milk; it is excellent for phthisical coughs and consumption. Mr. Swartz brought with him from the West-Indies more than a thousand new plants, the description of which may be seen in his work; he met with the same kind of moss in Jamaica, that serves as food for rein deer, which is rather singular.

Mr. Fredenheim, knight of the polar star, and member of several academies, possesses interesting collections of manuscripts, engravings, &c. of which the following are the most remarkable. Among his manuscripts, those of baron d'Adler Salvius, Swedish ambassador at the treaty of Westphalia, and afterwards senator. It comprises minutes of his dispatches and other writings, even of several articles of the above-mentioned treaty of peace, and a number of memorials and original letters addressed to himself or others by celebrated characters of past times, such as the emperor, Gustavus Adolphus, queen Christina, the princes of the empire, a number of learned men, and particularly Swedish generals and ministers. This collection extends from the year 1624 to 1652 inclusive; the number of different pieces that it comprises is two thousand six hundred and seven. The owner has caused a table of them to be made with notes, which alone fills a large folio. The pieces already published in the extracts given to the world relative to this peace, are carefully noted. The greater part of these are not among his collection; this includes even the letters which had been intercepted and decyphered. A similar suite of manuscripts belonging to a Swedish nobleman, who acted a great part on the stage of the world between 1700 and 1727. The collection consists of six hundred and seventeen pieces, mostly letters, the great part originals of Charles XII, Frederick I, the queen Ulrica Eleanora, Lewis XV, Stanislaus of Poland, his queen, the princess Czartorisky, cardinal Judice the Spanish minister, of generals, and particularly Swedish ministers; and besides the minutes of this nobleman himself, a table with notes.

These two collections form a succession the more precious, from its containing ample memoirs of the two most interesting epochs of the history of Europe and Sweden. In the course of his travels, Mr. F. employed himself principally in search of historical pieces not in print in different libraries. Many were shewn him, which he copied; among others, the life of cardinal Mazarin, in the Ricardian library at Florence. As for the library of the Vatican, he took particular account of all that it contained relative to the history of Sweden, from the part of the manuscripts of queen Christina. The pope had the unusual civility to cause extracts to be made for him from the archives, and gave him

copies of nearly four hundred papal bulls, bearing relation to the political or religious affairs of Sweden, the originals of which, in the revolutions of time, had been lost. These bulls begin with the twelfth century, and end with the reign of John III. Mr. de Fredenheim brought back with him many observations on the countries through which he travelled, particularly Italy, in maps, plans, drawings, and descriptive books, with his own marginal notes. Different other manuscript descriptions, and views drawn in his presence on the spots, are either framed in his study or deposited in his port-folio. Among antique marbles; Hercules, Juno, Titus, Virgil. With these a numerous and still more select collection of geographical maps; Sweden and Italy perfectly complete, and many not yet printed. A map of South America, notwithstanding it is engraved, yet very scarce, published in 1775, in twelve large sheets, with notes sufficient for an entire atlas. Medals; in the number, that of Anthony and Cleopatra, extremely rare. A succession in bronze, of a large size, of the different emperors, in excellent preservation, &c. Acta publica between Sweden and other powers, printed at the period on which they occurred, comprising more than forty volumes in folio. A select library of some thousand volumes. Manuscripts on the history of Sweden. Engravings, particularly Italian. Portraits of Swedes and remarkable persons of all countries. Portrait of Gustavus Adolphus, taken from life. A manuscript life of Linnæus, noted and presented by himself to the father of the present owner, the archbishop of Upsal. Mr. de Fredenheim, during his residence at Rome, by researches he made, determined the exact extent of the Forum Romanum. He caused a monument to be made in that country to the memory of his father, Angelini the sculptor, in fine Carrara marble, which is placed in the cathedral at Upsal. In the piece, Religion marks the soul's abode, and at the same time points to the urn supposed to contain the ashes of the dead; below on the pedestal is a bas relief, which represents the archbishop fostering the sciences: the inscription is elegantly simple: *Carolo Frederico Menander eccl. Suegothicae archiepiscopo pietas filii P. nat. 1712, ob. 1786.* His translation of Tacitus into the Swedish language is very highly esteemed. The lady of Mr. Fredenheim cultivates music with great success; so that his house may be looked upon as the rendezvous of the fine arts. For our part we must add, that it is equally the court of complaisance, and with the utmost satisfaction, here proclaim our gratitude for all the kindness we individually experienced, renewing at the same time those expressions of our regret so often repeated before, at having resided so long in Sweden before we made his acquaintance.

Mr. Nordin, member of the academy of eighteen, passes for the best informed man in Sweden, on what regards the history and antiquities of his own country. He has composed a work entitled, *Directorium chronologico-diplomaticam Sueciae*, in two volumes. The earliest diploma and other acts, which relate to Swedish affairs, begin in 800. These are letters of the popes, the greater part of which are alluded to by different authors; their names are indicated, as well as the part of their works wherein mention of them is made. He is in possession of many valuable manuscripts. *Exemplar epistolarum Christinae*; a work written by that queen herself in her youth. It contains copies of letters in the Swedish, German, Latin, and French languages, in small folio, three fourths margin. The ecclesiastical statutes of archbishop Eskils of Lund, in 1124. Mention is made of this in the appendix of the laws of Scania in the Swedish language.

A code of laws for the whole kingdom, a manuscript of 1347 on vellum, incomplete: in this the Runic letter *th* is found; it is in Swedish, and never was printed, the clergy continually opposing its absolute recognition: this code was partly adopted in 1444, and was in existence until 1734. Priscianus, a Latin grammar in manuscript, in-

complete. A manuscript of 1227, on a sheet of parchment; this is a letter of Pope Gregory IX, addressed generally to the Jacobin monks, and permitting them to have a cemetery for the burial of their dead; dated Perouse, the 10th of the Kalends of February, the second year of his pontificate; the seal is on lead, and very well preserved; it represents the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul, without the double keys. History of count d'Ulfeld, grand master of the kingdom of Denmark, an unique, which has never been printed. Original code of Swedish laws made by king Christopher of Bavaria, on vellum, almost complete. An abridgment of the ecclesiastical history of Sweden, from the origin of christianity in the kingdom to the present day, composed on account of the celebrated jubilee this year of 1693, by order of the most pious and magnanimous king, Charles XI, by P. de Beaumont; in form of a dialogue between Alitophile and Romain. Such is the head of a French manuscript, the same as was presented to Charles XII, then prince royal; it contains a dedication to Charles, the hereditary prince of Sweden, in large quarto, thirty-six pages, at Upsal, the 20th May 1693. *L'Histoire de France*, by the same Beaumont, continued to 1697: the same volume comprises a succinct abridgment of the history of Germany, which fills nearly half the volume; it is in quarto. A copy of the journal of Charles XI, from 1676 to 1697; the original is in possession of count de Cronstedt, governor of Gefle. Historical anecdotes: *Saga*, in the Swedish language, an Iceland manuscript; the name is Eigil, son of Skaldagrim. A marine chart in manuscript, made for Charles V, in 1540, most particularly designed for the Mediterranean sea. The plan of the city of Mexico, on vellum, the same as was presented to Charles V, by Alfonso de Santa Cruz. *Urbs Tenexilitana* is its title, which was the ancient name of that city: the plan is coloured; the dedication to the emperor is upon it. Mr. Nordin presented a map of the world to the king made at that time, that is to say in the reign of Charles V. These maps are supposed to have been taken at Prague by count Koningsmark in 1648.

Mr. Gicœurwell, librarian to the king, possesses a fragment on the discovery of Norway, which is the most ancient manuscript that relates to the history of the North; it was found in Iceland, transported to Denmark, and thence carried to Sweden; the author is unknown, but from the succession it gives of the ancient princes of the northern countries up to the tenth century, it is conjectured to be of that age. This fragment has been printed in a collection of the most ancient monuments of the early history of the North, published by Bjœurners, antiquary to the king of Sweden, Stockholm, 1737, in folio. In composing this edition, the piece was copied, which was deposited in the archives of the kingdom. The same fragment was printed before in 1689, at Skalholt in Iceland. A new Swedish Testament, Stockholm, 1526, small folio, with a figure of Christ for the frontispiece, and the arms of Gustavus Vasa, at the end. A Swedish Bible, 2 vols. in folio, Upsal, 1541. John III, son of Gustavus Vasa, being desirous of introducing anew the Catholic religion into Sweden, made use of two liturgies, one printed in Latin and one in Swedish, the first at Stockholm, in folio, 1576, the other also in Stockholm, in 4to. in 1589; both were proscribed by Charles IX, and are extremely rare; both, however, are in the collection of Mr. Gicœurwell. Mr. Charles Gustavus Warmholtz, aulic counsellor of his Swedish majesty, has occupied himself more fully on the history and historians of Sweden than any other person; his work is after the plan of Lelong on the historians of France; it is in the Swedish language, with historical and critical remarks by Mr. Dewarm. The fifth volume appeared at Stockholm in 1790, in 8vo. The manuscript in 15 vols. folio, written by the author, is in the hands of the editor, Mr. Gicœurwell. The five volumes already printed, reach as far as the fifth of the manuscript. This author was born at Stockholm in 1713, and died on his

own estate of Christiernholm in 1785. He had a fine library, and in course of a long residence there, composed this work. At his death, he confided to Mr. Gæurwell the manuscript and edition. He had travelled a great deal, sojourning the longest in Holland; he married a French woman at the Hague, Marguerite Janicou, daughter of a minister of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, known by his letters on the United Provinces. His library consisted of six thousand volumes; those which regarded history were bought by Mr. Gæurwell, who has augmented their number.

Gustavus III, an enlightened protector of the arts, invited artists of great merit to Sweden; it may be boldly advanced that the kingdom is indebted to him for the possession of a Sergell, a Despres, Masrellier, &c. What clearly verifies this assertion, the Swedes themselves, far from attracting great artists, did not even profit by their presence, or give them any encouragement; they were never employed by any but the king; and we have no doubt that since his death they will have abandoned a country which will no longer afford them any resources, a court which, from its system of economy (certainly well imagined) will look upon, as foolishly expended, those sums requisite for the recompense and encouragement of genius.

We shall now take a view of the artists of Stockholm, whose talents appear to us to lay claim in a greater or less degree to public esteem.

Mr. Sergell, a Swede, is the most celebrated sculptor of the present day; Canova, a Venetian, being the only one in any degree comparable to him. This artist is in high estimation; the king frequently resorts to his work-shop, in which he is imitated by the nobility, and even the ladies; but these visits have become so tiresome that his door is frequently closed; so that it will not be amiss for any one desirous of seeing him to advise of his intention before hand. He is employed on the statue in bronze, designed by the citizens in honour of their king: the model of the proportions of which was shewn to us; the king is upright, as if walking, his left hand leaning on the rudder of a ship, an attribute which accords equally with the species of victory obtained by him, as with his having the conduct of affairs since the revolution;) and in his right hand an olive branch, the symbol of peace: it fronts the church on the side next the castle, with its back to the sea, very near to which it is placed; thus wearing the appearance of being just landed and bringing peace to his people. The height of the statue is to be eleven feet; the sculptor has varied as little as possible from the Swedish costume, which, thanks to the cloak, has a very good effect; he has only taken small license in altering the manner in which it is fastened. This statue, which he expects will be finished in 1796, is full of grace and life. In his work-shop we saw the group of Cupid and Psyche in marble, large as life, designed for the king, who means to place it at Haga. This is one of the finest pieces of modern sculpture; Psyche is on her knees before Cupid; the poignard and lamp by his side designate the instant chosen by the artist. At first he intended that Cupid should have turned his head aside in repulsing Psyche; it would have rendered the work more easy; the expression of his countenance as looking on Psyche, however difficult to give, was preferred, and is admirably conceived by Mr. Sergell: Cupid regards Psyche with a cold and tranquil disdain, such as is suitable to an offended deity. The two figures are naked, and the whole of the group possesses striking beauties; it is a master-piece which well deserves minute attention: it was originally intended for Madam. du Barry. The same groupe was executed on a small scale for baron Armfeldt, to whom his majesty made a present of it, and for the duke d'Infantado. The price of the small work is 1000 rix-dollars. Mr. Sergell had also two beautiful busts in his shop, the one of Gustavus Vasa, the other of Gustavus Adolphus, ordered formerly by the king of France; not knowing any longer to whom to

address himself on account of them, he preserves them until a more favourable opportunity may allow of their proceeding to their destination. Events having happened to annul every such expectation, we are ignorant of what has become of them.* A bust in bas relief of the prince-royal is the most striking resemblance that possibly can be. It would be difficult to find an establishment more commodious or more complete than that occupied by this artist; he has some charming paintings, mostly of the French school; he places great value on the head of an old man, by Guido, and a Cupid playing with a Satyr, by Carlo Cignani. The figure of Love is beautiful. He is in possession of an antique statue of a fawn which he prizes highly; it is standing with its legs across, leaning against the trunk of a tree, at the foot of which lays a young child; the head as well as the right arm have been repaired, the remainder is in the highest preservation. Mr. Sergell joins to his eminent talent for execution, that of conversing on his art in the most engaging and instructive manner; and what in our esteem is a great merit, he speaks with equal complaisance to artists, and those who have no other title to his notice than a desire of information or mere curiosity; a singular merit even among artists of the secondary stamp, much more in a man of such superior abilities.

Mr. Despres, a Frenchman, a painter and architect: the king meeting with him at Rome in 1784, engaged him in his service. He has the superintendence of the scenery and dresses of the opera, of every thing constructed by his majesty, and at this instant of the building of the new palace of Haga. This artist possesses the richest and most lively imagination, and is even reproachable for the too great diversity he introduces in such little space. He has painted a large piece representing the battle of the Crotoniates and Sybarites, in possession of the king. He is at present employed in painting the principal actions of the war in Finland. The following are the whole: the naval battle at Hogland, on the 17th July 1788; Porusalmi, on the 6th June 1789; Utiansalm, 28th June 1789; Parkumacki, 21st July 1789; the affair of Valkiali, 29th April 1790; Pardakoski, 30th April 1790; the barracks of Kettis, in May 1790; Pestimacki, 5th May 1790; the battle of Fredericshamm, 15th May 1790; the retreat from Wybourg, 3d July 1790; and the battle of Svenksund, 9th and 10th July 1790. Mr. Despres is likewise charged with the erection of the intended obelisk at Haga, where the model in wood is to be seen, and generally of whatsoever relates to the architecture of that palace; he has moreover been drawing-master to the prince-royal ever since 1791.

Mr. Masrelier, a Frenchman, a charming artist in drawing, is the author of all the designs of the pavillion of Haga, and has executed them with a degree of perfection which does him the greatest honour. He is possessed of exquisite taste: it is a great pity that an artist of such excellence should be without pupils to assist him; for want of them he is obliged to draw the outlines, and give the different shades; his pupils afterwards copy very well, and apply the colouring. As this artist most commonly works in morisco, or pictures which serve for the internal decorations of apartments, some judgment may be formed of the extent of his labours: in one piece there are frequently from one to two hundred figures. Mr. Masrelier was eleven years in Italy, and has brought thence an immensity of drawings, taken on the spot, and which are well worthy of inspection. Many of these views have been very little regarded. He has a brother who is a carver: for the sake of dispatch he makes use of a process which imitates casts in a very nice manner, and is much more æconomical; this consists in the employment of a paste which hardens of itself, receiving whatever impression may be fancied,

* We have reason to believe they have been purchased by the empress of Russia.

and being susceptible of taking any colour. It looks extremely well when gilt, and on it the gilding is capable of high polish. This secret he learned at Paris, and hitherto it has perfectly well succeeded. Young, who shall be mentioned presently, pretends that wood ought to have the preference; the former, however, is cheaper, more easily repaired, more susceptible of receiving any form, and has in fact precisely the same effect as wood. This process moreover is in high estimation with the king, ever anxious for the completion of his fancies, as it gratifies them with greater promptitude. The workshop of this artist is on the ground floor of the castle, in the pavillion of the library: he employs very few workmen.

Mr. Young, an excellent carver, has a fund of taste, and a perfect comprehension of every thing that regards the decoration of apartments. We saw him intent on ornamenting the exterior of an organ; his work was beautifully designed, and executed with astonishing exactitude. He has a number of scholars to instruct in this line, in which the Swedes excel, as well as in gilding on wood.

Mr. Guilbert, an engraver, is employed in engraving all the medals of the present reign in copper. This collection, already very numerous, cannot be complete until the death of his majesty, who reserves for himself the plates and proofs, so that it is no easy matter to procure them; they are rather harshly engraved. The vignettes from designs of Mr. Masrelier are principally in the best style; each plate is to have an explanation, on two columns, in French and Swedish. The engraver of the medals is Mr. Fehrmann; he is a good artist, but not equal to his predecessor. The collection of the last reign is considerable on account of medals being struck on occasion of the most trifling events, such even as by no means deserved commemoration.

Mr. Martins is engraving the views of Stockholm: many are completed: he afterwards illuminates them; they are sold at about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ducats each. They clearly evince the precipitation with which this artist works; being very incorrect and badly finished; nevertheless, as he is not void of genius and taste, they are pleasing and have a good effect.

Mr. Breda, the younger, has been in England: his portraits afford hopes of his excelling at some future period in this line. His father has some pictures; among the most remarkable are the portrait of La Fosse, by Rigaud. A design, attributed to Raphael, representing the submersion of Pharaoh; this is a very valuable piece, and came from the cabinet of Mr. Crozat. A sea piece, by T. Wouvermans. The massacre of the innocents, a pretty sketch, by Peter de Cordone. Two fine portraits by Francis Halle. Two sea pieces by Sirionini the Venetian; these two pictures have great merit, and are very rare of their kind, this artist having painted scarcely any thing but battles. The flight into Egypt, by Guido, in his best style, very dark: it possesses a fund of beauty. Cain and Abel, said to be by Andrew Sacchi. An old woman warming her hands, a small picture, accurately finished, which the owner assures is by G. Dow, notwithstanding it bears the name of G. Schalken, which is visible. A fine portrait of Merian, a painter and burgomaster in Holland, by himself.

Mr. Grauff is one of the best portrait painters in Stockholm; he has the reputation of taking exact likenesses. We yet have seen at his house the portraits of the king, and several persons of our acquaintance, which bore not the least resemblance. His pencil is far from possessing any delicacy; and in any other country he would be esteemed an ordinary painter.

Mr. Pasch is a portrait painter, in high esteem in this country; he has also the character of giving very exact resemblances.

Mr. Adams works at the larger casts in bronze, under the inspection of Mr. Sergell : it was in his work-shop, which communicates with that of Mr. Sergell, that the statue of Gustavus Adolphus (of which we shall shortly speak was chiselled. This artist works in bronze in the most elegant and finished manner. The king possesses some works of this description which would do honour to the best artists in this line in France.

Mr. Rhun, a young Swede, is an excellent workman in bronze ; he has made four candelabras for the king, which are of the highest taste and most admirable finish.

Mr. Pilau, a Swedish painter, was, in 1791, director of the academy. This artist, already advanced in years, was employed on a large picture of nine feet by eighteen, representing the coronation of his majesty : it was not then completed. He shewed us some designs of the highest finish, particularly one representing the parliament of Vasa receiving its regulations from the king upon its establishment. This painter has been much employed in Denmark.

Mr. Lawrence, a Swede, well known at Paris, where he resided a number of years. Many engravings have been taken of this painter's works : they are in high esteem. His style is very graceful, and replete with taste.

Mr. Hollblad, a Swede, is famous for his skilful manner of restoring damaged paintings. He had a number belonging to count Brahe, one of which was Judith, holding the sword in her hand with which she has cut off Holofernes' head. Mr. Maurelier estimates it a work of Caravaggio. The head of Judith is beautiful. The baptism of Clovis, a large picture of no great merit. There is another at Stockholm for sale, representing the same subject, which is much superior ; it belongs to count de la Gardie. It is presumable that Mr. Hollblad uses a similar process with Picault at Paris ; however this may be he has been eminently successful : from a number of proofs of this we shall cite but one ; he has taken a ceiling painted on a wall, twenty-one ells long by fourteen, and fixed it in perfection on canvas.

Mr. Hillerström, a painter in Adolphus Frederic's square,* on the south side. In this square it was (the same as was used for the carousals) that the king, on occasion of the peace of 1790, dismissed the citizens of Stockholm who had volunteered for the protection of the town in absence of the regular troops. This artist, in a picture which he has in his house, has represented this ceremony with excellent effect. It was intended for the city, but doubtless he will take a copy of it, the king, as is supposed, intending to have this. Mr. Hillerström is in possession of a number of works of different descriptions, among others of a likeness of his daughter, with a mark on her bosom, where she was struck by lightning, without receiving any injury : we inquired if the mark remained yet as represented in the painting, she assured us it did not ; as she was a very pretty girl we willingly would have had other proof besides her simple assertion. This artist inhabited the house of a person who died but a short time before, leaving behind him a magnificent collection of pictures, of which we were unable to get sight, as they had been packed up to be sent to England for sale. It is a very handsome house, and was planned to have five-and-forty windows in the front looking on the square ; but it was scarcely more than half erected, and whether it will now be finished or no appears doubtful.

Private cabinets are very few in number, as the reader will be enabled to judge by the enumeration of the whole, comprising even those of medals, stones, &c.

* In the neighbourhood of this square is the prison for debtors, where it is rather a difficult matter for a person to gain admittance merely for the satisfaction of his curiosity ; it is however but little deserving of attention.

Cabinet of count Brahe. This contains some paintings, three or four of which only are deserving of mention. The Magdalen reclined on a mat rolled up at one end, leaning on her elbow, with a book in her hand; a light veil of blue and white thrown over her, serving, with her long loose hair, which is very handsome, in part to cover her, is very graceful. This picture is attributed to Mignard, and is supposed to be the likeness of the mistress of some one of the kings of France. David erect, holding in his hand the head of Goliath, of natural size; he wears a red cap, in which are two feathers, the one white the other yellow: this is said to be by Guido Reni; but is a copy of that in the capitol, and has nothing superior to boast. Our Saviour and the Holy Virgin in a building, with an ass and two cows or bulls, by J. Jordaens, in 1652, an original. Our Saviour paying tribute; a much esteemed piece, the heads in it are beautiful.

Mr. Bolander, a painter, has a picture of the Virgin, with the infant Jesus and St. John, which he pretends is by Raphael, and formerly belonged to the countess Koningsmark; although many doubt its authenticity, the painting is certainly good, and much in that painter's style. He possesses likewise a game piece by Snyders, with that master's likeness, in a corner of the picture, done by Rubens, and some other less valuable pieces.

Cabinet of the bank. In the building belonging to the bank is to be seen a handsome collection of medals, almost entirely Swedish, contained in two hundred and twenty drawers; it is nearly complete: some, but a very small number, are foreign. The most ancient, the authenticity of which is indisputable, is a very small one of Eric IX, in 1150. A medal of John II, in 1497, never published. A rix-dollar of Sten Sture, 1512, very rare. A very rare medal representing Charles Gustavus on one side, on the reverse Dei Gratia et Christinae Rex, 1654: another was struck which has for legend, A Deo et Christina. A medal of Brahe, 1665, very rare. A very considerable and almost perfect collection of medals of famous private characters. This collection was begun and sold to the bank by president Rolamb. Its directors continue it. The structure of the bank was begun in 1668, under the reign of Charles IX.

The bank lends money on security of moveables and merchandise at four per cent.: every year two per cent. of its capital is paid of. There are nine commissaries who have the direction of its affairs, three from the class of nobles, and as many from that of the citizens, and as many of the clergy. Of one of these it is requisite you should ask permission to view the medals.

Messrs. Grill and Charles de Geer possess fine collections of Swedish medals. Mr. de Geer has one in gold of Sten Sture, which is exceedingly rare; Mr. Grill one, said to be of Odin, which is however thought to be Armenian. These two cabinets we did not see. Mr. Grill, after having treated us very courteously at Suderfors, felt himself under no obligation of repeating his civility at Stockholm. As for Mr. Geer we made no attempts to seek a favour at his hands. There are people to whom a man is loth to be under obligation. Our thanks might have been superfluous to a man who shews himself so grateful to the king for the many favours bestowed on him, and whose opinions, unfortunately for us, were so much at variance with our own.

Mr. Quist has adopted a system of classification entirely novel, in the department of precious stones, and which bears no resemblance to that hitherto used. He pays no respect to colour, but only to the weight, shape, and hardness. He has given a detail of his system in the memoirs of the academy for 1768. His collection is contained in a very small cabinet, and is worthy of notice on account of the novel manner of its classification. The first place is assigned to white diamonds, and diamonds of all colours, as well in the rough as cut; next, rubies and sapphires, among these is an asteria, in which, on holding it to the sun, you distinguish a star: opals, one called the Nonnius, is

with the exception of its fellow, in possession of the emperor, an unique, it weighs about two carats; topazes, rough rubies, rough emeralds, chrysolites, beryls, *aigues marines* in the rough, as well as cut: garnets and hyacinths; amethysts, crystals; he pretends that amethysts are only coloured crystals. Chrysopases transparent quartz from Finland. Cat's eyes. Cornalines. Onyx, sardines, agates; which however he ranks in the first class. Jasper, malachites, opals; amethysts, toermalins, and other stones are not yet classed. Mr. Quist possesses a piece of regulus of antimony found in Sweden, extremely rare, so much so, that none is any longer to be found. He has adjoining to his house, a pretty considerable extent of ground, and a terrace which commands the sea, whence is a most superb view, such even as much surpasses the most celebrated in point of extent and picturesque effect. It is in itself enough to induce a traveller to go to the extremity of the southern suburbs along the sea, where it is situated, even should he be void of curiosity of examining the collection of stones.

Mr. Daniel George Nescher, of Queen's street, possesses a curious and singular collection of portraits of king's and individuals of Sweden, of all ages; it consists of about four thousand pieces; at most, no more than fifty are wanting to render it perfectly complete. What renders this collection still more interesting, the proprietor has written at the bottom of each of the portraits of individuals, an account of his life. We noticed with surprise, that many Swedes had never heard either of Mr. Nescher, or his collection.

Thus have we given the whole we have to notice of private cabinets, and believe we have omitted nothing of interest: the number must needs be considered very trifling; yet have we to observe, that the Swedish nobility being in general very poor, and very ill informed, it is not astonishing that valuable cabinets should be less frequent here than elsewhere; the first reason alone appears to us unanswerable.

CHAPTER VI.

Churches....Public edifices....Statues of sovereigns....Arsenal....Park of Artillery....Prisons.

THE churches of Stockholm, considered as edifices, deserve no attention: the two following are the only ones worthy of being visited.

Riddensholm Church. It is far from handsome, but it may be well to see it, on account of its being the place of interment of the kings, a number of the principal families in Sweden, and all the knights of the order of the Seraphim. At the extremity of the church, before the altar, are the tombs of Canateson and Magnus Ladulos, between them is a small closed coffer, containing the statutes of the order of the Seraphim. Gustavus Adolphus is inhumed in the vicinity, but no monument is yet erected to his memory; it was then under the workman's hands. In a chapel are Charles XII, with his club and lion's skin, in bronze gilt. On a bier of black marble, Frederic I, and queen Ulrica Eleanor. In another very small chapel raised a few steps, is the great Banner, born in 1601, died in 1641: in another spot, Fortenson, born in 1603, died in 1651, and the tombs of the Fersens, the Levenhaupt, and other families. Gustavus III, in 1791, formed the project of building a rotunda for the kings, on a plan by Despres.

The church of queen Christina. This is in the form of a cross, with a rotunda in the middle, rather pretty, and very neat; at the principal altar is a bas-relief in plaster, by Sergell, representing the ascension; it has a very fine effect. A monument in lead by the same hand, raised in 1770 to the memory of Descartes, by the late king, then

prince royal. In the cemetery, the place is still pointed out where his body was first deposited, before it was sent to France.

The Exchange. A pretty building near the castle, on the market place; the merchants assemble on the ground floor, which is adorned with the busts of baron de Sparre, high governor of Stockholm, and Mr. Alstrœumer, a celebrated merchant; above is a long gallery, wherein public balls are given every fortnight on Sundays, the price of admittance is 24 skillings each person: the court is generally present. The academy of eighteen holds also its public sittings here.

The hall of the nobles is in a large square, by the side of Ridderholm (the island of knights;) the building is handsome, the staircase of noble appearance. The ground floor contains the portraits of the marshals of the diet from 1632, in number twenty-eight; those of the diets of 1786 and 1789, were not yet there: the hall in which the nobles assemble is on the first story, it is tolerably handsome, notwithstanding its only ornament is the escutcheons of the nobility which cover its walls. Those of the most ancient families are placed at the extremity, the others by gradation of ancestry, on the right and left up to the door, where those of the earliest exaltation are placed. The count de Brahe occupies the most eminent station.* It is in this hall that the monarch gave proof of much address and presence of mind at the diet of 1789.

The Town-house. The court of the magistrates, at which the burgomasters preside, is held here; the hall has nothing in it remarkable. The portraits of the high governors, and several pleasing views of the neighbourhood of Steckholm, drawn by Martyns, being the only objects of notice.

Statue of Gustavus Vasa (sub pede.) This is a bronze on the square of the nobles, and before their mansion; it was erected by the body of the nobility, although, as its inscription imports, this mark of reverence was not afforded till after the lapse of two centuries; it was executed by the French archbishop, and possesses nothing striking.

Equestrian statue of Gustavus Adolphus. This is before the opera house, in the northern square: it was erected the 15th of May, 1791; the expence of transporting it from the workshop of the sculptor to the place where it stands, notwithstanding the shortness of the distance, was 6000 rix-dollars. The proportions of the horse and statue are precisely the same as those of the statue of Henry IV, now thrown down at Paris. Its whole weight is 150 schippunds.† Behind it, below the statue, a large trophy is to be raised, on which the bucklers and arms of the different people conquered by Gustavus Adolphus, are to be ranged; around it will be placed medallions, representing the five principal generals of this prince: Banner, Tortenson, James de Langardie, Horn, and Saxe Weimar. They are finished (the whole by the archbishop) except the ornaments below, and what remains to be fixed, which latter are by Sergell, who gave the design, and has taken upon himself its completion. Below is to be the statue of Oxenstiern, dictating the life of the king to history, which altogether, when finished, will have a

* His father was beheaded in 1756, on account of being a chief of the conspiracy formed in favour of the king: the son has not inherited the sentiments of his father, for he has constantly acted in opposition to Gustavus III, notwithstanding his being indebted to that monarch for his recognition as first count in Sweden, and notwithstanding the existence of a Brahe depended on a marked and very powerful protection. What perhaps, without excusing him, may render him less culpable, is the assurance of his being ruled and persuaded by his wife to follow a line of conduct no ways glorious for his reputation: it is also fit we should remark here, that madame de Brahe, a poor provincial gentlewoman, destined apparently to vegetate in obscurity, has to thank the king for her being brought to court, and afterwards married to the first noble of the land. On this subject we shall make no reflections, leaving to the reader to comment on such conduct as he will.

† Vide table of weights, 25,500 lbs. English.

very fine effect. The statue, as it is at present, is not void of grace; it appeared to us in the workshop, to much less advantage. It seems extraordinary, that the scarf of Gustavus Adolphus should hang from the left to the right; as it is designed to hide the sword, we conceived that the object of the artist was not effected; the pedestal is of granite. The adventurers who have set on foot the manufacture of Dalecarlian porphyry, being desirous of affording it a conspicuous display, offered to undertake it at the same price, but this offer was not accepted, the reason why we cannot conceive, as it would have been much more handsome; for in short, as to quantity, if not always for beauty, granite in Sweden is as frequent as common stone elsewhere.

The Arsenal. It formerly was in the neighbourhood of North place; at present it is transferred to Fredericshoff, at the park gate, where the queen dowager resided, and were those noblemen were confined, who were arrested by the king during the diet of 1789. The building has twenty-nine windows in front, by four deep; it is composed of two wings, forming a right angle. On entering (the second story) you find a hall in which the kings of Sweden are seen on horseback in armour, resembling the kings of England in the same style, in the tower of London; the helmet of Gustavus Adolphus, of an enormous weight, and a great number of colours taken at Narva; in another small chamber round a turning, a number of arms formerly used, and some small pieces of artillery, with which Charles XII, amused himself when a child. A model of the new bayonet, twenty-three inches long.* Others not so long, sword-edged, for the dragoons (the musquets of the dragoons are four feet four inches in length, and weigh eight pounds.) Hats and cartridge boxes. A second hall, furnished with Saxon colours taken by Charles XII, together with some Russian. A third hall contains the colours taken from the Russian fleet at Fredericsham. A boat built by Peter First, taken on its passage from Saardam. In a fourth hall, colours taken by Gustavus Adolphus, and one taken from the Saxons by Charles XII's own hand, in 1702. A general's staff of the Calmucks, taken by Charles XII, together with cymbals and drums. A gallery communicating with this hall, containing all the insignia necessary at a coronation; chairs, furniture, &c. Dresses and equipages for carousals; a gilt sledge, presented by Maria Theresa. At each extremity are three small apartments. In the first are portraits of Swedish generals, and materials requisite at carousals. The second musquets, pistols, poinards, and other singular weapons: the sword of Charles XI, that of Charles XII, not too heavy; a very handsome double fusil, presented to Charles XI, by Louis XIV. The third, Turkish presents of housings and horse accoutrements; the horse equipage of several kings, enriched with pearls. In a wardrobe, the gloves worn by Charles XII, when he was shot,† his sash (four feet four inches in length) his plain hat: the shot was received just below the button. A coat of coarse blue cloth, with plain copper buttons. A very fine shirt without ruffles, stained with blood below the collar. A pair of leather breeches with ten pockets. A blue cloak, three feet eight inches long, no more than two inches longer than the coat. Very short boots. The fourth is a small apartment, containing the shields of ancient kings, and arms of earlier

* These bayonets will be esteemed somewhat too long; they have been in use among the Swedes only since the last war. The practice to which they are accustomed, of charging the Russians with the bayonets (a manœuvre in which they have almost constantly succeeded) called for an increase of the length of this weapon.

† We visited this arsenal in company with a Russian general, whose grandfather served in the army of Charles XII. Notwithstanding he was attached to a different power, and had himself recently been opposed to the Swedes, general P—n took hold of Charles's glove and kissed it with respect, observing, "I do homage to the memory of a brave man."

times. The shirt worn by Gustavus Adolphus when wounded in the neck at Deschau. The breeches he wore when shot in the thigh in Prussia, with several parts of his dress. In a fifth, ancient arms; the stuffed skin of the horse on which Gustavus Adolphus rode at the battle of Lutzen. The succeeding apartments are full of saddles and equipages for carousals: in one are the arms of the different provinces. The number of colours in this arsenal is immense: the first story is a counterpart of the second; here the musquets are kept, apparently to us, in very indifferent order: as we saw them at the conclusion of a war, there were consequently very few of them new. All the apartments, and even the vestibules, were full of bales of cloth for the soldiers.

Note. In order to be allowed the inspection of this part of the arsenal, permission must be obtained from the presiding general.

Park of Artillery. The place in which it is kept is very handsome, enclosed by three sides of buildings three stories high; a fourth side is to be built to complete the square. The great pile of buildings fronting the entrance, contains the artillery and its pertinencies, such as carriages, &c. In the third story are the tents, &c. Of the two other piles of building, one is set apart for the harness of horses, saddles, bridles, &c.; the other serves for workshops. In the court are kept balls, bombs, mortars, and cannon without carriages. The number of cannon was inconsiderable, the whole of the battering train being left in Finland. Each battalion has one six pounder and two three pounders when they take the field, with four men on horseback to each six pounder, and two to each piece of three pounds. The men do not dismount when the cannon is fired, but merely open from before its mouth. The quantity of powder used is always equal to half the weight of the ball; this however is well understood to be more than sufficient, its strength being such as to make three eighths enough; it costs the king 10 rix-dollars the cwt. The musquets, five rix-dollars 16 skillings. There are three manufactures of them, Norkioep, Nortelje, and Sæuderhamn, to the north of Gefle. We saw in the court a Polish cannon of brass, terminating in a square, it appears to have burst, and been tied together with cords. The workmanship of it is singular; it is not used. There are twelve companies of artillery at Stockholm, consisting of nine hundred and sixty men; they are dispersed over the town in such manner, that the officers are not obliged to have a general review of them more than once a month. There are eight artillerymen to each tent, but no more than six foot soldiers, however their tents are smaller. In order to see the park, you must get allowance from general Sinclair, the commanding officer.

Prisons. These are three in number: that which we saw in the north suburbs is small; it is very near the large asylum for orphans. The crown allows two skillings daily for the maintenance of each prisoner. The prisons are built of brick, and are vaulted. We saw some men who had fetters on their legs, but this was not for punishment but security's sake; they take an airing twice daily. Their rooms are very neat, we entered all of them, and particularly one in which were two men under capital charges for murder and forgery, one of whom had already been sentenced; their countenance was tranquil, notwithstanding their apartment was the condemned hold. The whole guard consisted of a baggage-master and two soldiers.* These prisons have not that shocking appearance which prisons almost generally have. The greatest punishment

* Upon this occasion, we could but reflect on the difference of national characters. In France, a prison no better guarded, would instantly be broke; with us both an internal and external guard are necessary, good locks, and stout gratings. In spite even of these precautions, how frequent are attempts to escape, and how often do they succeed? This is not the only opportunity afforded us of making similar reflections.

in the prison, is keeping the offender on bread and water, but this is never for a greater space of time than eight and twenty days, as it has been proved, that in so cold a climate, there would be danger of culprits perishing in case of longer abstinence from substantial food, a matter more necessary in the North, than in warm, or even temperate climates.

CHAPTER VII.

Hospitals and mad-houses.

THE hospital or lazaretto at Kongsholm, is capable of containing one hundred and fifty sick, forty-six of which are maintained gratuitously ; the rest pay two rix-dollars per month, and six if they have an apartment to themselves ; when we saw it it contained no more than forty-nine patients ; they always sleep by themselves. The funds of the hospital are no more than 40,000 rix-dollars Riksdens ;* the sick on their entrance are clothed in the linen and dress of the hospital, their own being restored to them upon their departure ; their linen is changed every week, and oftener if it be necessary. There is a principal physician, who is at the same time director, a second physician, and commonly three surgeons ; if more be necessary, the assistance of the young students is called for, who attend the hospital for instruction. The anatomical theatre is at Ridderholm, and the school of surgery in the South ; thus do these establishments form precisely a triangle, which appears to us a poor contrivance. The internal maladies, which are most common, are inflammatory fevers ; there are many cases of the venereal disease, and hemorrhoidal fistulas : those afflicted with the venereal disease are below in a species of cells, the men scarcely separated from the women ; salivation is still very frequently used here. The meat in the hospital is good, the bread tolerable, every thing very decent, and nothing further ; the use of ventilators, other than fans, is unknown to them ; there is at the door a box, in which it is customary to drop some money.

Lying-in Hospital. This is situated nigh the north square, in a private house ; it is an establishment on a very small scale, which has yet its uses, and which possibly may be the cause of a larger institution of the sort being one day founded ; indeed many Swedes at Stockholm are ignorant of its existence ; and so little accustomed are the attendants to the visits of foreigners, that we were obliged to negotiate a long time before we could gain admittance, they conceiving that we wished to throw ridicule on the institution. The establishment consists of eighteen beds for gratuitous patients in three chambers, and two for women unwilling to be known, and who are not suffered to be seen. These latter pay for their beds 4 rix-dollars per month, and maintain themselves. The king pays 3 copper dollars daily for each woman who comes to lie-in here ; but this only for nine days, at the termination of which she must leave the hospital, unless she be too weak, in which case she is kept till she recovers strength. In this house there are born yearly from three to four hundred children. The bedsteads are of iron, with a small one at hand for the infant, two feet and a half long by eighteen inches wide, covered with the same sheets and blankets as the larger. If a nurse be wanting, she is engaged at an office for this purpose. There is only one midwife in the house, whose salary is 50 rix-dollars : the country women come hither to practise, and pay for entrance two rix-dollars 20 skillings to the college of physic, remain there for three months at their own expence, and on their departure pay for their diploma a rix-dollar and a half. The professor gives two lessons weekly, and the provost private lessons, which the wo-

* Notes which lose about 12 per cent. in change against specie.

men pay for according to agreement and their several capacities. The lying-in women have three meals a-day. This establishment some years ago was on the first story; it is now kept on the ground-floor, which is not so well, as it is more liable to damp, the effects of which, indeed, we were able to distinguish.

Spinhaus. A house of correction: at the time we saw it, it contained one hundred and eighty-seven women, more than forty of which were Fins, and twenty-two men, chiefly children or lame persons. Most of these women were confined for theft, several for more heinous offences, the most common of which is child murder; in such case their imprisonment is perpetual; the unfortunate wretches guilty of this crime are not allowed admission into the court, but to make amends their lodgings are better and more clean than the others: on Christmas-day they are treated with fiddles at the king's expence, which is the only recreation they enjoy throughout the year. Every one without exception is obliged to spin two pounds and a half of wool per day on account of the house. The crown allows two skillings* per day for their food; such as are confined for six years, or longer, or for life, are clothed in blue every three years; the others wear their clothes as long as they will hang together. No person can be confined here without an order from the high governor or the police, when an arrangement is made with the company of directors respecting the manner in which the party is to be treated. The women lay two together, except when ill, in which case they are kept by themselves in a separate building; men, women, and children together; the beds are all on one side of the apartment, and the sink on the other, near the windows, which in some degree contributes to the bad smell; the beds are bad. There are but three men to guard this house; in order to reach it you pass a small lake, which communicates with the larger one, over a bridge, whence you have a charming slant view of the city. The chapel belonging to the house is a tolerably handsome building; the foundry of Mr. Asplund, which we shall describe, is opposite.

Dannwiken. A mad-house is situated in a pleasant position on the sea-shore, towards the south; it contained, when we were there, fifty-two persons; more women than men. On placing a madman in this house, you pay a plotte† weekly. On one side of this building is a house capable of receiving a hundred persons, men as well as women; upon payment of 50 rix-dollars,‡ a man rendered incapable of work, or an idiot, is admitted and maintained for life; an old man past labour is received there for 16 rix-dollars, and occasionally for nothing. In the morning they have a pound of bread, beer, soup, and meat. In the evening bread and gruel with milk. From this house there is a charming prospect of the sea.

Widows of Citizens. The asylum for citizens' widows is the most remarkable of any of this description at Stockholm; it is imitated no where to our knowledge, however deserving of imitation; you enter by an iron gate from the street into a small court, almost square, with a raised footway: it contains sixty-two women, which number is never exceeded; upon a vacancy occurring, whether by death, or inheritance of property, those who replace such as go out, enter either at Easter or in October. Masters in different trades and professions pay annually a certain sum, and their widows alone are admitted; it is requisite they should be fifty years of age; on their admission they may bring with them whatever they will for the increase of their comfort and accommodation, but at their death, whatever they bring belongs to the house. They are obliged to clothe themselves and bring furniture for their bed; they pay nothing on entrance, have three meals a day, two plates at dinner, and as many at supper. They each have

* About two-pence halfpenny sterling.

† 1s. 7d. sterling.

‡ About 12l. sterling.

a bed to themselves; the rooms are very decent, and the widows appeared to us well contented with their lot and the treatment of the house, a peculiarity we never met with any where but in this establishment; they have four large washes annually; they are not separated in case of sickness, except when contagious. The asylum has ten administrators, whose functions are for life; they are either merchants or opulent tradesmen.

Asylum for the orphans of free-masons, near the north place square. This has been founded about thirty years; occasionally it has contained five hundred children, and sometimes more; when we saw it there were no more than four hundred and ninety, fifty-five of which only in the house itself, the rest being in the country: those in the house are at an expence of three copper dollars a week, and are clothed twice in the year; ordinarily they quit the asylum at twelve years of age, and are bound to trades. Before the war the children were admitted gratis, but now (in consequence of the additional charge it has occasioned) 25 rix-dollars are paid on entrance. Children of both sexes are received, but must not be more than one year old. They are distinguished by marks the same as in Foundling hospitals. They lay two together; their bedsteads are of wood. The only employment taught in this house is to knit tricotu: the chambers are neat; the children have a change of linen once a week, the shirt they sleep in being different to that they wear by day: in several rooms there was a disagreeable smell, notwithstanding they had ventilators, their number being too small. The children have four meals per day, two plates at dinner: they are allowed as much beer as they can drink, and have no salt meats. The house is but one story high, and has a very pretty court in front. In the school room are lists of donations. This house has nine directors, named by the auxiliary lodge of St. John, the most ancient in the country; that is to say, they select one out of three persons recommended by the other directors. The expence of this establishment is annually from 7 to 8,000 rix-dollars. Formerly there was an arrangement between this and the grand asylum for orphans, hereafter to be mentioned, which was used to send to the other the children it knew not what to do with, as possessing greater facility of disposing of them.

The grand asylum for orphans. This is situated in Queen-street, has a large court, surrounded by irregular buildings. It maintains two thousand two hundred children, of which forty to fifty and not more than eighty are in the house. They are received at every period of age, without regard to whence they come: for urgent cases there is a wet-nurse or two; otherwise they are carried to the office, where the children are put out to them at the rate of six copper dollars per month. Such as are kept in the house are equally well attended, and furnished with food in addition to the breast. The children do not remain above twelve months with the nurse, after which they are placed with farmers in the country at six rix-dollars per annum: this arrangement is followed with one thousand of the children, the other one thousand two hundred are placed in houses in the city, at six rix-dollars per annum: the utmost œconomy is used. Great numbers remain with their relations, who on account of their being poor receive half a rix-dollar monthly. When the children are first sent to farmers in the country they are clothed, but this only once: they are not maintained at the expence of the establishment after they become fourteen years of age. The farmers may however, if they please, keep them until eighteen, but they no longer are paid the six rix-dollars; all they obtain is an exemption for three years, that is from their becoming fifteen to eighteen, from the impost they would have to pay for them; and an obligation on the part of the children to remain so long with them. The farmers are overlooked to see that they take proper care of the children, who have a mark given them which their parents

are obliged to bring back in case of death. If this mark should be lost on visiting the child, he is erased from the list, and the parents no longer receive the six rix-dollars. On one side of the mark is a No. in Roman characters; on the reverse a crown; it is a small piece of lead, like a slug, which cannot be spoiled but by cutting. The funds of this institution are, 1, three thousand tons of wheat, furnished by the crown, equivalent, communibus annis, to 9000 rix-dollars. 2, By legacies of individuals, and œconomy, a capital has been raised of from 50 to 60,000 rix-dollars. 3, The college of justice, which receives in deposit the property of the miners, paying no more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and making a far greater profit, is obliged to pay over to this institution a proportion of its supplies, which seldom amounts to less than 3000 dollars per annum. All these, added to voluntary contributions, form an annual revenue of about 20,000 rix-dollars. The king has delegated the superintendence of this establishment to the high governor of Stockholm, who appoints three counsellors of the city as directors. They have no honorary managers.

The hospital of Sabbatsberg, at Kongsholm, near to mineral waters for poor and infirm old women, is in a state of great neglect.

It will be seen that something further is desirable on all these establishments; but it is well known that good is done but by slow degrees; there has been great improvements of late years, and every thing tends to satisfy the mind that objects of such importance will not continue disregarded: the poverty of the country is in opposition to a rapid progress, or at least one so rapid as humanity requires; and if the government does all it can, no one can complain.

CHAPTER VIII.

Manufactories and Manufactures....Merchants....Workmen.

Swedish manufactures are yet very wide of perfection; the workmen are negligent, idle, and void of emulation; they sometimes begin their week's labour on Wednesday, and never before Tuesday, or if they go to their workshops, it is but to sleep over yesterday's debauch. This, however, does not prevent their insisting on high wages; the more they gain, the more they drink, and the want of money alone can make them resume their occupation.

Glass House. The glass house is situated at Kongsholm, and belongs to a subscription; it is under the direction of Mr. Lindblom: glass ware of all descriptions is made here, drinking glasses, decanters, and some few bottles. The pot-ash is produced in Scania, the flint is from Pomerania (it is 16 skillings the ton;) the mineral salt from Tripoli; the Soda from Spain. The glass is sold by weight; the clearest at 16 skillings per pound. The only wood used in the furnace is pine and fir, which cost from one to two rix-dollars the cord, according as the winter may happen to be for cold: its annual consumption is six hundred cords; this measure is six feet broad, as many deep, and only three feet long, which is the length of the billets. This manufactory has but one furnace in constant work; it lasts at most but two or three years: within it is constructed of hewn stone, from the island of Oeland, which tends to save the wood, without, it is cased with brick, and costs for its construction about 200 rix-dollars. It requires three or four days to heat it; nine hours, at three exposures, to calcine flint, which, at each several time of its being withdrawn, is plunged into cold water. It takes five or six days to melt the white glass in the furnace: other glass less time according to its having more or less colour. It requires three hours to liquify the soda. The clay of which the moulds are made comes from Cologne: it is half burned, and half unburned, mixed; these

moulds will last for four, five, nay even six months. The price at present is from five to six skillings the piece, of fifteen pounds weight; each furnace has six moulds, one at each opening: they are twenty-five inches in diameter, sixteen deep, and two and a half thick: they require to dry for a year in the open air, and afterwards for some days in an oven before they can be used. The stones with which the glass is polished, comes from the island of Gothland, and sometimes from Dalecarlia. The number of workmen is above thirty, so many being employed on drinking-glasses; their pay is eight skillings per day. The annual amount of sale of its manufactured articles, is from 50 to 60,000 rix-dollars.

Foundry of Mr. Asplund. This foundry is situated opposite to the Spinhaus, on the other side of the lake, it is very handsome, and very complete. Mr. Asplund engages to execute any orders committed to his care. He makes use of no other iron than such as has been once before cast. The furnaces, of which there are three, are of brick, made by the proprietor; he used formerly to import bricks from England; but they cost him a dollar per hundred nearly, and his annual consumption was fifteen thousand. At present he has managed by grinding the bricks of which the former furnaces were composed, and had been thrown aside as useless, and mixing the powder with earth from Germany, to make very good ones, more lasting than the first; by this means he is no longer under necessity of importing more than about a thousand every three years. His furnaces last for about four months, melting in them two or three times a day. Each fusion consists of from three to eight schippunds of iron. The iron fuses in about an hour. He works up annually one thousand five hundred schippunds. None but mine coal from England is used, which costs 9 rix-dollars, 18 skillings per last; his annual consumption is two hundred last. When the object to be cast is of small size, the metal in fusion is carried in ladles to the moulds; when of considerable size the metal is conducted to the mould through a hole made in the furnace. When pans or other articles are cast, they are smoothed, and the work is finished. If there should chance to be a hole or any considerable defect in the work, it is then broken. A hollow column of iron, thirty-four feet high, without the base or capital, an inch and a half thick, would cost 10 rix-dollars the schippund, and would weigh 115 schippunds; a Corinthian capital would cost two hundred rix-dollars, the whole one thousand three hundred and fifty rix-dollars. Mr. Asplund has commenced a manufacture of steel, on which he already employs more than a score of workmen. We saw some very pretty buttons there, of much better polish than those of the manufacture of Elvius, but he is resolved on selling none until he shall have a considerable assortment finished. Sixty men, altogether, are employed in this manufactory (exclusive of those in the steel works) forty of which, or thereabout, are at the furnace; according to the work they do, they earn from 16 to 20, and even 30 skillings a day, at least four copper dollars.

Mr. Ekerman, a master weaver at Kongsholm, has discovered, he says, the secret of twisting and spinning, at the same time, thread and silk together, which renders the whole not only stronger, but the operation much more easy: he readily shewed us the work itself, but not the machinery he employed: and in order that none may discover it, he employs no workmen; after this the public must form what opinion it pleases of the merit of the discovery.

The steel-works are in the north suburbs, and belong to Mr. Elvius. This is a new establishment, at which but little is manufactured of much importance. The situation even is bad enough, and ought to be changed. The proprietor complains greatly of his work people, who, so soon as they get a little money, never come back again until the whole is expended: and after acquiring a little information, they feel disposed to leave

him, expecting to get more with some other master: they are paid by the task. At this manufactory we met with neither handsome workmanship nor magazine; much is yet to be done ere it become of any consideration. However Mr. Elvius has a fund of hope.

The so called Porcelain manufactory, is a very indifferent manufactory of ware, similar to that called Delf, and situated at Kongsholm. The warehouse makes a very pretty figure indeed: a complete service for a dozen, in this ware, in the English taste costs from 30 to 40 rix-dollars. The manufactory occupies a considerable extent: part of the clay comes from Upsal, and several pieces even receive their first burning there; they use likewise clay brought from France and England. The number of workmen employed is twenty-four, seven of which are painters, and four turners.

Cloth Manufactory. We saw that of Mr. Hebbe adjoining the Dannwiken. This is not the most considerable, Mr. Barkins having more than forty looms, Mr. Hebbe no more than thirteen; each of which produces annually sixteen pieces of cloth, from eighty to ninety ells in length. The dearest cloth they manufacture is blue; it costs 3 dollars the ell; fine cloth, in other colours, from 2 dollars, 15 skillings, to 8 plotts; common cloth from $4\frac{1}{2}$ plotts to 7; striped woollen cloth from $7\frac{1}{2}$ plotts to 8; soldiers cloth 40 to 42 skillings: the credit three months. In every manufactory there is a certain number of looms used for making of cloth for the troops on account of the crown: the cloth is dyed on the premises. Those employed in winding and twisting in the manufactory earn at most but 5 or 6 plotts in a week, working very hard: the spinners earn a great deal, in gaining a plott. All hands counted, three hundred persons find employment here. The fine cloths are sometimes eleven quarters wide, but the common breadth is nine quarters. The wool is imported from Poland and Holland; it costs five dollars the lispund, and loses 15 per cent. in washing. Spanish wool, according to the current price (1791) costs from 22 to 24 copper-dollars, and loses 16 to 20 per cent. on account of its being more carefully washed. The wool of the country is at 24, 28, and 32 skillings.

Manufactory of Colours. For a long time the English carried on a considerable traffic for mosses, at Gottenburgh, produced in abundance in that part of Sweden: people were at a loss to know what use they could be put to; at length it was discovered, that they extracted from them colours for dyeing: the count de Ruuth, then minister of finance, resolved on supplanting the English in this commerce, and enriching his own country by the acquisition; he in consequence induced the king to make experiments, which ended in the foundation of the establishment in question, entirely upon the royal account. The greatest part of the moss called lichen Tartareus, comes from Marstrand and its environs: when dry, it is put under a large wheel with stone edges, after having been ground by it into tolerably small dust, it is thrown into large wooden tubs, with lime, urine, and other ingredients which remain a secret. The mixture remains in these for six months, during which it is stirred every day; by degrees it thickens, the watery particles evaporate, and it becomes at first thick as mud, and afterwards of the consistence of the marble of grapes; as soon as arrived to this state, it is cut into small pieces, and exposed to dry in a large covered apartment. When dried and hardened, it is pounded in mortars, reduced to a very fine powder, and packed in casks. It is not intended that the sale of it shall begin until 150,000 pounds weight shall have been prepared. It is reckoned, it will obtain five rix dollars 26 skillings the lispund (eighteen and a half pounds English.) A number of experiments have been made with it on woollen cloths, which have perfectly succeeded: the finest colours yet extracted are a violet, a flaxen grey (gris de lin) and a plumb colour (prune de Monsieur.)

This manufactory employs no more than five or six hands. The warehouse is very extensive. There are a considerable number of tubs, and an immense stock of urine. The moss is stirred about in the tubs with large sticks, formed at the end in shape of an oar. When we saw this manufactory, permission from count Ruuth was requisite; but the secret assuredly cannot long remain such.

Manufactory of Silk Stockings, and price of silks. M. Maczre, a Frenchman, has a manufactory of silk stockings, with but four and twenty looms; could he find workmen, he might employ more; those he has ought to make a pair of stockings daily, but never do so; they are paid a plot per pair for the coarsest stockings, and for the finest, as much as 36 skillings. M. Mazere manufactures six dozen pairs weekly; he is in possession of two looms, newly invented in France, much less complicated than others, and capable of making two pairs per day. One pound of silk is sufficient at least for five pair. Silk loses from 28 to 30 per cent. in the spinning, dyeing, &c. He imports his silk from different places. All the other manufactories receive theirs from Bursa, mostly through marseilles, whither it is brought from the Levant. The charges on it are five per cent. insurance, and three per cent. freight and commission, in the whole about eight per cent. These are the only silks allowed to be exported from France. Their cost at Marseilles is from 13 to 15 livres, this year, 1791, 17 livres. The silk employed in the manufacture of stuffs, handkerchiefs, and ribbons, is partly organised and partly thrown, brought for the most part from Bazano, some little from Leghorn. The manufacturers of gauzes employ organised and thrown silk in their black gauze, but China silk alone for their coloured gauze: they receive it from Gottenburg, whither it is brought by the vessels of the East India Company. Commonly the thrown silk of Bazano and Leghorn, cost at Hambro' from three and a half to four rix-dollars banco. The organised from four to five, and raw silk from three to four, according to quality. China silk costs usually at Stockholm from three and a half to four rix-dollars in specie, according to the seasons abroad, and the quantity brought by the company. In 1791, it cost four and a half rix-dollars. The silks which come from Hambro' are expedited by way of Wismar, at an expence of five per cent. for freight, insurance, and commission. The course of exchange between Stockholm and Hambro', before the creation of Riksens notes, was from 44 to 47 skillings per rix-dollar banco of Hambro'. At present paying in riks gold, it is 54 skillings and 10 per cent. agio. The duty on the importation of silk stockings, is 21 dollars per dozen: silk stuffs pay 12½ per cent. all other silk manufactures are prohibited. If the king or his ministers by license import any of these articles, they pay 75 per 100 duty.

The manufactory of Mr. Appelquist. Mr. Appelquist is a skilful mechanist, possessed of a very fine establishment at Kongsholm: he manufactures in iron, steel, copper, and wood, and undertakes any orders in these articles that are given to him. His warehouse is very handsome, and all its contents appeared to us of excellent workmanship. You might here conceive yourself even in an English warehouse of the first consideration; this artist has travelled to England twice, and sojourned eight years in that country. From his warehouse he went into his joiner's shop, and a large apartment containing ten benches, a lath, and a furnace. Here it is where any delicate works in iron, steel, or copper, are manufactured. On the ground floor is a forge, with eight anvils, and a machine for boring cannon: another forge with a large furnace, acted upon by three pair of bellows, and four anvils. The cannon foundry joins the forge. It contains two reverberating furnaces; in the next room there is a furnace, a lath, a large anvil, and two smaller. Cannon are founded here of a new description, they are of two pieces: the breech of the cannon being made to take off when charged, and put on

again; it is fastened by a very strong bar, which passes through a hole bored through the whole breadth of the piece. An iron handle serves to work this part of the cannon with facility, a single man sufficing; this method is however practicable only with small pieces. Nothing of any description has hitherto been exported from this manufactory; every thing is extremely dear; it employs no more than forty workmen, who earn a ploit per diem.

There are nine sugar refineries here, one of four boilers, the others of but two or three.

We have before observed that labour is very dear at Stockholm; tradesmen are consequently obliged to sell in proportion. Generally speaking their work is well done, less so however than in France; and oftentimes you are obliged to wait a long time for what you order. Frequently the workmen exact part payment in advance, and afterwards furnish their job at leisure; this may appear a hardship, but it is unavoidable. They never, however, deny the receipt of the money advanced, nor was it ever known here that a tradesman changed the goods you have bargained for to substitute inferior, as is frequently the case in a state, the neighbour of Sweden.

In almost all trades, the journeymen have a box to which they monthly subscribe a certain sum. From this box, when ill and unable to work, they are paid 24 skillings weekly, and in case of death their friends receive 20 rix-dollars for their interment.*

There were in Stockholm, in 1790, five hundred and sixty-four manufactories of silk, cotton, wool, thread, iron, and steel, which gave employment to eleven thousand two hundred and fifty persons, masters, and journeymen, and furnished goods to the value of 1,200,000 rix-dollars.

CHAPTER IX.

Different Orders of Sweden....Ceremony of 13th February 1791.

In Sweden there are four orders, one of which open to civil and military characters, one purely military, and two to civil alone.

Festival of the order of the Seraphim. On the 28th April (1791) the ministers and foreigners went at eleven o'clock in the morning to the apartment of the marshal of the court, to breakfast. The master of the ceremonies coming to inform us that we might attend the levee of the king, we crossed the court of the castle with the diplomatic body, without any attention to ceremony. We passed through two ranks of soldiers on carpeting, to the staircase which leads to his majesty's chamber. As we entered the room, we were struck by the various ceremonial dresses worn on that day; each order wearing one peculiar to itself: the Swedes present not belonging to any of the orders, were either full drest, or in uniform; of the latter but few. The dress of the order of the Seraphim is white with black stripes, the shoes black and white, a round hat, covered with a white plume of feathers. (The king alone was drest in cloth of silver.) The dress of the order of the Sword is of sky-blue, and differs immaterially from the court dress, which is striped with white silk. The dress of the order of the Polar Star is crimson, with white stripes. All the dresses are shaped after the national cut, and their diversity has a singular and very pleasing effect; the blue colour alone

* Is it not ridiculous that 20 rix-dollars should be expended for the burial of a workman; would not this sum be infinitely better disposed of if given to his family? The Swedes indeed are bigotted to splendid funerals, and every one must have his whim! Nothing can be imagined more curious than their coffin shops; some of them are gilt, some carved or painted: a spectator in one of these, would, in short, conceive himself rather in a furniture warehouse than an undertaker's shop.

being rather too gay for the commanders and grand crosses of the Sword, who cannot be young people. The coat, waistcoat, breeches, and cloak, are severally of the same colour in each of the orders: all the knights wear white stockings, with white roses in their shoes. The prince royal alone wore a coat of cloth of gold, on account of his not having yet been invested with the Sword. The levee being ended, we repaired to a gallery in the chapel, set apart for ministers and foreigners who had been presented at court. The king entered in all the luxury of royal pomp, announced by music, and seated himself in a silver chair, beneath a canopy fronting the church. (This ceremony ought to have taken place in the church of Redderholm, but the king prefers the chapel of the castle, as being more near and more convenient.) On the left, beneath a canopy, were three chairs with the arms of the empress, the king of Prussia, and king of Denmark: on one side upon a turning, chairs of a smaller size for princes of royal blood, not yet sovereigns. On the right and left of the king, were his majesty's two brothers, with their officers behind them, and an officer belonging to the guards; the other knights were afterwards placed on the right and left according to their ancestry, each seated on a cushion of crimson velvet, and bearing above his arms. In the middle of the choir, the four novices to be installed awaited the ceremony, seated on raised benches, each between two knights who were to serve for their sponsors; on a line fronting the altar, were the knights of the other orders with their heralds at arms, the dress of whom is absolutely the same as that of the heralds of France, with the exception of crowns instead of fleurs de lys. Service being finished (a ceremony, which, thanks to the sermon of the bishop of Westeros, grand almoner of the order, was of sufficient duration) the three grand officers approached the altar to receive the cordons laid on cushions, as well as the book which contains the form of oath to be taken on the occasion. One of the knights then rose for the sword of the kingdom, and placed himself by the side of the king, holding it drawn. It is customary for the chancellor of the order to make a speech, in which he expresses the motives which have induced the king to grant the order of the Seraphim to such and such knights; as his majesty himself executed the function of chancellor, he put on his hat and made a speech of nearly half an hour's duration. The four knights installed, were general Platen, baron Armfeldt, count Munck, and count Oxenstiern; the two latter fill civil appointments; the two former general officers distinguished themselves in the late war, which his majesty did not fail, in his address, to notice with his usual grace.

The four new knights knelt and took the oath, they were then admitted one after the other. The king ties the chain of the order round the neck, and afterwards strikes the novice three times on the shoulder with the flat part of the sword, then drawing off his glove, presents his hand to be kissed. The knight then embraces every fellow knight in succession, and after embracing the princes of the blood, kisses their hand: he is constantly attended by his sponsors. The king withdrew with the same parade he entered, and dined in public with the knights of the order, who, during the whole of dinner, remained covered. The carving squire alone served all round the table. In the evening a court is held; the knights of the Seraphim on this occasion wear a crimson coat with gold facings, and two similar stripes at the two corners of their cloak. After cards, a grand supper was given: except on this occasion, we never saw the two princes of the blood royal at the same table with his majesty in public. The knights of this order, if of the military profession, wear as well the cross of the order of the Sword, and of the Polar Star, if in civil life. The number of them is twenty-four, exclusive of the king, the Swedish and foreign princes. The insignia are a large bright

blue-shot ribbon, fastened from the right shoulder to the left side, and a silver plate on the left side, on which is engraven, I H S. with a cross above, surrounded by the three crowns of Sweden. The chain is formed of crosses and heads of cherubims alternately. The knights admitted wear the plate without the ribbon until the period of their installation.

The Order of the Sword. This order confined to the military alone, is divided into three classes, exactly in the same manner as was the order of St. Louis in France: the ribbon is yellow, edged with blue, and is worn from right to left; the plate on the left side is of gold. The cross represents on one side the arms of Sweden, and in the midst a sword upright. On the reverse, a sword run through a crown of laurel, with these words, *Pro Patria*. The reigning sovereign has instituted a fourth class, to which none are admitted but in the time of war; it requiring the companion proposed should first have gained a victory either by sea or land as commander in chief. The king himself could not obtain this distinction but by the suffrage of the army, and Gustavus III, was unwilling to assume this honourable order before the third campaign, although he had well deserved it previously; he stood in the list for reception only according to the date of his pretensions. This order is worn (by such as have no other than the small cross, and wear it in its place) *en sautoir*, on the neck. Those who are decorated with the large ribbon, wear a small silver sword on the left side, such as wear the plate, have two silver swords below, crossed. The case is the same with the knights of the Seraphim, who moreover wear the cordon crossed at the neck: the number of knights of this order is not limited for either of the classes.

Order of the Polish Star. This is a civil order, designed for the reward of ministers, ambassadors, and other persons employed by the government. It is divided into two classes, commanders and knights; the former wear a grand white cross on the breast, fastened to a black ribbon, and a star embroidered with silver on the left side. The knights have only the small cross, fastened with a black ribbon to the button hole: the number of the order is unlimited.

Order of Vasa. This was established in 1772, by Gustavus III. It is intended as a distinction for skilful artists, merchants of merit, and persons employed in mining, manufactures, &c. The knights wear a golden sheaf (the arms of Gustavus Vasa) suspended from the neck with a green ribbon, of that colour to specify that this honour is specially intended for the encouragement of agriculture. The grand crosses, which are four in number, and the eight commanders, wear a large green ribbon from right to left, and the plate on the left side, or the ribbon by itself. The marquis de Mirabeau was made a grand cross at the first institution of the order, and was not replaced until 1791. The two first classes are obtained at once, without passing from the third, of which latter class, few are promoted to the others.

Ceremony of the 13th February, 1791. In commemoration of the two victories of Fredericshamm and Svenkund, on the 15th May and 9th June, 1790, the king ordered a medal to be struck, describing the number of ships taken from the enemy in these two engagements, in order to decorate therewith the officers who were present. The superior officers (of the staff) wear it suspended from the neck, as well as the king's aides de camp: the other officers, of a smaller size, at their button hole; each fastened to a gold chain. In order to make this ceremony the more splendid, the king, in the uniform of the navy (blue waistcoat and breeches) entered the chapel with the same train as follows him on the most solemn occasions. He seated himself in a silver chair, raised to some height upon a number of steps; beside him was the standard, or rather

the royal flag, the same he had on board his sloop during the action.* After service, a sermon preached by the bishop of Vexiœu the grand almoner, his majesty advanced towards the altar, and turning to the officers seated on benches at the right and left, addressed them for the space of a quarter of an hour nearly. (We used our best endeavours, but fruitlessly, to procure his speech, the king forming us that he had made many, and that as he could not call to mind his exact words, it would not be published. It was given in the most graceful manner, with such a seductive tone of voice as caused us, from being spectators of the sensations it excited, to be greatly anxious to have a copy.) Two persons having brought the medals to the king, his majesty took one and decorated himself therewith; afterwards the names of the officers were read, for whom any of them were intended, whether absent or present: such as were present, knelt before the king and kissed his hand, his majesty fastening the chain on which the medal was suspended, about the necks of the officers of the staff, and giving it simply into the hands of the others. The medal is of gold, in form of a buckler, and on the reverse is inscribed the number of vessels taken at Fredericshamm and Svenksund, or at the one or the other only, according to which battles the party to whom they were given had been present, on the other side is a winged woman, standing on the prow of a galley, with both arms extended, holding crowns. Notwithstanding the length of this ceremony, which lasted more than three hours, the king preserved the same dignified and affable manner throughout, without once testifying the least sign of fatigue, or desire of abridging his duty; he saluted each of the officers who came to receive medals, in the most polite and nobly easy manner, yet was it not difficult to distinguish by his more or less affectionate squeeze of their hands, those who most particularly enjoyed his confidence and esteem. Many officers received the medal, who really appeared mere boys, which gave additional interest to the ceremony, and made the stronger impression on the minds of the spectators, at least if we are to judge from our own sensations. How much is such a ceremony as this superior to those imitations in practice in all countries, when the sovereign, coldly distributing ribbons or crosses (which most commonly are but so many tokens of the old age of the person honoured) if they be the reward of brilliant actions, is occasionally ignorant where they occurred! Here we see a monarch recompensing his brave subjects, subjects who have served their country before a monarch's eyes, open to appreciate their merit, and who in his distribution of insignia, begins with investing himself with the medal, in earning which, he bore with them a part. The king constantly wears, and even takes pride in displaying it, fastened to a gold chain of exquisite workmanship, made at Stockholm. The officers decorated with the medal, are obliged to wear it constantly.

Here it may not be amiss to say something of this multitude of orders which exist in the states of the North: they are condemned by some, but have our approbation. It is a very fortunate thing for a poor country, that a few ribbons, a few plates properly distributed, should satisfy those who have well deserved of their country, and whose services it would otherwise embarrass much the government to reward. We shall further add, that orders and honorary employments excite greater emulation than pecuniary gifts. It would be still better doubtless, if the man who has real claims to the gratitude

* A similar flag in one of the actions during this war was saved by some Swedish sailors, who rather chose to throw it overboard than suffer it to be taken by the Russians. These latter did not act in the same manner with respect to that of their admiral, or rather let us say, the imperial colours entrusted to the prince of Nassau, with hopes of success but rashly formed, if we be allowed to judge from the result.

of his fellow citizens, were content with an oaken crown and a public inscription: He has well deserved of his country: but man in the present age is far from this noble simplicity, he is governed by prejudices of too strong ascendancy, not to look upon this as an ideal payment for his labours. Until the universe become enlightened by that great people which has declared itself the light and pattern of the world; until philosophy shall have extended its beneficent influence to all classes of society, people of the North and South, whose services are repaid by ribbons, and crosses, preserve them, bless them, know that man in a savage state is not unacquainted with orders; for captain Wilson met with an Order of the Bone in the Pelew islands. Insensate as we are, we seek to carry back man in a polished state beyond the simplicity of natural man. Let us forego the vanity of being more wise than nature, nor strive to surpass, content with imitating her in her works. Alas! how far are we from this!

CHAPTER X.

Castles of the king....Drottingholm....The Environs of Stockholm.

HIS majesty has some chateaux in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, and two others some miles distance thence, which we shall notice, Gripsholm and Stromsholm. Drottningholm (or Queen's island) is one mile from Stockholm, in an island of lake Møler: this is the most elegant of all the royal houses, and on every account deserves particular inspection. The castle is on the border of the lake, which has from this spot a most superb appearance; the situation in summer is delightful, and its gardens, which are extensive, are at the back. It has an imposing appearance: each of its two facades, which are regular, has one and thirty windows, without including two round pavillions at the ends. Near it are a number of other buildings, capable of housing a hundred and seventy gentlemen. The princes and princesses have separate pavillions contiguous to the castle. The front next the lake has a grand flight of steps with a balustrade, on which are placed a number of flower-pots made of iron. It has four open arcades, the middle ones serving for entrances: on a sort of platform between the castle and the flight of steps, are two small statues in bronze; between the steps and the lake, a Neptune of the same. On the top of the steps, two marble lions holding shields, upon the different steps a number of marble statues. On the opposite side next the castle, there is a terrace along the whole front, ornamented with a balustrade and two statues in bronze; a large grass plot planted with yew, and several small basins in but indifferent order. In the middle is a large basin, with an Hercules crushing the hydra, and several figures grouped around, all in bronze. By the side of the basin are two small figures in bronze. As you descend from the middle of the terrace, you see four large vases and four statues of the same metal, two of which natural as life. At each extremity of the terrace is an iron gate, over one of them is two lions, and on the side two figures holding cyphers, smaller than life: on the other are two horses, smaller than the natural size, the whole in bronze. The statues, as well as every thing in bronze, were taken at Prague; on one of these vases is still to be seen the cypher of the emperor Ferdinand. These pieces are in the style of the Tuscan school, one in which a number of Germans studied at that time.

The Interior. As you enter the castle from the garden side, you have on the left two antichambers; in the second is the representation in a picture of a Laplander in his sledge, drawn by a rein-deer. A cabinet in which are some paintings, porcelain, and China figures: here is to be seen the first porphyry vase manufactured in Sweden: on the right is the king's bedchamber, it is richly ornamented with gilding, and elegantly

furnished. Two vases of porcelain four feet high. Among other things, two paintings by Ehrenstrabe, regarded as a Swedish painter, although he was not born in Sweden. He lived in the time of Charles XI, and was ennobled by the name of Kjöcher. An apartment containing divers pictures, serves as a passage to the library. The succeeding room communicates directly with the library; in it are two fine antique busts, and some elegant modern pieces. *Cædipus* by Gagnerot. *Ariadne* by Vertmuller, and different paintings by Watteau and Chardin. The library is a very handsome room, ornamented with great taste: independant of the choice books it contains, there are in it a pretty numerous collection of Etruscan vases, some of which are valuable. A singular vase four feet high, found in the country. *Gustavus Vasa* in wax, under glass, very small and exquisitely well executed; and two small antique statues in a kneeling posture, in marble. Manuscripts are seen in abundance, many of which inestimable: the librarian, Mr. Leopold, not having thought proper to take the trouble of suffering us to examine them minutely,* we shall only cite thirty-six volumes in the Swedish history, beginning with *Gustavus Vasa*: *Divers reflections*, a manuscript by queen Christina: a manuscript of Charles XII, when a boy; in one part of which *vincere aut mori*. The library is ornamented with analogous inscriptions: over the door by which you enter, *Artibus pectora mollescunt, asperitasque fugit* (the temper of man is softened by the arts, and all its ruggedness dismissed.) Over the sham doors on the side: *Neque si charta sileant quod benefeceris, mercedem tuleris*.

Nor do you gain your due renown,
Unless your worthy deeds in history be shewn.

Carmina fit vivax virtus, expersque sepulchri,

Immortal virtue lives in lasting song,
And mocks the tomb.

Over the door at the end; *Cordis et oris optima est harmonia* (best is the harmony of heart and tongue.) On the sides opposite to each other, *Vincit ingenium probitas* (honesty is above genius.) *Studio minuente labores* (slackening your study you encrease your toil.) *Moniti meliora sequamur* (follow better counsel.) *Vita et pectore puro* (with life unsullied and a conscience clear. The next apartment is a cabinet of books; it contains a model in relief of the temple of *Isis* at *Pompeia*. A stove with two columns of green antique marble. Two large vases on candelabras after the antique, eight feet high, with white masks on the vases. An antique statue of a woman representing sculpture, and some other matters of but slight importance. The cabinet of Medals comprises a very fine collection of Greek, Roman, and ancient of all nations; in eight cases, which contain more than twelve thousand drawers: among the Swedish, are a small medal taken to be of king *Bicæurn*, but this is doubtful; another thought to be of *Olaus*: a *Stros Konung*, very rare, struck from all appearance in England; a very rare medal, the size of a half dollar piece, of *Gustavus I*, struck at *Upsal*. We were not able to go over this collection minutely, as it was undergoing an arrangement; the person employed for the purpose having underhandedly disposed of several pieces, had been dismissed, since when, his majesty keeps the key of it himself. This will be the proper place to introduce an account of Swedish medals.

* As a matter of comfort on this score, his majesty told us that he himself could not have the attendance of his librarian at all times he wished. Nevertheless we felt ourselves much hurt at such procedure, happening in a country where we had met so few examples of discourtesy.

"According to the work entitled *Thesaurus nummorum Suegothieorum*, by Bremer, in quarto, Stockholm, 1731, the most valuable and scarce Swedish medals are the following: that of Haquinus frater Erixi magni, who lived in 1360, it was found in Dalecarlia. On one side of it is his portrait, with Hacwinus Dux Norvegiæ, on the other a cross between three roses, and moneta Easloia. The author is unacquainted with any other. Sten Sture, the younger, was the first that ever struck emblazoned pieces. On one side is the head of St. Eric, with this inscription: S. Erius Rex Sueciæ; on the other the arms of Sweden quartered, with this legend: Mone Stockholm, 1512. The author had seen but two besides those he himself possessed. Nummi cujusdam pseudo, Sturu vulgo dale junckaren dicti, qui anno 1524, contra Gustavum primum Regem Sueciæ seditionem conciliavit. This bears on one side the letter N with a crown surrounded by two small crosses and two rings: about, Nicolaus Sture; on the other side, a shield with three crowns and this legend, M. M. in vallibus, meaning money of Mora in the valley. It is a well established fact in story, that this false Sture remained for a long time in Dalecarlia, in the neighbourhood of Mora. There is another smaller coin of the same Sture, which is likewise very rare. A gold coin of Gustavus I, on one side he is represented crowned, with a sword in his right hand, and a globe and cross in the other, between his legs a shield: the inscription, Gustavus Dei gratia Suecorum Rex; on the reverse, another shield quartered, in two of the quarters are blazoned the three crowns, in each of the other two a lion; around, monet. nova Stockol. 1528. This crown is called nummus aureus inauguralis. This singular piece is where it ought to be, in the king's possession; the author never saw a similar. There is a silver coin of similar stamp, which is also extremely rare. The author speaks of one in his collection as the only one he ever saw. Gustavus Adolphus with his queen Eleanor, a gold coin of two ducats value. On one side are the heads of the king and queen, with this inscription: Gustavus Adolphus et Maria Eleonora Rex et Regi. Suec. on the reverse, contra spem in spem; at the bottom, the arms of the city of Augsburg, and the date 1632. In the midst two shields; on that of the right the arms of Sweden and Gothland, on that of the left those of Brandenburg. This piece is less valuable for its rarity than for its being the earliest on which are impressed the heads of the king and queen conjointly, and the arms of Sweden united with those of Brandenburg.

Within the same cabinet are many antique busts and small statues of the gods. Models in Cork of the temple of Tivoli, of the soldiers barracks at Pompeia, and the Capo di bove at Rome. A collection of books analogous to the contents of the cabinet. A passage with a gallery above the chapel. On a table, the dwarf of King Stanislaus, drest, known by the name of Bebe. In wardrobes, a collection of minerals, and a large piece of pretendedly native iron in a copper box.

Cabinet of Natural History. This belonged to the last queen, and is described by Linnæus. It is at present under the care of Mr. Swarts, of whom we have spoken deservedly before. The following are the most interesting articles the cabinet contains. Among a great collection of animals preserved in spirits of wine, are a number of monkeys of different species, one of the rarest of which is the *Simia Cæthiops*; besides these, the *Dasypus sexcintus*, *vespertilio leporinus*, *mus longipes*, *mus volans*, and the *herboa Arabum*; the embryo of an elephant. *Capra perpusilla*. Among the birds, *psittacus severus*, *minimtis Alexandri*; *picus semi-rostri*; *paradisa regia*, *flava*: *charadius lencurus*; *turdus hæmatodor*; *trochilus niger*; *lamius doliatus*; *ramphastor piperinorus picatus aracar*, *plateles pigmæa*; *et pipra aureola*. Of amphibious animals: *cæcilia lentaculata amphistena alba*; *anguis bipes*; *coluber calamarius*, *albus*, *reginæ*, *aurora*, *miliaris*, *buccatus*, *candidus*, *corallinus*, *hypocrepis*; *vipera Egypti*, *lebetrinis*, *padera*, *situla*, *Syria*,

ingularis, haje; lacerta tigrina, azurea, hispea, teguixin, barbara, stellio; testudo serpentina Amboinensis; rana lactea, marginata, cornuta, gibbosa; tetraodon lineatus, ocellatus; et pegasus volitans. Of fishes: gobius aphyia, niger; chaetodon ciliaris, capistratus, arcuatus; sciæna bimacculata; zeus vomer, spinosus; uranoscopus pictus; calichytys tamoa; labris julii, paroticus, niloticus, aut Nilis luscus; pleuronectes ocellatus, limanda; gymnotus pinguis; perca labrax, nilatica, costoides, vittata, scriba; trigla cucullus; cobitis anableps; silurus mystus, anguillaris, undecimalis, clarias; salmo niloticus; esox sphyraena; atherina stepsetus; clypea mystus, cyprinus, niloticus, dentex; et mormyrus cyprinoides, anguilloides. Of insects, many scarabei from America; scarabeus sacer, gigas, scaber, longipes, Syriacus, cerationiæ, carmatus; chrysolomela sacra; curculio Indus, pusio, vaginalis, dispar, argyreus, speciosus, cornutus, Capensis, et attelabus, sipylus; many Cerambyces also from America; the elater Syriacus, meloe Syriacus, blatta Ægyptiaca, gryllus gongylodes, Ægyptius; and a number of others, among them, cimex Arabs, serratus, bipunctatus Ægyptiacus. Of butterflies, a very fine collection, which gave rise to a highly esteemed work from the pen of Mr. Clerk. A number of cray fish, of very singular and various species. Of shells: Lepas mitella, myaperna, vulsella, solen cultellus, radiatus, aratinus; a solaris, two inches and a half in diameter; tellina gargadiagari; cardium costatum, cardissa; donax scortum; venus zigzag; spondylus regius; chama cordiformis; arca glycinieris; ostrea pallium, felis, pes, opercularis, isognomon malleus; mytilus frons; pinna digiti, formis, jaccata, lobata; a conus princeps, of two inches, extremely rare; a number of harps, one of which three inches and a half long; amnuralis summus spectrum; bulla ampulla physis canalicula solidalis; voluta porphyria, pertusa, Æthiopica; strombus latissimus, epidromis, urceus, ater trochus telescopius; a turbo personatus, scalaris, of nearly two inches; helix hyanthena, amarula, haliotoidea; nerita canvena, albamen, corona; haliotis marmorata, parva, patella, porcelana, anguis; serpula lumbricalis anguina; a mitella, very rare, and an argonaut of eight inches. The collection of corals, millepores, madrepores, and subpores, from the Baltic, Red, and Indian seas, is very perfect. The collection of minerals very select. A large mummy in good preservation, of unusual size. Among the collection of plants is that made by Mr. Hasselquist, in the Levant, and particularly in Palestine, and that made by Mr. Kalm in North America. The cabinet contains a small library of analogous books.

The queen's apartments are not very numerous, they consist of three rooms and an audience chamber, all of them furnished after the antique. The audience chamber is full of paintings by Ehrenstrall; six of them are large, and represent an allegorical series of the history of Sweden, in which the reign of Charles XI, is most particularly distinguishable; the ceiling is beautiful. In a hall adjoining are seven portraits and two historical paintings. In the gallery, ten large pictures and two above the door, severally representing battles of Charles Gustavus. In the first above the door, Charles X, with several gentleman in his suite, surrounded by Polish cossacks, cutting their way through them; neither time nor place are designated. In the second, nothing is to be seen but heaps of dead, and troops engaging. Near the opposite door, the battle of Colembo, which took place on the 8th February, 1656, and in which Charles X, gained a complete victory over the Poles. Next the door, in a large painting the battle of Gnesna is represented, fought on the 27th April, 1756, and in which duke Adolphus John, as generallissimo, defeated the Polish army, and obtained considerable booty. Of four large pictures which succeed, the first represents the battle of Philippove, on the 12th October, 1656, in which general Gustavus Otto Stenboek defeated the Lithuanian army and ten thousand Tartars; the three others the battle of Warsaw, in 1656, on the 18th, 19th, and 20th July, in which Charles X, entirely routed the Polish army. Four pic-

tures are placed against the pieces between the windows; in the first the Poles, by prince Honiespoiki their representative, take the oath of fidelity to field marshal count Wittenberg, a circumstance which took place on the 16th October, 1655. The second represents the passage of the Little Belt on the 30th January, 1658, and the defeat of the Danes by Charles X, in the island of Funen. The third, the passage of the Great Belt on the 7th February, 1658. The fourth pictures the ceremony of count Potoski, as deputy from the Poles, tendering the oath of fidelity to count Douglas, on the 3d November, 1655, at Sandomir. The next apartment is full of family pieces. A number of rooms succeed, in one of which some handsome tapestry of the Gobelins, the last an antichamber, containing hunting pieces. On the large stair case, the nine Muses in marble, natural size, Apollo and Minerva the same, all modern. Many busts in marble. On the landing place between the windows, in bronze, a Centaur carrying off a young girl, and Mercury with a lion. Two apartments, the one a reading closet, the other a card room with blue furniture; this last has a stove in it with Chinese figures, presented by the empress of Russia. A painting representing his present majesty, then prince-royal, on horseback, led by a page, painted by Breda a Swede, now in London. Charles XII, on foot. Eighteen portraits, principally of his generals, some of those of Charles XI. Three battle pieces, one the fight of Helsinburg in 1710, the other the invasion of Zealand in 1700. A gallery corresponding with that before described, contains a similar number of paintings, representing the victories of Charles XI; over the door is Charles XI, followed by count Dahlberg, galloping up to the left wing of his army, with which he drove the Danes from off the field on the 4th December, 1756. Adjoining is a large painting which represents the battle of Yttes-hed, near Rœunneberga hills in Scania, where Charles XI, obtained a victory over Christian V. On the principal wall, four large pictures of the battle of Lund, in which Charles XI, attacked the Danish army four several times in as many different positions, and defeated it on the 4th December, 1676. Near the opposite door a large piece, the battle of Halmstadt, where Charles XI, beat the Danes near Fyllebro, the 17th August, 1676. Over the door, Charles XI, is seen accompanied by generals Aschenberg and Dahlberg, cutting their way through twenty-one squadrons of the enemy's cavalry to assist the left wing of his army on the 4th December, 1676. Between the windows, the battle of Rugen on the 8th January, 1678, in which the Swedes under general Koningsmark, entirely defeated the Danes and their allies. The siege of Malmoe, with Christian V, before the town, on the 6th June, 1770. A picture of the passage of the Gœutha river effected by count Gustavus Stenbock, and owing to which the Danish general Dunkam was obliged to raise the siege of Bohus on the 19th July, 1678. Another displaying the Dane and Norwegian forces combined before the town.

There are a number of small apartments at the end of this gallery (in one of which on the floor, were the likenesses of the king of France and the empress of Russia) which are to hang together in a gallery, wherein is to be exhibited the different battles fought in the reign of Gustavus III, : Despres is charged with the execution of this plan. There are to be eleven pieces, of the names of which this painter holds a list. A grand saloon almost square, which formerly served as a hall of assembly for the states, is intended to be magnificently decorated under the direction of the same artist.

The play-house is without the castle; it cost 66,000 rix-dollars building: the benches rise in an amphitheatre, and there are no boxes, unless indeed a few close to the stage for the king, princes, &c. It is a very handsome saloon thirty-eight ells in length by seventeen wide, and twenty-seven high. The actors and actresses have all of them apartments either within the building or adjoining. The gardens are pleasant. The island

of Apollo and the Chinese pleasure house, in which every thing corresponds with its title, are highly deserving of notice: occasionally his majesty dines here, it is called at times Canton, which has given name to a sort of village about a quarter of a league from the castle, consisting wholly of country boxes. The king spends four or five months at Drottingholm, in a very numerous circle, and the residence is exceedingly pleasant. The passage thither six years ago was far from pleasant, since in coming from Stockholm, you had to go across the lake which is very wide, and the ferry, always inconvenient was sometimes dangerous. At present it is excellent from one end to the other, in many places the road is cut out of the rock, and finished in every part at a very great expence. In going to the castle from Stockholm you pass over three bridges, the first of nine hundred feet, the second one thousand four hundred, and the third, which joins Drottingholm, seven hundred; the latter cost 5000 rix-dollars, and was completed in two and twenty days. In the neighbourhood of this bridge it is that an obelisk of granite fifty feet in height is to be erected, on the right coming from Stockholm, to commemorate the completion of this charming piece of road, a mile* in length from castle to castle, and which space the late king was wont to travel over in sixteen or seventeen minutes.

Carlberg, near the lake on the north, is, as it were, in the suburbs of Stockholm, which are joined to it by a long alley of trees: the king no longer resides here, and the queen but visits it for a ride; the house has little to boast, the gardens are pleasant. This house was, in 1792, set apart as a new school for cadets.

Swartsjöen is a castle in an island of lake Møler, two miles from the city. It was inhabited by the queen dowager, but since her death was empty up to 1791, when the king made a present of it to his sister; it contains nothing worth notice.

Ulriesdal, half a mile from Stockholm on the road to Upsal, is much larger than the two castles before-mentioned; the king mostly pays it a visit once a year: it has nothing worth notice.

Haga is a small pavilion, a quarter of a league from the north gate: it is very agreeably situated in midst of woods and on the brink of a lake: within, it is furnished under the direction of Masrellier, with the greatest elegance, and was the favourite residence of the late king, who spent weeks together here, even in the depth of winter. In 1791 a new palace was begun, which was on a magnificent scale. Despres was the architect, the foundations were already laid, and it was to be finished by 1796, but whether it has been proceeded upon or not, we are ignorant. The beautiful groupe of Cupid and Psyche, which we before have noticed, was to be removed to Haga: for its reception the king ordered a temple to be built entirely after the antique; it was to form a square, at the bottom was to be a niche, and the light to proceed from above. What possibly tended to increase the inclination of his majesty towards this retreat, was the circumstance of the revolution of 1772 being planned in a little corner of the garden, which is visited with much interest. His majesty has ordered a reservoir to be cut in the rock adjoining a small lake which you pass along, coming from the city, to furnish water, and facilitate the construction of jets d'eau and cascades. It will be a very handsome piece of work if completed. Visitors to this summer-house wear a particular uniform, with which none but persons of great distinction are favoured by his majesty.

The Park. This is the most frequented spot in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, on account of its proximity; it is situated towards the east, without the town on the sea side. It is customary for folks to repair hither on May-day, the same as those of

* A Swedish mile, six and a half miles English.

Paris, at Longchamps, on All Saints. The king appears in his coach. In 1791 we saw him there with the prince royal, the grand equerry, and a captain of the guards, escorted by his life and dragoon guards. The queen, princes, and princesses make their appearance as well, with but very few attendants. Prince Charles alone was on horseback, escorted by life guards, assigned him by the king as an acknowledgment of his services, in the same manner as did Frederic II, to his brother, prince Henry. This ceremony, if a simple promenade deserve that title, consists in taking a turn or two in the park. The king alighted at the Spanish minister's, who has built a country house in a singular position. It is upon a small promontory projecting into the sea, so that in his saloon you may fancy yourself on board of ship. All vessels arriving at, or sailing from Stockholm, pass by this spot, and the passage is in this part so narrow, that you may converse with the marines, even at times without a trumpet. This is in summer an incomparable situation. The king has made a present to him, as well as several other persons (with a view of engaging them to build) of a pretty considerable extent of ground, which, with what he gains upon the sea, by throwing out piers, enables him to increase his estate, and procure all country enjoyments.

The Camp in the Park. On the 24th June (St. John's Day) a may-bush is planted before the gates of castles and country-houses, as in France is done on the 1st of May, the king and royal family shew themselves again in the park, and remain at the camp. This camp, which lasts all the month of June, is composed of the garrison of Stockholm, that is to say, of the two regiments of guards, the artillery corps, one battalion of the queen dowager's guards, and the dragoons. Along the lines, on that day, long May poles are stuck in the ground, ornamented with garlands and cyphers of leaves, and sometimes with shields and devices; at the foot of each are barrels of beer on stands. At six or seven o'clock, at a certain signal, the barrels are tapped, and each soldier receives a pipe, a small loaf of bread, two herrings, and a trifle of money; a treat of their several captains. The music of each regiment strikes up, and the soldiers begin drinking and dancing. Across every barrel sits a soldier fantastically dressed either as Bacchus, or in some other character more or less grotesque: he it is who drinks the first, and gives the toasts, which are numerous enough, and are always succeeded by an exclamation of vivat: whenever any of the royal family or a general passes, their health is drank with a vivat. Soldiers in disguise are drawn on carriages all along the line; these with drollery and singing strive to please the people who flock in crowds to laugh at them: they sometimes take indecent licence. Soon as the evening roll is beat, all immediately disperse in good order. The royal family generally sup in camp in the king's tent; his majesty himself frequently sleeps in it, and notwithstanding he was not present in 1791, his tent was erected and occupied by general Armfeldt (with whom the court supped) as commandant of the camp and troops; the king giving him the general's staff, at the time of his departure, to hold during the whole of his absence. This particular staff is of bronze, overspread with small crowns in gold from one end to the other. The king commonly at his levee on Monday gives the staff to one of his aides de camp, to be entitled to which the individual must at least be a colonel; and during the whole time of his retaining it, he has supreme power over all that regards the service in Stockholm, princes and generals not excepted; in one word, in whatever regards military matters he represents the king himself. This staff must never be laid aside; it is held generally for a week when the king is at Stockholm, and sometimes longer. His Swedish majesty adopted this custom from the court of Russia; however if such a practice remains there at present, it is with a difference.

CHAPTER XI.

State of the Swedish Troops....Disposition of the Solliery....Abuses in military Matters.

THE Swedish army is composed of a small number of regiments, either levies or in garrison, and national troops: the first, as every where else, are composed of soldiers enrolled, taken wherever they were to be found. The national regiments are on establishment only when under order, or during reviews.

The provinces furnish according to their population and extent, either a regiment of infantry or cavalry. Each individual soldier, as well as officer, possesses a portion of land and a dwelling; and the enrollment is made in such manner that as nearly as possible the colonel should live in the center of his regiment, and each captain in the midst of his men. This collection of residences is called *Bostelles*.

As the revenue of the different estates very much depends on the nature of the soil, the posts of colonel and captain differ accordingly, but may be estimated at worth the one from 1200 to 2000 rix-dollars, the other from 3 to 500.

Each district is thus obliged to furnish one or more men, according to its being more or less peopled. Instantly as one departs for the army his successor is designated immediately, so that in case of death the substitution of another man should take place without delay. If a canton be too inconsiderable to furnish a man, a number unite for the purpose.

During the interval of military service (a considerable part of the year) he either works at his business or cultivates the ground, and is paid by the proprietor of the habitation, which affords him shelter, at the same rate as other workmen. Three months after the death of a soldier, his wife and children are obliged to give up the dwelling to his successor.

When the clergy were despoiled of their possessions, the crown distributed them in great measure to individuals upon their engagement at the time, to furnish perpetually, and maintain a certain number of soldiers. Such was the basis of the mode which is now in practice, which having been ratified by divers diets, is become a fundamental base of the military constitution.

All the troops wear the Swedish dress, that is to say, a jacket and cloak. This clothing is unsuitable to so cold a climate; the cloak does not defend the whole of the body, and must needs be cumbersome in engagement. The soldiers wear round hats.

Some regiments, but their number is few (that of the queen for example) are dressed after the French fashion. The generals wear a blue coat with gold tags: they mostly have a regiment to themselves. Lieutenant-colonels wear two epaulets, the same as colonels in France. Officers of whatsoever rank, wear a blue and yellow scarf under their jacket, and their handkerchief tied round their left arm. In the last war it was perceived that this distinction, too striking not to be visible, pointed them out as marks for the enemy. The Swedish cockade is yellow.

STATE OF THE SWEDISH ARMY IN 1791.

INFANTRY.

Levies.	No. of men
1st Regiment of foot guards,	1200
2d do. of guards, white and black	1500
Artillery,	2890
The king's regiment,	800
The queen's do.	1200
The queen dowager's do.	1260
Springporten's regiment,	800
Steding's do.	1200
Two others of eight hundred men each,	1600
Foot yagers,	800
Total of the levied infantry,	13,250

CAVALRY.

Levies.	
Hussars,	597
Light Horse,	250
Squadron of Cossacks,	150
Total,	997

NATIONAL TROOPS.

INFANTRY.

The Regiment of Upland,	1200	The Regiment of Vestrogothia,	1200
of Skaraborg,	1200	of Savolax,	1237
of Obo,	1025	of Westmania	1056
of Kronsberg,	1200	of Nyland,	900
of Jonkœuping,	1100	of Calmar,	1100
of Bjœurneborg,	1025	of Nericia and Varmia,	1674
of Dalecarlia,	1200	of Ostrobothnia,	1200
of Ostrogothie,*	1500	of Jemtland,	1040
of Tavastehus,	1200		
of Helsingie	1200	Total of national infantry	22,457
of Elfsborg	1200		

CAVALRY.

The regiment of the body guard, at present composed of four squadrons of Cuirassiers, four of Light Dragoons, and one battalion of Chasseurs, amounts collectively to	1525
The standard of the noblesse,	395
The regiment of Westrogothia,	1000
Carry forward	2920

* At present grenadiers of the body guard.

Brought forward	-	2920
The regiment of Smaland (now the dragoons)	-	1000
of Ostrogothie (now the dragoons)	-	1000
of Northern Scania,	-	1000
of Southern Scania,	-	1000
The company of Jemtland (now dragoons)	-	100
Total of national cavalry,	-	7020

DRAGOONS.

The body guard,	-	1000
The regiments of Bohus, now half dismounted,	-	1200
of Nyland and Tavastehus,	-	1000
The squadron of Carelie,	-	250
Total of national dragoons,	-	3450

The annexed table will give an ample detail of the Swedish army, and what it costs the crown.

EXPENCE OF THE PROVINCIAL ARMY IN THE FOLLOWING YEARS:

		In 1696, when Sweden possessed the whole of Finland,	In 1768.	In 1772.
		Silver dollars.	Silver dollars.	Silver dollars.
Drabans or life guards, formerly Gardes du corps,		42,420	50,122	51,118
Officers of the regiment Adelsfana,	in Sweden,	12,220	12,431	1,120,072
	in Finland,	2633	2527	
cavalry,	in Sweden,	628,968	577,387	
	in Finland,	242,926		
Regiments of cavalry,	in Sweden,	56,606	91,288	
	in Finland,	7801	193,483	
Dragoons,	in Sweden,	187,042	160,341	
	in Finland,	85,533	83,283	
Infantry,				
		1,266,149	1,170,862	1,171,190

Remark. According to the report of the royal college of war in 1747, the provincial regiments cost the crown 1,105,348 silver dollars, paid by rents; and according to the report of the royal chamber of accounts in 1772, their cost was 1,119,216 silver dollars, of the like value, both estimated according to the valuation of the crown, which, according to the course of exchange of the present day, must be doubled if not tripled. The crown gives for the rust holls and hostelles of the officers of cavalry the sum of 872,581 silver dollars, in rents at 9 marks per arpent, for ten thousand one hundred and fifty-four cavaliers and dragoons, including three hundred and ninety-five gens d'armes; but the gardes du corps, as officers without hostelles, are not included.

Annual expence of the generality and raised regiments at the undermentioned epochs.

	1696. at 24 marks, or 2 dols. per rix-dol.	1768. at 42 marks, or 3½ dols. per rix-dol.	1772. at 70 marks, or 5½ dols. per rix-dol.
The generality,	15,050	18,247	20,580
Regiment of guards,	118,888	145,000	160,931
Garrisons, { in Sweden,	210,482	228,371	236,000
{ in Finland,			
Two corps of chasseurs in Finland,		157,448	193,300
One of light dragoons in do.			62,273
Hussars,			12,800
Artillery, { in Sweden,	112,538	101,848	122,464
{ in Finland,			
Engineers, { in Sweden,	195,879	202,626	210,500
{ in Finland,			
Fortresses, { in Sweden,	125,000	63,722	64,373
{ in Finland,			
Stores for the fleet and army,	205,380	39,180	39,841
Clothing for the { in Sweden,	50,000	8,783	8,783
troops, { in Finland,			
	1,034,217	2,280,541	2,717,880

General expence of the army according to the rolls of 1787.

For the college of war,	-	-	-	-	-	16,299	16
The staff,	-	-	-	-	-	4,664	
The commissariat in Finland,	-	-	-	-	-	7,949	47 4
The military, { in Sweden,	-	-	-	-	-	281,130	17 5
{ in Finland,	-	-	-	-	-	94,415	32 6
The artillery, { in Sweden,	-	-	-	-	-	65,042	31 7
{ in Finland,	-	-	-	-	-	18,329	12 2
Garrisons, { in Sweden,	-	-	-	-	-	75,848	2 3
{ in Finland,	-	-	-	-	-	59,886	1 5
Fortresses, { in Sweden,	-	-	-	-	-	54,000	
{ in Finland,	-	-	-	-	-	26,000	
Wood, coal, and oil in the fortresses,	-	-	-	-	-	26,003	12 11
Engineers	-	-	-	-	-	12,618	1 6
Stores,	-	-	-	-	-	30,246	1 9
Hussars and dragoons of Carelia,	-	-	-	-	-	40,760	16 3
Chasseurs in Finland,	-	-	-	-	-	10,839	42 8
Military school of Hapaniemi,	-	-	-	-	-	1,150	
Clothing for the troops,	-	-	-	-	-	147,419	15 1
The saltpetre directory,	-	-	-	-	-	60,793	41 4
Expence on marches in Sweden,	-	-	-	-	-	20,000	
Do. in Finland,	-	-	-	-	-	10,000	
Total Rix-dollars in specie,	-	-	-	-	-	1,064,996	18 8

The Swedish army in the year 1776.

Infantry.			Cavalry.		
Provincial Regiments.	No. of men.	Expence.	Regiments.	No of men.	Expence.
		Silver dollars.			Silver dollars.
Upland,	1200	10,217	Adelsfana, not levied,	395	14,150
Skaraborg,	1200	9974	The body guards,	128	52,118
Abo,	1023	15,371	Cuirassiers,	1503	145,725
Sudermania,	1200	13,427	Westrogothia,	1000	77,476
Cronoberg,	1100	10,530	Ostrogothia,	1000	94,889
Jonkoping,	1100	10,107	Smaland,	1000	81,811
Biörneborg,	1025	15,369	Northern Scania,	1000	85,974
Dalecarlia,	1200	10,786	southern do.	1000	84,833
Ostrogothia,	1220	10,437	Jemtland,	100	6,417
Tavastehus,	1005	14,473		7128	643,401
Helsing,	1200	10,906			
Elfsborg,	1200	9988	Provincial dragoons.		
Westrogotha,	1200	9936			
Savolax,	1238	9620	Dragoons of body guard,	1000	89,060
Westmania,	1200	14,537	Nyland,	1000	87,340
Westerbothnia,	1036	10,817	The squadron of Carolia,	250	17,073
Calmar,	1100	10,340	Bohus,	904	59,677
Nyland,	1025	14,537		3154	253,150
Nericie and Vermelande,	1474	18,599			
Osterbothnia,	1200	14,560	Light troops recruited.		
Kymenegord,	128	15,199			
Jemtland,	1048	31,621	The light dragoons,	400	62,273
	24,344	291,351	Hussars,	300	91,848
				700	154,121
Recruited Regiments			Total of Cavalry,	10,982	
Guards,	1800	160,751	Infantry,	35,744	
Artillery,	3000	265,875			
Queen-dowager's guards,	1000		Total of the army, exclu-	46,726	
The king's regiment,	800		sive of officers,		
Springporten's	1000	431,500			
Salza's,	1000				
Skytte's,	1200				
Blixen,	1200	12,800			
The Savolax yagers,	400				
	11,400	870,926			
Men	35,744	Pay	1,162,277		

Note. Two farms commonly between them provide one soldier, or form a rote according to the extent and excellence of the farm. The crown clothes the troops, and provides warlike stores; but upon review days, held for the sake of liquidation of the provincial regiments once a year, a certain sum is deducted out of his advances for his equipment, which is new every eleven years. The farmer furnishes the soldier with his working dress, which occasions a great saving to the crown: thus Sweden, in proportion to its population, is enabled to arm double the number of men to what other powers can do, who, while she can raise every twelfth man (including the navy) can arm no more than one in twenty-four; and this the more readily, from the soldier being capable by his labour of earning subsistence for his wife and family. The hostelles of the officers of the provincial regiments (I mean the infantry) amount annually to the sum of 232,765 silver dollars, according to the estimation of the crown. As for the regiments of provincial cavalry, a rental of 60 dollars per annum is set aside for the maintenance of each man, his horse and equipment; in some provinces this rental is but 50 dollars. The dragoons are differently maintained, with from 15 to 30 dollars allowance. The gens d'armes receive 500 marks per man, if maintained by a number of peasants, and this sum may occasionally amount to 580 where supported by one alone: this regiment not being raised as yet, the peasantry pay this sum as a free-gift to the crown, and the weight of its pressure on individuals is dependant on circumstances.

Remarks. 1. An extent of land which maintained a foot soldier or sailor is called a Rote; an estate which maintains a horse soldier, a Rust-holl. The rentals above stipulated are deducted by the crown from the annual taxes paid by the peasantry. 2. The regiments of Cavalry, rated above at one thousand, were reduced to five hundred in 1792, the remaining five hundred being incorporated in the infantry. The regiment of guards consists at present of no more than one thousand two hundred men; the king in 1792 creating a second regiment of one thousand five hundred men. At his death a number of changes took place in military affairs, particularly a body of horse artillery was formed, &c. &c.

Expence of the whole army.

Expence.
Silver dollars.
14,138
52,118
145,723
77,476
94,889
81,811
85,974
84,833
6,417
643,401
89,060
87,340
17,073
59,677
253,150
62,273
91,848
154,121

	Men	Silver dollars.	
Provincial infantry, - -	24,344	291,331	
Do. cavalry, - -	10,282	896,331	
Together, - -	34,626		1,187,903
Recruited infantry, - -	11,400	870,926	
Do. cavalry, - -	700	154,121	
	12,100		1,025,047
The staff, - - -		20,580	
Fortifications, ordnance, and ammunition, - -		1,542,124	
Clothing for the troops, - -		448,313	
			2,011,217
Total expence, -			4,224,166*
* But cast up by the author, possibly owing to some omission - - -			5,274,848

The disposition of the Swedish troops is high spirited, the officer generally brave, the soldier much resembling the French soldier: he bears with impatience a continued fire, and after suffering a few seconds without being able to return it, you are absolutely obliged to charge. He readily resorts to the bayonet, and the Russians many times experienced in the last war how much they are to be dreaded with this weapon. The officer must positively head his troops, and frequently advance a few steps in front, without which possibly the line might refuse to advance, this form complied with the Swedes will follow wherever they are led. During the war in Finland, a regiment of infantry was ordered to charge the enemy; the king sent for its colonel, who was near him, to be his aide de camp general. Notwithstanding this was told, not a man would advance, and his majesty was obliged to send back his aide de camp to head the regiment, in which situation he was wounded. The Swede fires but slowly, yet aims well: rarely does it happen that a company fires at once, each man is left to discharge his piece at pleasure. After five or six rounds, if exposed to a battery or a superior fire, you must lead to the charge, or would expose yourself to the companies charging disorderly of themselves. The Swedish soldier is religious: prayers are read exactly every day in each regiment; he is naturally honest, spurns at any thing mean, and is an utter stranger to those vices which disgrace the soldier throughout almost all Europe. This character, however, belongs to the national troops alone; the regiments levied, or in garrison, are composed in the same manner as every where else.

It is requisite the Swedish soldier should be well fed; he bears with difficulty any subtraction from his allowance, or even with having it delayed. This is a case which cannot be too strongly recommended to Swedish officers.

Numerous abuses prevail in the administration of military affairs. Commissions are publicly sold notwithstanding the king's special orders that such shameful traffic should cease. He knows, so as to put it beyond doubt, that his orders are not regarded; nevertheless he can do no more: the matter is conducted with so much art as never to admit of proof, so that even the colonels are oftentimes in ignorance of it themselves.

The ministers are not nice in keeping the promises they make to officers: we can quote in proof of this, a Frenchman who fought through the whole campaign in Fin-

extent and excellence of the days, held for the advances for his g dress, which occur double the number (the navy) can arm labour of earning mean the infantry) as for the regiments man, his horse and dined, with from 15 ber of peasants, and g raised as yet, the als is dependant on ate which maintains e annual taxes paid ve hundred in 1792, ts at present of no thousand five hun- F horse artillery was

land, who received flattering testimonials of his conduct from every general under whom he served, yet was unable to get a company till two years after the peace, notwithstanding it was formally promised him, and that he was every way deserving. A number of officers have waited a long time, even with the king's recommendation in their pocket. Ministers and general officers object to foreigners on account of their ignorance of the language of the country, but when requisite to order them to face the enemy they never think of this deficiency, but rate them as they truly are, very fit for the purpose.

CHAPTER XII.

Journey to the Mines; Sahla; Afvestad; Sater; Ornes; Fahlun; Mora; Elfdal; Quarries of Porphyry.... Dalecarlians.... Gefle.... Cataract of Elfscaleby.... Suderfors.

The tour of which we are about to render account is very interesting; provided you be disposed to pay attention to every thing curious it will take up a fortnight. We advise it to be undertaken in the month of May, a period when the snow is entirely thawed; for unless you have the precaution to wait until the snow is wholly gone, you will be deprived of the pleasure of seeing many interesting spots, the road to which is frequently impassable during the thaw.

From Stockholm to Sahla is twelve miles, and an excellent road. The latter is situated on the banks of the river which separates the government of Stockholm from that of Upsal. Before you reach the stage called Tible, you find two marble monuments, the inscriptions on which shew them to have been erected in commemoration of the marriage of Adolphus Frederic, with the princess of Prussia, and the arrival of the queen of Gustavus III.

Sahla is a small and very badly paved town; the streets are straight; the houses entirely of wood, very low, being seldom more than one story high; it may contain about two thousand four hundred inhabitants, the greater part of whom are employed in the mines. Happening to arrive on the day on which a mother and daughter, who died of different complaints, were buried, we remarked the same ostentation in the funeral, that we had noticed at Stockholm; as persons concerned in the mine, each of them was carried by eight workmen; the country people and miners who followed them to the grave were all decently clad in black, in a much better manner indeed than is usual in other countries with people of the same condition. The church, considering the size of the town, is handsome enough. The living of Sahla, which is one of the best in Sweden, brings in 2000 dollars: the count de Schwerin, son of the deceased senator of that name, is the present incumbent. The neighbourhood of this town is very pleasant.

Sahlahutta is the name of the place where the foundry is, a quarter of a league from the town: as you travel thither you notice a number of houses, standing by themselves (for fear of fire) which serve as magazines for storing the corn, grain, and forage of the inhabitants. All the houses of Sahlahutta are occupied by different persons belonging to the foundry. There is there a church; a river which passes through it serves to work a number of wheels. More than two hundred workmen are employed at the foundry, and a like number at the mines. The stones drawn from the mine are carried into a building containing two and thirty pestles moved by wheels, which serve to reduce them to powder: there are two sorts of powder, the one called flour or dust, and the other paste; the first of which is the best: the ore thus pounded, runs off into wooden receivers, is spread upon sheets of coarse cloth, and washed by water which falls over

it; it is stirred with a sort of blunt stick; this operation is termed the washing. In this part of the building there are eight washing machines, and fifty-six are distributed in different other places. As the mine is on the opposite side of the town, an establishment is about to be formed in its neighbourhood, similar to this for pounding and washing the ore; the carriage thus will be less, when the useless matter is separated from the ore taken for melting. The washing yields two kinds of ore; that which remains at the bottom is the richest. From this part we went to where it is calcined; they make use of wood for heating their furnaces, two in number, each of which works three schippunds of ore at a time. In another building a wheel acts upon eight pair of bellows, and a number of wooden mallets used to pound the charcoal which is afterwards mixed with clay, and serves to form the bed on which the lead and silver runs, upon their flowing from the furnace. In another building the calcined ore is thrown upon burning charcoal. In this building there are four furnaces on the first story; and in one adjoining two others of like description much less high. The melted matter falls, and when the scoræ are taken off, an iron crow is struck into the body of the furnace, and the metal runs into a hole made in the ground; by a second process it is shaped into ingots, in moulds, and in this state it is simply silver and lead. Adjoining is a house containing a furnace in which the lead is separated from the silver; in this operation the lead becomes vitrified, and is afterwards reduced to its natural state; this operation takes up eight and forty hours; a very hot fire for eight or nine hours is requisite as a last process, to purify the silver entirely from the little lead which still remains; this is done in a brick furnace placed under a bell; and the method used is much the same as that in practice at Freyberg. One quintal of ore yields between* two and three loths of pure silver, and ten pounds of lead.

The wages of the workmen vary, some are paid by the job, others by the month or day; some receive no more than from one to two rix-dollars a month; then seeing they work for twenty-four hours at a stretch, have a rest-day alternately, with a day of labour: the foremen of the foundry may earn about 50 rix-dollars per annum, the common workmen from 16 to 25. A warehouse is to be built for the charcoal; the carcass is already complete. On the side of the foundry you have a delightful prospect of a small lake, three quarters of a mile long, and a furlong broad. In another brick building, two large furnaces are constructing coated externally with iron and granite; the interior is to be of sthelaite, a stone which resists fire; it is expected they will be completed this year 1791, when the two others we have before-mentioned are to be destroyed; these are in a separate building where the poorer part of the ore, such as is not washed, is roasted; it is blended with sulphur for the purpose of extracting the small portion of silver it contains. Four open furnaces are constantly at work, and two smaller ones; in these layers of charcoal are placed upon layers of ore, and a stratum of coal at the top. On these not only is that ore laid apparently but poor, but such scoræ as are suspected to contain any particles of silver, so that this matter thus roasted consists of iron, sulphur, scoræ, and limestone. This operation has the effect of causing the sulphur to evaporate, the iron to become calx, and fits them to melt together with the powder of silver and lead. For this calcination five hours are requisite; five schippunds of ore may thus be calcined daily; the pure leaden ore is called *schlichter*. The expences of the foundry are about 6000 rix-dollars.

The mine of Sahlberg is situated half a league from Sahl, and belongs entirely to individuals; it is divided into one hundred and sixty lots or shares, to each lot belonging

* From an ounce to an ounce and a half English, Avoirdupois weight.

a portion of land and some ground in the town. The shares in 1790 were worth at least 1000 rix-dollars each. The net produce of each share was 30 rix-dollars; the expence of working the mine is 6000 rix-dollars, which added to 6000 (that of the foundry) and 4800, the net sum shared among the proprietors, makes 16,800 rix-dollars, exclusive of the king's tenth, the salaries of the officers, the charges for the maintenance of the works, as well external as internal, and the machinery, which may amount to 7 or 8000 rix dollars more, the mine having yielded in 1790, 3000 marks of silver. This mine, worked from time immemorial, was formerly much more rich; it has produced 24,000 marks; but the richest galleries have fallen in; there is, notwithstanding, ore met with in one part now worked, which yields* 30 loths of silver per quintal, but this vein it is feared will quickly be exhausted. The mine at its first bottom is from one hundred and six, to one hundred and nine fathoms deep, at its extremity one hundred and fifty.

The works of this mine are highly deserving of notice and wonderful. You descend by a mouth called queen Christina's, the opening which is twenty-nine feet by nineteen; this leads to the first gallery: the manner of going down in buckets is unpleasant to many, yet what may tend to give courage to the adventurer, no example ever was known of the cord breaking; and if any accidents ever happen, which occasionally do to the number of two or three in the year, it is uniformly owing to imprudence and carelessness. A singular prejudice prevails here with respect to women: the workmen pretending that as often as any one enters the mine some misfortune will inevitably follow. A woman going down a few years ago, a workman within two days afterwards committed suicide, which has no ways contributed to diminish this prejudice: the workmen consequently look with an evil eye on any woman who may attempt to go down, a matter which rarely happens.

The bucket in which you descend is fastened by three chains of iron to a rope, which is changed every ten months, and which afterwards serves to draw up the ore. As many as five may go down in the bucket, but generally no more than three or four descend at a time. We were six minutes in going down, and six and a half in ascending, on account of the movement lessening as the bucket approaches the surface: as one bucket ascends another goes down for the ore; the bucket for the descent of the men is always the same, and both those for the ore and the men are constantly in motion day and night. As you go down you provide yourself with torches in order to see the galleries worked in the shaft, as well as to direct the bucket and prevent its striking against the projecting parts of the rock. One cannot help feeling a little frightened at experiencing now and then a somewhat sensible shock, and which alarm is augmented by one's critical situation: this shock is occasioned by the rope in turning round, the cylinder sometimes rolling over its own coils; and after some turns, upon its unwinding, it causes a vibration which is communicated through the whole length of the cord, and even to the bucket itself. The two wheels which draw up the bucket are double, and are acted upon by water; they are adapted so as to bear being turned one way or the other, and increase or diminish their velocity, by means of flood gates, which are raised more or less; they are also stopped at pleasure: this wholly depends on the man employed in the direction of the ropes, and who is admonished by a call from the top of the mine; his business requires the nicest attention, for any imprudence or forgetfulness might have the most disastrous consequences. These two wheels are forty feet in diameter, as well as the two employed for the pumps. The water which works the different machinery

* Fifteen Ounces, Avoirdupois weight.

flows through a canal of more than three miles in length. There are three rows of pumps to the hydraulic engine, for pumping the water out of the mine; on the side is a well called kneckt, by which you may descend the mine by means of ladders to the depth of eighty fathoms: you perceive afterwards a number of steps by which you may go down lower even to the first gallery, whence you have again the choice of descent either by means of the bucket or ladders, to the deepest gallery of the mine; these ladders, however, are no wise convenient, and are used by those workmen only who are employed at the pumps, every body giving the preference to the buckets. There are a number of marks on the rope for the purpose of stopping the bucket at the galleries worked in queen Christina's shaft. There is a great consumption of wood in this mine for splitting the rock; in different parts are lighted fires, which have a fine effect; all the vaults are exceeding hard, the communications very large and extremely neat: you might drive a carriage through the whole of the first bottom. There is here a small apartment for visitors to rest themselves in, and a register for the inscription of their names.

In the interior of the mine, the sign of there being silver is a sort of calcareous stone mixed with mica, called by the miners noble stone; wherever they meet with this there is always some silver: it is in search of this that the skill of the miner consists. We had a number of veins of trapp pointed out to us, which presented some varieties curious enough to an amateur: it is found at first in very thin layers, the thickness of which progressively increases; it then ceases all at once, and is afterwards found again. What is remarkable in this mine the veins are irregular, and seldom contain metal in a state of ore, but in metallic masses. The workmen here, the same as at the foundry, work but every other day, and in each twenty-four hours are allowed eight hours rest: their pay is the same. The foremen earn 50 rix-dollars, the labourers 16 to 25 rix-dollars per month. The Shaft, called Makleusen, the deepest of any, is abandoned, as is Kongsrumning, the oldest.

Herstenbotten is a mine which fell in three centuries ago; it fell in by degrees. Tradition relates that many persons lost their lives on this occasion. Samdrumningen is another mine adjoining, which also has fallen in. In the neighbourhood of these two mines are great heaps of stones formerly taken out of them. Some people are employed in selecting such pieces as contain metal, and extract from them annually 300 marks of silver. This work was begun in 1753, and it is calculated that the heap will still furnish work for fifty or sixty years. The king receives no tenth of the produce of these old mines. A little farther on is a pit communicating with the old mines; the ore from it is drawn up by horses, three of which are constantly kept in the mine at the first bottom, for the purpose of raising ore from the deepest. The stones yield a great quantity of lime, and still more might be furnished could a sale for it be found.

It causes much wonder to find a mine in nearly a level country, for this is very little inclined; the traveller to these parts should provide himself with letters for Mr. Staff the director of the mine, and Mr. Phyl; the latter speaks French fluently, and was of great service to us. The following is a list of the minerals procurable in this mine: Weiss gulden; ore of gray silver, galena in large and small cubes; galena, chatoyante, scaly, and steel grained; blende, or zinc ore, scaly, and in small grains; native regulus of antimony (it is no longer found) streated ore of antimony; arsenical pyrites, exceedingly rare; martial pyrites, occasionally crystallized; granulated iron ore, extremely rare; finely grained calcareous stone; ditto granulated with salt, white and yellow; calcareous spath, white and yellow, crystallized in pyramids and in hexagons (very rare;) white quartz, very unfrequent; rock flint, white and red, in which starry

schoerle is sometimes found; mountain leather (*cuir de montagne*;) mountain flesh (*chair de montagne*;) mountain cork; amianthus, occasionally blended with galena; green, yellow, and black serpentine; red garnets in galena; solid black trapp; steatites; potter's stone; and brown mica.

From Sahla to Afvestad, four miles and a half, by Brodbo and Viggarne. At the first stage you have a charming prospect of a lake, which you cross over a raised way: the roads were good enough the two first stages, at the third they were bad. Near Sahla you cross a small river which furnishes water for the works of the mine. A quarter of a mile before you reach Viggarne is a barrier, with a custom-house, belonging to the proprietors of Sahlberg mine; after which, on the left, you pass over a bad bye road, leaving the highway to Afvestad on the right. As you leave Viggarne you return after a long course to the highway. The frost was entirely gone at Stockholm, yet at Sahla we found the lakes were still frozen over, and in different parts the snow yet laid. On this road we did not meet with so many gates as between Stockholm and Sahla; and these are very inconvenient, as they so frequently oblige you to descend in order to open them. Dalecarlia begins at about the middle of the last stage.

Afvestad. The refinery of copper is the only interesting object in this little town; for which establishment there is a quarter set apart of pretty large extent. You cannot leave the town without presenting at the gate the inspector's ticket (the inspector is Mr. Stokenstræum, who conducted us every where, but who understands the Swedish language alone.) The first refiner of this establishment was Marcus Kock, born in 1585, he died 1659, as is seen by his portrait at the inspector's house; he was born at Liege, and was ennobled by Gustavus Adolphus. We were first shewn the furnaces in which the copper is melted, which comes from Fahlun; each furnace melts from five to six shippunds, when put in it is called *rokoppar*, and becomes *garkoppar*; that which is not pure copper passes again into another furnace; this first process generally takes up six hours; it is however of longer or shorter time according to the purity of the copper. The copper is laid in bars, with the coal above, in crucibles shaped like an inverted cone; at the bottom is a bed made of charcoal and clay, mixed together as at Sahla. There are six crucibles and furnaces for this operation in three shops, each of which has four workmen. When the copper is in a state of fusion, the first sheet or layer is suffered to cool in the open air, afterwards on the others water is thrown, and the whole is withdrawn by layers, which become smaller and smaller on account of the shape of the crucible; these are laid in piles one above another; the crucibles contain about 40 layers more or less; the finest particles of copper rise and adhere to iron bars placed inside the chimney, from which they are afterwards withdrawn. Each furnace has an immense bellows worked by water. Nothing but charcoal is used, of which there are large warehouses full; the annual consumption is twelve thousand lasts, each of twelve tons. There is another building, in which are two machines that work eight pestles for pounding the clay and charcoal, of which the bed of the crucible is made, and to which many particles of copper adhere; afterwards this dust is washed the same as at Sahla. Between these two pounding machines you pass under a vault, whence falls a very pretty small cascade. In another building are six hammers for flattening the copper into sheets: there are besides smaller hammers for those sheets of which copper-pans and other utensils are made. In the same place with the hammers for flattening are also two furnaces, one contains a vessel in which the metal is fused, whence it is ladled out and poured into moulds made of charcoal, clay, and iron mixed together; in these it cools, and while yet red, it is withdrawn from the moulds and placed beneath the hammers. It is afterwards heated anew several times until it be sufficiently flattened:

the second furnace is for the latter purpose. The largest sheets are three yards and a half long by two yards broad. The moulds are of a great or smaller size, according to the intended dimensions of the sheets. Copper in sheets costs from 6 to 7 skillings* per lb. The canal which supplies the manufactory with water is intersected by a number of stakes of moderate height, in order to stop the course of the ice at the top, and prevent its hindering the flowing of the water: with this precaution the works have not been interrupted by the most rigid winter. In the last war between England and France four thousand two hundred schippunds† were annually refined, three thousand six hundred of which were made into sheets for coppering ships; at other periods no more than three thousand schippunds are manufactured. The other three thousand worked at Fahlun are made into brass. Here is a magazine of copper sheets; adjoining one of garkoppar, both inconsiderable. The sheets for coppering ships are five feet long by eighteen inches wide; they are packed for the convenience of transport, in the same manner as glass, and are sent to Westeros, whence they are shipped for Stockholm; where they can use sledges: they are sent to the latter place by land. The loading of a sledge is at most but three schippunds, and the expence of transport to Stockholm, sixteen and a half miles distant, is 12 copper dollars per schippund. Between the two magazines is an office where you write your name, and where it is usual to be weighed: this is a species of contribution under which you are laid, and of which you are quit for half a rix-dollar. We saw here coinages of copper designed for Poland and France, which required nothing but the stamp; we were unable to learn what was the charge; they are sent to the merchants of Stockholm who forward them. At this manufactory also all sorts of iron work are effected. A common saw-mill for cutting planks. In another building two cylinders in metal, for rolling of copper into sheets, particularly sheets for coppering of ships; in front of these cylinders are furnaces in which wood alone is used; and under the same roof a heavy hammer with a furnace, a pair of hand shears to cut the copper sheets with, and one of a larger size worked by water. A building containing an iron forge, in which is a furnace and large hammer. Another for coinage; the machine for cutting the pieces of copper consists of two wheels, each having eight bands fitting each other, of the breadth of the intended coin, the sheet is passed between these two wheels, and is cut by them into eight ribbons; these are passed between the cylinders to give them the requisite thickness of the intended coin, and are afterwards placed between two pieces of iron which cut them with the greatest facility and give them the requisite shape; this machine, of very simple construction, is worked by water; there are two, one corresponding with the other. From a small neighbouring esplanade you behold a fall of the Dahl, which is very broad; in order that water may never be wanted, a cut has been contrived to the manufactory with a lock. Never since 1768 has there been any Swedish coinage, unless of Pollet, a coin peculiar to Dalecarlia, worth a skilling and a quarter. There is a building in which are two common casks full of holes, into which the pieces cut as above described, are thrown to polish by means of the motion given by water to the casks, over which small gutters constantly throw water; the pieces receive polish simply by friction, afterwards they are dried in small furnaces; this last operation is of very short duration, an hour, or at most an hour and a half, this done, the pieces are ready to receive the impression. In the same place is a machine for the fashioning of cylinders, an apartment in which women are occupied in separating the bad and good pieces of copper, whence they are

* From 7d. to 8½d. per pound. Copper in England has been as high as 19d. is now, 1807, at 13d.

† About six hundred tons.

put in casks and sent to Stockholm. A very small warehouse of tea and coffee urns, bronzed in the English style; the manner in which it is done is kept a secret, all we learned was, that the different articles were daubed over with a brush with various colours. A place in which pots and pans, &c. are manufactured. It contains a furnace, five working benches, and several anvils. In the court is a wooden horse for the punishment of disorderly workmen.

A hundred workmen are employed, who receive by the schippund of work done, according to what description of work it may be, from 10 to 100 skillings: 40 skillings are thus divided, the foreman has six dollars, the headman under him four, the second three, and the lad two dollars. We saw a child there whose hair was absolutely green, the result as we were told, of his being exposed to the vapours of copper. Before 1777 this manufactory belonged to the crown; it was then granted to the proprietors of the mine of Fahlun.

The town contains seven hundred inhabitants; the pavement here is as detestable as in other towns of Sweden, where it is worse than in any other country.

At a good half league from Afvestad, are the brass works of Biurfors, belonging to Mr. Vahrendorf. There are five in Sweden at the following places, Norkœuping, Nikœuping, Gusum, and Skultuna; of the last, which we saw, we shall speak as we proceed; the method is the same used in all, the only difference of them is, some furnish more brass than others.

Provided one have time, an excursion may be made to Norberg, two miles distant. Here it is that the new canal of Stromsholm begins, which ends in the Mœler lake: in another chapter we shall speak of it in the order of our travels.

Norberg. A quarter of a mile from this village are mines, famous not only for the variety of veins and the quantity of ore they produce, but also for the curious minerals they afford; yet it must not be expected that all the possible variety of minerals will be found here in one day; amateurs will have occasion for some time to examine all the produce of the mines and what may be gathered from the rubbish, and spite even of such delay, some rare pieces may escape them which are only met with occasionally and at intervals in the veins. The mines are chiefly of iron, there are some copper, but these mostly abandoned: here in the mineral kingdom are found hematites of a blueish colour, solid, lamellated, micaceous, fine grained, and sparkling: these varieties are principally found in quartz. Black iron ore, sometimes of a shining surface, granulated in fine grains, crystallized in polygons, octaedra, cubes, and rhomboides. Native copper arborised in solid and superficial branches: native copper is sometimes met with in Griœllan mine among the iron ore. Superficial mountain blue. Mountain green. Copper ore of a red, azure, greenish yellow, and pale yellow colour. Green, white, and violet coloured fluor in octaedral crystals. Mineral pitch. Druzes of topazes, differently clouded. Druzes of pale amethysts, of crystals of gray and white quartz; the crystals are rarely prismatic: sometimes however common rock crystal is met with, although small. White and gray quartz. Red feldtspar in hexagonal plates, with short points of three facets; these crystals are frequently covered with a quartz, like crystalline crust. Stalstein, or white tin ore in fine grains, white in the mine, but which blackens when exposed to the air. At a mile and a quarter from Vestanfors, is a copper mine deserted, a furnace and iron forge. After this excursion, you return to Afvestadt.

From Afvestadt we proceed by Grodœu to Sœter, three miles and a half distant. The roads were not in good order on account of its thawing (in April) notwithstanding the banks were yet covered with a quantity of snow, particularly on the second stage which traverses a very long forest. On leaving Afvestadt you have a charming prospect

as you travel along the banks of the Dahl, till you arrive at a floating bridge, which the lightest carriage causes to sink in the water. Half a mile from Grodœu, you pass the flanks of the little town Hedemora, at which there is a powder-mill, but which contains nothing worthy of remark.

Søeter, an extremely small town, contains no more than from three to four hundred inhabitants, and deserves to be visited merely on account of the mine of Bipsberg, in its neighbourhood: it is situated a league distant from the town, in a direction of W. N. W. Although of much greater ancestry, it is unnoticed in history before 1420. Before the time of Gustavus Vasa, it belonged to the two towns Hedemora and Husby, the bishops of which enjoyed the revenue from them; but that prince took it for the use of the crown at the time of his seizing upon ecclesiastical property. Owing to some carelessness of the miners in the seventeenth century, it was entirely destroyed, and remained thus in ruins for twenty years; when the crown conceded its right to any one who chose to work it anew; it was consequently worked again in 1697: at present the Angersteins are the chief proprietors, Mr. Vahrendorf has a fourth; it does not even pay a tenth to the king. This mine is exceeding rich, yielding annually from twenty to twenty-one thousand schippunds of iron, its dividends are 60 to 70, and even 80 per cent. Danne-moria mine does not produce so rich an ore, although it be more easy to work; the veins run from east to west; the greatest depth of the mine is eighty fathoms; it has four galleries or bottoms: the first, Benzelsband, the second, Adolphus Frederic, the third, Gustavus the 3d, and the fourth, Gustavus Adolphus, the prince-royal, the breadth of the gallery of the latter name is seventeen fathoms. Independent of these grand galleries, there are several worked which are smaller. It has three principal shafts; one for the workmen alone, another may be availed of near the hydraulic engine, but this is a bad descent, and only serves for the workmen employed at the pumps. You descend to the interior of the mine by tolerably commodious steps. In ascending from the lowest gallery, you have to go up three ladders of fifty, forty-three, and thirty-four steps, before you arrive at the stables; on reaching the stables, you are sensible of cold, which sensation arises from the vicinity of the pumps. On leaving the stables, you mount again by three other ladders each of thirty-six steps; you afterwards find five others of thirty, thirty-six, thirty, twenty, and thirty steps, after which you arrive at a door of communication with the pumps; here being come to day light, the torches are extinguished though you have still two ladders to ascend, one of forty, the other of thirty-two steps; the first is very damp: the whole number of ladders are thirteen, and of steps four hundred and fifty-two. The mouth by which you descend is about twelve feet over; it takes from two hours to two hours and a half to make the tour of this mine. The ore here is found in extreme large metallic masses not very difficult to work; in many places it is reduced to powder: the works of the mine appear to be very well understood, yet did we experience dampness in certain parts: there is a gate midway of the depth of the mine, which is shut on holidays, which gate we had a difficulty in getting through, on account of a pool of water before it. Notwithstanding the immense quantity of ore which is extracted from the present galleries, three new ones are begun; these are styled works of speculation. The subterraneous vaults are large and handsome, in no part are you obliged to stoop; you must be cautious in passing such parts where wood has been burnt to mollify the ore, as you may otherwise be suffocated with the smoke and heat which remains for a long time afterwards; in this operation much wood is used and very little gunpowder. No more than thirty workmen are employed in this mine, twenty of which are constantly at work: the ore is sent to different parts to be melted. The principal place, Nishyttan, is a mile distant from the

mine. An amateur may meet here with the following articles: iron ore granulated, in very friable grains. Lamellated hematites of a blueish colour. Molybdene. Quartz. Druzes of quartz. Mineral pitch. Fibrous schoerle, and coarse and hard amianthus. It will be seen there is no great variety of curious matters.

The mountain in which this mine is situated is not very lofty, notwithstanding which, the prospect it affords is delightful; from the house of the inspector, when the horizon is not overclouded, you may distinguish the steeple of Fahlun; the pumps are perceived at a very great distance, and extend over a large space.

From Söter to Grangue is four miles and a half to the West. Here are large and curious mines of iron; but you have to return thence the same way you go, and the road has nothing to recommend it.

From Söter you may make a slight excursion to Læfos, where is a silver and copper mine, small but interesting; it is situated in the parish of Skieder; here is found native silver very rare. Galena in cubes, scaly, and steel grained. Yellow copper ore, blende, arsenical pyrites, calcareous stone, fluor of different colours, rather scarce, rock flint, and rock horn: after leaving the mine, and visiting the foundry, you return to Söter. If the traveller should have leisure, he may take a turn on the opposite side to Grengiesberg, where are several iron mines, and where some curious minerals may be had; such as iron ore, black and solid, granulated, in fine grains and micaceous of various very lively colours, blue, green, golden, and yellow, crystallised in octaedra in the body of the common ore. Solid hematites of a blueish colour, lamellated and cellularly crystallised, and micaceous and sparkling. Mineral pitch. Micaceous and striated potter's stone. Calcareous crystals of spar in flat hexagons, piled irregularly one above another, and covered with very fine druzes of quartz. Druzes of quartz enveloping iron ore in such manner, that the pieces seem like broken nuts of iron ore glued over with crystallised quartz. If desirous of visiting this mine, the shortest way will be from Hedemora, as well as to go to that of Garpenberg, a mile away on the other side of the Dahl, near a small lake: these are mines of copper which have been worked for a very long time, but which at present are on the decline; they belong to Mr. Vahrendorf: in these are found copper ore of grey, yellow, and pale yellow colour. Tessilated and scaly galena. Blende. Green spar, sometimes enamelled at the surface with yellow copper ore. Potter's stone of different sorts. Norrka quartz, or potter's stone, encrusted with garnets: after visiting the foundry at this place, you return to Hedemora.

From Söter to Fahlun, through Naglarby, is three miles and a half; you return by the way passed over before, pass by the side of the mine which is left at the right, and afterwards under the gutters of the pumps; along the whole of this stage you meet with chinks which present infallible indices of a considerable revolution in this quarter, they obliging you to make too long circuits, which much lengthen the road you have to pass: a little beyond Naglarby you cross the Dahl, but ere this you find yourself close upon Tuna, a mine of zinc and silver, which was prolific in the time of Gustavus Adolphus, and from the produce of which he made his presents; at present it is deserted. Nearer to Söter is the old silver mine of Silverget, now abandoned; two miles from Tuna is Gagnef, where loadstones of great virtue have been found; but of these at present none are to be met with. After crossing the Dahl, we left the great road and turned to the right at a place called Ornos, half a mile distant; after going over a bridge across a river and coasting a very pleasant lake, we came to the house wherein Gustavus Vasa was concealed in 1520, when pursued by the satellites of Christiern.

This house, the construction of which is singular, has been constantly preserved in its primitive state; the staircase is on the outside, in the second story is the room which

was occupied by Gustavus; it is tolerably large and almost perfectly square, on the two sides of the door on the inside, are the two faithful gray Dalecarlians dressed in white woollen cloth, and armed from top to toe, with the sugar-loaf hat worn by them at the time; by the side of them and near the bed is the faithful domestic who constantly followed the fortune of Gustavus; he himself is in the corner opposite to the door standing armed under a canopy, in his right hand he holds his general's staff, and his left is placed on a bible on a table on which are his helmet and gloves; every thing belonging to the bed has been preserved; above and on the sides of the door as well as those of the bed are inscriptions in letters of gold analagous to the events of the life of Gustavus I.; near the bed is the genealogical tree of his house, continued to Gustavus III, although his immediate race was long before extinguished; Gustavus III, bearing relation to him only by the female side. Around the chamber are some geographical charts, and rather coarse portraits of the kings and queens of Sweden from the time of Gustavus Vasa. You are afterwards shewn the privy in which he was concealed, and whence he escaped to effect the union which afterwards took place at Mora. The lake offers the most pleasing point of view imaginable: a curious traveller will not miss the opportunity of noticing this house, and certainly will find it highly interesting since it served as an asylum to one of the greatest men who ever graced the throne or human nature.

The translators of the second travels of Mr. Coxe, has made him commit a number of errors in his description of this house, such even as make it doubtful if he were sufficiently well acquainted with the English to have attempted a translation. We advise our readers moreover to give no greater credit to the relation of a Dutch officer, who affirms (page 165, in 8vo. la Haye, 1789) "that you must turn out of the highway for half a mile, and travel over a dreadful road and frightful mountains in order to arrive there." We have before had occasion to point out a number of errors in this work, and are far from having enumerated the whole. Were the road even as bad as is described, still would the traveller, if possessed of a particle of curiosity, feel himself induced to visit this interesting house: it is however no more than a short quarter of a league out of the way, nor are there either frightful rocks or precipices between.

You begin to smell the sulphur at a pretty considerable distance from Fahlun: there we arrived in the middle of the night, and from the number of open furnaces burning for the purpose of grilling the ore, these seemed to us a general conflagration. The mist over the mouth of the mine is very thick; the road runs by it and even under the spouts of the pumps.

Fahlun, the capital of Dalecarlia, is a town of no great size, containing but four thousand inhabitants. Its charter is dated 30th October, 1641: it possessed charters of earlier date, that is to say 1608 and 1624, but these were granted, principally that trials might be made, and have been amended in the charter first mentioned. The church built in 1650, is covered with copper, which covering has already been renewed three times.

The traveller, if he be provident, will write beforehand to some merchant in order to procure lodging (a number of people let apartments at so much per diem) for owing to the small number of strangers who visit this place, there is but one inn in the square near the church, which it is true is a tolerably good one, but which may perchance be full, as we found the case. The only object of curiosity in this town is the copper mine and its pertinences: these certainly recompense you for your trouble, which on our part we were no ways disposed to regret.

The famous mine of Kopparberg is at the distance of five hundred toises from the town: its origin is unknown; its most ancient existing charter is that of Magnus Smek, in 1347, which ascertains that there were anterior charters. At different periods it has

experienced damage, the falling in of parts of it in 1789, lasted for two days. The greatest depth of the mine (in 1791) was one hundred and eighty-nine fathoms. The main shaft, the depth of which is forty, included in the one hundred and eighty-nine, and which the last fall has somewhat diminished, is two hundred fathoms long by one hundred and twenty broad; you descend to this by a wooden staircase formed on the rock, and at the extremity of this large opening you find the entrance into the mine: perhaps there is none in the world the descent of which is less fatiguing; it has staircases the whole way to the bottom, the last twelve fathoms excepted, down which you go by an iron ladder; this is the most unpleasant part of the descent, or rather the only one that is at all so, it conducts you to the deepest part called Armsfeldt's hole. The staircases are so convenient that even the horses employed in the mine, twenty-two in number, go up and come down them; but when by any extraordinary accident the staircases become impassable, they are let down the great pits by means of cords, in a species of harness made on purpose (for the Christmas review.) Some years ago the new staircases not being yet complete and the old one being unfit for longer service, they were drawn up and let down constantly in this manner. The following are the different galleries you find in going over the mine, and their depths from the summit of the staircase of the great opening: the gallery of Bonde forty-two fathoms. Of Tilas forty-three. A small gallery at present abandoned, owing to the fall of the roof in 1789: the vault now increases in size as you arrive at the staircase of Gustavus III.; a dirty road with a little streamlet: the vaults are six feet high and from four to five broad. The gallery of Sophia Albertine, sixty-five fathoms. The gallery of prince Charles, seventy-two; vaults of masonry. The gallery of the Flotte, eighty-eight: here you distinguish a vitriolic smell proceeding from a communication with the shaft of Gustavus Adolphus; here is a forge, a furnace, and an anvil. The gallery of Mars, one hundred; here you feel a smart breeze, and are offended by a very disagreeable smell. The North gallery one hundred and nine. The gallery of prince Gustavus one hundred and nine; they are at work in this at present. The Brother one hundred and ten. Rolamb one hundred and ten; a large vault where they are now at work, they have supported the roof by means of scantling, and at present are completing the boarding, having removed the cords. The Hall of Council one hundred and eighteen; here you find tables and a chandelier, here it was the king stopped and wrote his name in 1788, on the 20th of September, on some pyrites found in the mine, which is framed and glazed. He descended into the mine also in 1755 and 1768. Here as you descend it is customary to take refreshment, which we were enabled to do through the civil provision of Mr. Gahn. The gallery of the Crown one hundred and eighteen; this has a communication with king Frederic's shaft. The Cross one hundred and twenty-three, has a very handsome vault, in which there were men at work; this is the bottom of Frederic Adolphus's shaft; here we saw the ore transported on poles fastened together, and laid on a carriage with six wheels, two of which are under the load. The gallery of the Polar Star one hundred and forty-nine. The gallery of count Frederic one hundred and forty-nine. Of count Charles one hundred and forty-nine. Of Stierncrona one hundred and eighty-two: the appearance of this pit is very curious; its machinery is worked by horses. A distance beneath is a communication with the previously mentioned pit. The gallery Fru one hundred and fifty seven fathoms deep, communicates with the pit Stierncrona: a machine worked by a horse, with a furnace and anvil. The gallery of the Cavalier one hundred and fifty-eight fathoms. Leyonmarck one hundred and sixty-eight. Baron Armsfeldt one hundred and seventy-three. Grefve galerie one hundred and sixty-eight. At the extremity you come to the iron ladder which leads to Armsfeldt's hole. The earth

of the mine is not a mineral earth; the whole of the ore is concentrated in one spot not in vein, but metallic masses; that upon which they are at present at work is imagined to be of conic form, notwithstanding the opposite assertion of Mr. Jars, in his metallurgical travels, a work in many respects deservedly esteemed, yet which at the same time is not exempt from errors. Of pyrites that answer the magnet, found in the mine, there is none but that of a grayish cast, nor of any other description but the greenish and the whitish yellow; the first of these two contains copper alone, in the proportion of from 24 to 30 per cent.; and on the proportionate mixture of these three pyrites, is it that the richness of the ore depends. The lefver slag, or grayish pyrites (misrepresented by Mr. Jars as reddish) never contains any copper.

Beneath is given an account of the expence of the mine from 1779 to 1788 together with its produce.

Years.	Tons of ore.	Produce when roasted.		Free Mines.		Expence.	
		Sch.	Lispd.	Sch.	Lispd.	Rix. Dols.	Schil.
1779	153,319	5090	19			50,941	45
1780	156,977	5724	12			57,139	
1781	164,492	5758	10	308	4	88,048	30
1782	174,421	5954	7	306	14	66,783	27
1783	163,750	6077	16	224	11	73,572	11
1784	195,470	5898	19	268	7	73,484	6
1785	194,732	6350	2	332	17	67,473	20
1786	187,975	5390	3	234	6	62,837	42
1787	196,420	6886	9	266	14	67,828	15
1788	164,950	6421	14	276	11	65,766	47

The ore of Fahlun is poor, it was much richer formerly. In the seventeenth century the produce of the mine exceeded twenty thousand schippunds: at present the ore yields no more than two per cent. of metal. The great mine has four wells by which the ore is drawn up, that of Adolphus Frederic, that of king Frederic, that of the count de Creutz, one hundred and twelve toises deep, and that of count Wrede. The second is one hundred and twenty toises deep. There are six tubs, two hydraulic engines, and one for the pumps. The machines for raising the ore are nine in number. The great mine is divided into five districts, which are to be reduced to three. Each district has two inspectors at a salary of 100 rix-dollars. The great mine and the free mines (that is to say those which belong to individuals, and pay no duty to the crown) are united (the second paragraph, page forty six, of the work of Mr. Jars is untrue.) The cord used for the well of king Frederic, weighs seven schippunds: it might be better made. The workmen are prohibited descending by the means of the tubs, the vitriolic liquid eating the cords, and even the iron chains; the first are of leather and last about a year. Last year (1790) two hundred schippunds of lead were extracted from the mine, eight hundred marks of silver (the first trial) and two hundred ducats value of gold.

The ore which contains silver is heated in a reverberating furnace, in which by the action of the blast-pipe on the fire the lead calcines and becomes litharge; the silver when fused falling on the ashes of which the crucible is made.

The mine is divided into one thousand two hundred shares for the interior work alone; the price of a share of late years has been from 166 to 190 rix-dollars.

Below the product for the last twenty years is given. The first sum indicates the dividend of each share, and the second the expence of each share holden for the extraction

of the ore, exclusive of the workmen, which are not comprised therein. The expence of the mine is paid in part by the share-holders, partly by the public chest of the society, and the profits arising from the sale of five parcels from each lottery; of this we shall speak presently.

The following sums are in copper dollars, 18 to the rix-dollar.

Years.	Total Receipt.	Expence.	Years.	Total Receipt.	Expence.	Years.	Total Receipt.	Expence.
1771	66	102	1778	240	165	1785	216	175
1772	27	108	1779	270	189	1786	39	200
1773	150	112	1780	384	243	1787	162	155
1774	250	135	1781	360	198	1788	204	141
1775	293	141	1782	342	180	1789	172	
1776	250	138	1783	207	150	1790	184	
1777	234	138	1784	378	171			

The water-works are extremely well imagined. The water is furnished by three neighbouring lakes, which, divided into nine channels, serves to turn as many wheels, the smallest of which is twenty-nine French feet in diameter, and the largest forty. There is no interruption to their working, even in the most rigorous winters. These lakes also furnish the water requisite for thirty copper furnaces. A river which runs through the town serves twenty others, and by means of the lake, which has a communication with the Dahl, and which flows by Fuhlun, the fuel is transported which is used in the mine and furnaces; within a quarter of a mile from the town, and the town itself, there are sixty, and half a mile from the town, are ten others. Gunpowder is continually used in the mine; the report of it is loud, yet not so much so as related. They kindle fires of wood in the mine once a week; these are lighted on Saturday noon, and burn all Sunday, and part of Monday, so that the smoke is not sufficiently dispersed to allow the labourers to go to work, and consequently to permit your visiting the mine before Tuesday morning. There are four hundred workmen employed who are paid by the ton, and earn from five to six rix-dollars per month. Let us now examine the process the ore undergoes after its extraction from the mine.

Roasting and melting. The first roasting takes place in the open air, in a plain between the mine and the town, in furnaces made of common stone, with openings round the sides; these are of different dimensions, and may hold from one hundred to two hundred and fifty tons of ore. At the bottom of the furnace a double layer of wood is placed, and the ore upon it in a pyramid of great or smaller elevation. This process appeared to us to be very slovenly; it lasts from fifteen to twenty days. The effect of the roasting is generally the expulsion of the sulphur, and the calcination of the iron to a certain degree when that is sublimed. Part of the sulphur at the same time is decomposed, and some of its acid adheres to the iron; in this state the iron is very fusible, and forms by admixture a black metallic glass, which serves mostly as a very powerful flux, for the greater part of the stones which adhere to the ore, from it possessing this property, not all but only a part of the sulphur is expelled at the first roasting. At the first fusion which succeeds the roasting, that part of the iron which has lost its sulphur is converted into the metallic glass before-mentioned, which dissolves and melts at the same time all stony matter, forming thus a matter called scoriæ, which being specifically lighter than the more metallic part, floats at the top in the crucible, and runs off as they continue filling it by an opening in front of the furnace called the eye. At the bottom of the crucible the more metallic part of the iron is found united with the copper, and still retaining

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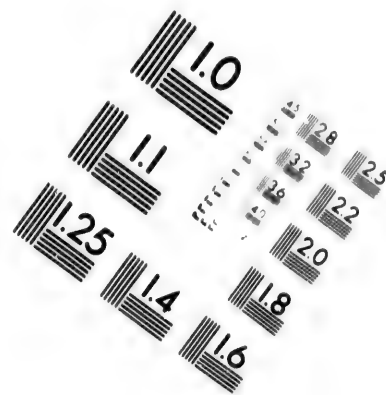
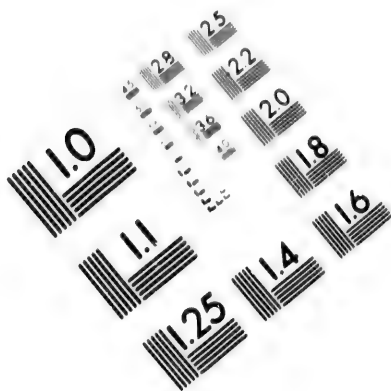
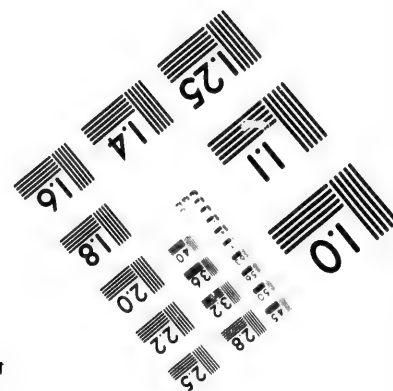
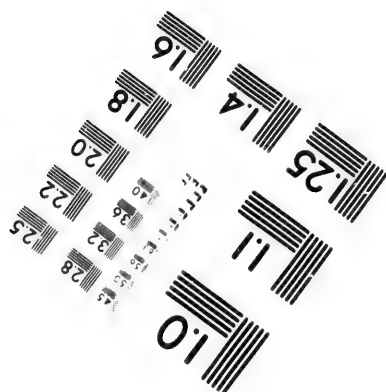
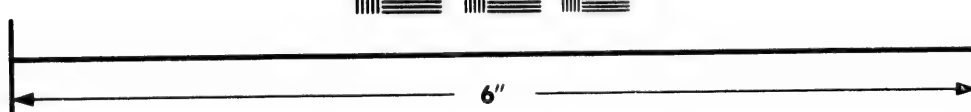
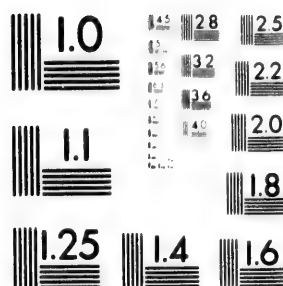


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its sulphur, forming a sort of ore or richer pyrites of copper, purged from all stony matter, and called in Swedish skierstein, which matter contains from ten to fifteen pounds of copper per quintal, in lieu of two, which was the proportion in the rough state. This skierstein or concentrated and purified ore, which is let out from the furnace by means of a hole in the side, as soon and as often as the crucible is full, is afterwards roasted four or five times, in order that all the remaining sulphur may be sublimed. On the second fusion which follows this second roasting, all the remaining iron is converted into scorizæ, so that copper alone remains at the bottom of the crucible, yet mixed with from 8 to 12 per cent. in the whole, of iron, zinc, lead, arsenic, &c. all of which are afterwards separated at the refinery at Afvestad. The second roasting, which requires four or five fires, takes place in a house sheltered from the inclemency of the weather, requiring much more care and attention in managing the fire than the former. The furnaces employed for founding are from ten to fourteen feet higher than the crucible; those for roasting are kilns, somewhat resembling those used for lime in France, walled in on three sides and open at the other. If instead of two roastings and fusions the same result were sought to be effected by one process, there would be a risk of losing too much copper in the scories, of having the copper extracted too much combined with iron, and other heterogeneous matter, and consequently of a much greater loss at the refinery; for in all chemical preparations when there is a great disproportion in the matters required to be separated (as here between the iron and the copper, the one containing two per cent. of the one and fifty of the other) the extract of neither can be had exactly pure or free from heterogeneous mixture by a single process, so long as such a disproportion exists. These different roastings and fusions for converting the ore into copper take up altogether about six months.

To be qualified for a founder a man must absolutely be a proprietor, the holder of a certain portion of land, and possess a share in a foundry. The founders undergo examination before certain numbers of the council of the mines, nominated for the purpose. Their profits are no more than one rix-dollar per schippund, and sometimes even they are losers; formerly, but this happened very rarely, they gained from five to six rix-dollars; all however depends on the price which is paid for the ore at public auction; commonly of late years thirty tons of ore have produced a schippund of copper; rarely has it happened that twenty-six or twenty-eight tons have yielded that quantity. The expence of founding is generally half a dollar per ton as an average price; each founder commonly produces from 200 to 300 schippunds annually. The ton of ore is $6\frac{1}{2}$ cubic feet of Sweden; the ton of charcoal at Fahlun is $5\frac{1}{2}$ cubic feet, but in every other part of Sweden it is the same as a ton of ore. Eighteen tons of charcoal is one horse's draught, and costs commonly from 32 to 36 and 40 schillings. In 1790, the price was 56 schillings, and in 1791, 48, on account of the mildness of the winter, and the short duration of the sledge season. The crown furnishes nearly 30,000 stig, at a certain price, viz. 8000 at 20 schillings, and the residue at 18. This supply is brought in by the peasantry of the eight nearest parishes, as a commutation for territorial contribution, and the capitation tax. The whole consumption is about 70,000 stig, which the peasantry are paid for in the following manner:

The ore from the mine is divided into sixteen lots, one of these lots is assessed by a comptroller, and serves as an estimate for the rest, which are drawn for by lot (five of the fifteen serve to pay expences) this distribution takes place four times a week. The crown was wont to receive the fourth schippund until 1770, it now receives no more than the eighth.

The officers are a president, a master of the mines, two jurors, a fiscal, a master of the engines, eight *stigære*, a comptroller for dividing the ore, a number of book-keepers, and at the weighing engine an inspector on account of the crown. The council of the mine sits twice a week: as often as any occurrence takes place of any importance regarding the society, it assembles and gives its advice.

Here a variety of ores, rock, and other stones are found in abundance, that is to say, precipitate of copper, yellow copper ore, steel grained, *scoriæ* grained, white copper ore, yellow, hepatic, gray, black, very much impregnated with iron, yellow in octaedra, encrusted with mica; iron ore of a blackish cast, which answers the magnet, very rare, and octaedral encrusted with mica, likewise attracted by the magnet, crystallised gypsum, rhomboidal and prismatic, martial pyrites, sometimes in a crystallised state; mineral pitch, rather rare, fluoric crystallised gypsum, and white striated calcareous spar, granulated calcareous stone, rock garnets, garnets crystallised in decaedra, sometimes as large as a man's head (Mr. Gahn has one of an enormous size) a rock of fibrous striated and starry *schoerle*, potter's stone, granulated and solid quartz, unctuous and dry; *amianthus*, *galena* fraught with silver in large cubes and scaly, scaly blend, blue, green, and white native vitriol, the latter very rare; zeolites very friable, and of a brick colour; sometimes among the *scoriæ* you meet with curious matters among other crystals of the same form as the bluish cellular *hematites*.

Vitriol manufactory. In 1775, by private contract, a privilege was granted to three persons to make vitriol; the water from the mine is received in a reservoir, and thence conducted by a canal to six compartments, made on a very high wooden scaffold, one hundred and twenty-eight feet long; these canals have a number of holes on each side to admit the water to drop over faggots of three feet breadth, some lying and others erect, made of birch for want of other wood; sixty-six cocks let out the water into the six compartments of the canal, which is about two feet broad from one extremity to the other, perhaps an inch more at the entrance of the first compartment; this slight increase of breadth, however, we conceive, has been accidental, although the size of the compartments might be less by degrees since the volume of water decreases. The water is then let into the first compartment, whence it falls into another reservoir, through the chinks; it is carried back into the second, whence it drops again into the third reservoir, and so on to the sixth, when it is plain it will deposit most of vitriolic matter, the quantity increasing at every fresh exudation. The specific gravity of the water being 1280, on coming from the mine is reduced after the graduation to 1250, or at most 1260. In winter the works are suspended. After this operation it is put into leaden boilers with iron, to precipitate the copper, and saturate the acidity of the vitriol, where the water is evaporated for the space of twelve or thirteen hours, thence it is conveyed into basins to clarify, in which it deposits its sediment: to prevent the too sudden cooling of the matter, these basins are made of wood coated with clay, and are covered with planks; in these it remains from six to twelve or twenty-four hours, according to the gravity of the water; from these basins it runs by means of spouts into others to crystallise, wherein it is suffered to remain fourteen days, at the expiration of which the vitriol remains at the bottom, on the sides, and adhering to sticks placed in the basins; if any sediment yet remains it is heated anew; the crystals are laid on an inclined plane for the water to escape: the lye or first matter which is not crystallised is poured into a well part, whence it is taken to be heated again with fresh lye. In order to dry the crystals they are laid on shelves of four stories, and in two or three days, according to the season, it is effected; the quantity of vitriol annually made is eight hundred ship-

punds, which sell at Stockholm for three rix-dollars, thirty-two schillings, per schip-pund.

Precipitation of the copper. In order to precipitate the copper in the vitriolic water, it is suffered to fall repeatedly over old iron by different cascades, each about twelve feet high, and disposed like stairs; this water afterwards circulates in a number of small channels furnished with old iron, and laying on level ground.

Red colour. To make this they begin with washing the earth, which is afterwards baked in an oven for twelve hours; with this they paint their houses, mixing with it a small quantity of vitriolic water, mixed with flour and boiling water, which is the most general practice, or mingle with it oil of flax, which is a more expensive mode; it is also mixed with boiling vitriolic water, and a little pitch, or with pitch alone for painting the doors and roofs: with pitch and oil of turpentine, or oil of turpentine alone; this colour preserves wood from rotting from the generation of moss, &c. it costs two rix-dollars the ton, of eleven lispunds Viet; a thousand tons of it are annually sent to Stockholm.

For the information he afforded us, and his civility in accompanying us over every part of the works, we are highly indebted to Mr. Gahn; yet do we advise all who may receive letters of recommendation to this gentleman, to procure from him whatever they may be desirous of knowing before they leave Fahlun; for in spite of the most formal promises, notwithstanding we ourselves had furnished him with valuable documents, of which he was highly solicitous, we yet were unable to obtain from him one single answer to the numerous letters we wrote to him, as soon as he had gained from us all he wished. Travellers cannot too strongly impress on their minds that nine tenths of those persons who have shewn them the greatest civility, forget them by the time of their arriving at the first stage; this we have generally experienced, notwithstanding we have every where met with kindness. From Fahlun to Elfdal, by Mora, is eleven miles.

Mora is a very considerable parish, since it contains nearly fifteen thousand inhabitants, but what renders this place the most remarkable is its being that where Gustavus Vasa harangued the Dalecarlians, from a stone which is still shewn, and where he assembled the troops with which he drove Christian II, from Stockholm. What gives further interest to the spot, Gustavus III, in 1778, harangued the same people from the same stone, with equal persuasion, and obtained from them the like assistance, with yet a remarkable difference, that the enemies against whom Gustavus III, solicited their succour, were not Danes. Mora is on the road to Elfdal, where are situated those famous quarries of porphyry, so highly deserving the attention of every curious traveller. It is met with in many different mountains, always in layers, and of various colours, such as black, gray, red, and brown, with white, red, and green veins. This porphyry is very hard, and receives a most beautiful polish; it is found in great abundance; the quarries are five in number. The mode of formation of this stone, which cannot be ranked among marbles, but rather with jaspers, contributes to render it greatly varied; hence each quarry is of a different complexion and composition. Porphyry of a brownish or blackish red, with small white stones, is that of which the largest blocks have hitherto been found. It is precisely similar to the porphyry called *Leucostrios*, described by Pliny. In 1730 it was a matter of doubt, whether or not Dalecarlia produced porphyry, and authors began disputing, some affirming, others taking the negative. This dispute was determined at length in 1786, when the senator, count de Bielke, then president of the college of mines, proposed an association of 2500 shares, at 5 rix-dollars each. This project was adopted, and the quarries were begun in May 1788. The five quarries vary in the colour and veins. Some blocks are from four to five ells square. There are even flattering hopes

of finding green and blue porphyry, dependant on the form of the pebbles, which are met with in abundance. On this spot and in the neighbourhood rock pebbles are found, also red jasper, silicious breches or poudingues, among others one of deep brown porphyry, with knots of pale red. A quantity of granite, not so handsome as that of the neighbourhood of Stockholm. The stone is transported on sledges during the winter, and in summer on waggons, as far as Westeros, where it is embarked for Stockholm.

We shall enter into a detail of this interesting establishment. The direction of it on the spot is committed to a very capable person (Mr. Hagstrœum) for whom care should be taken to be provided with letters of recommendation. There are a hundred men employed by the day, besides a great number who work by the piece in chipping the blocks. A labourer's pay is from six to nine schillings per diem. The work effected in the first years of the establishment can afford no just idea of its possible perfection, since the expence of the different parts of the process is to be regarded, the mills, saws, polishing machines, &c. The method used for separating the porphyry is the same as is adopted in Italy. The pieces are traced with steel pointed instruments, which are afterwards separated by wedges driven by main force. At this manufactory all sorts of utensils are made, tables, vases, mortars, in one word you may have made whatever you will by ordering it at the office established for the purpose at the mint at Stockholm. A table of thirty-six inches by eighteen, costs 30 rix-dollars; twenty-five by seventeen one-third, 18 rix-dollars, of which 12 are paid for workmanship; eighteen by twelve, 9 rix-dollars, the workmen are paid 6. A vase of eighteen inches perfectly well turned and hollowed, costs 40 rix-dollars; of fourteen inches, 26 rix-dollars; of twelve inches, 25 rix-dollars; the prices are rather below these at present. Small articles are in the same proportion, although in general the larger cost but little more on the spot; thus the latter afford a profit of at least 50 per cent. while the former pays no more than 4 or 6. This establishment deserves minute attention. The traveller should contrive to plan his excursion so as to have it take place either in summer or the season for sledges; although in the latter the snow will prevent the sight of a number of interesting objects, particularly the stone at Mora. Soon as the thaw begins this road is impassable. You have to return to Fahlun by the same road. On the way you may visit the copper mine of Mortamberg, in the parish of Rattvick, which has been but recently opened. In it you find copper ore of a gray colour; sometimes in azure, green, yellow and lightish yellow crystals; mountain green; galena in small quantities; martial pyrites; mineral pitch; very slender druzes of quartz; white quartz; calcareous spar; potter's stone; and amianthus in slender veins. In walking through the parish of Rattvick you often find solid calcareous stones filled with petrifications, such as orthocerathites, sometimes replete with mineral pitch, and calcareous spar, frequently in crystals; shells and corals of different sorts, and very rare lithnites. From Mortamberg you may proceed to Selfberg, where a small vein of galena is worked which is in a slight degree argentiferous. The vein yields galena, red and yellow blend, lapis calaminaris, calcareous spar, breche of calcareous stone, and black slate, sometimes mixed with galena; and lumachelle, or calcareous stone mingled with petrified shells, with which also a portion of galena is sometimes blended. From Selfberg to Osmundsberg, a pretty considerable mountain, containing solid calcareous stone; idem, in form of balls, impregnated with petroleum, and occasionally hollow, and lined inside with calcareous spar in druzes; fluid, yet thick petroleum; bituminous slate, frequently full of minute petrifications; blue clay, containing a slight portion of silver; fuller's earth; and martial pyrites.

We cannot take leave of Fahlun without an acknowledgment to Mr. Nordin, the governor of the province, for the kindness he shewed us. During the whole of our stay at that town he made his house our home.

This is the season for giving some account of this province and its inhabitants.

Dalecarlia is a large province, eighty leagues long by sixty broad at least. Tillage lands are scarce in it, and in consequence it is far from being peopled in proportion to its extent, containing little more than one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants. Its mines and forges are its principal and almost only wealth; but in this country, intersected by lakes, forests, and torrents, dwells a brave and loyal people, at all times attached to their sovereigns and to freedom; for they do not regard such union as incompatible. In Dalecarlia, above all other parts of Sweden, is the remembrance of its valiant deliverer cherished. The peasant, the artisan, the people at large, all of them talk of Gustavus Vasa: they call to mind that to their ancestors it was he owed his crown. It exalts their imagination, and they speak of it with pride and pleasure. This people, nearly as rude as their mountains, possesses the same rugged manners, the same characteristics. Free as heretofore, they deem the chains of slavery insupportable. Attached to their king, they look for a chief in him and not a master: ever ready to step forward in his defence, the Dalecarlian of the present day has proved to Gustavus III, that he has not degenerated. The Dalecarlians possess the right of shaking hands with the princes of the blood royal, and even with the king himself upon meeting with him: to this we were eye-witnesses at Haga one day while attending his majesty, who had the goodness to assure us of the truth of the existence of this custom. The Dalecarlians are divided into black and gray; a denomination arising from their dress, which is perpetually of one or the other of these colours.

From Fahlun to Gefle is thirteen miles; you pass through Strand, Upbo, Smedby, Rœurshyttan, Sarstad Arsen, Hœugbo, and Beck: there is a different road, shorter by two miles and a half, but which is only passable in the summer time.

You pass over nearly the same road before traversed on leaving Fahlun, for the post-office of Upbo is but half a mile from Sœter, on the opposite side of the river. In the third stage you cross the Dahl three times over a floating bridge. From Smedby to Sarstad a very woody country. At Rœurshyttan is a considerable forge, and a number of others between that place and the succeeding stage, particularly at a large village, near a river, which you cross over a bridge. Before you reach Sarstad, you come to a barrier, which divides Dalecarlia from Gestricie. We were very well accommodated at Sarstad, where we slept. Half a mile from Sarstad, out of the road, are the iron mines of Torsœker, of great extent. In them are found black iron ore granulated; galena blended with the iron ore; martial pyrites; garnets, both large and small, but full of chinks; rocks of garnets, calcareous spar, and quartz. At half a mile from the mines is a mountain called Kierberg, which yields black garnets, mingled with calcareous and granulated white spar, forming very pretty but very friable masses. The works of this mine are superb; the galleries admirable, and highly deserving of notice. From Rœurshyttan to Gefle there are a greater number of villages, and many houses standing by themselves in the country, the result of the number of mines and forges. The roads likewise are better, and here and there you see some fields of corn. At the beginning of the last stage you pass a bridge, and another before you arrive at Gefle; the latter of stone, with a balustrade of iron, and an inscription, importing that it was built in 1772, under the administration of Mr. Sparre, in commemoration of the revolution.

Gefle. A small town, of from five to six thousand inhabitants; it is more considerable than Fahlun, and much more pleasant from its situation on the gulf of Bothnia. Its port is formed by a long jetty, from the extremity of which the prospect is delightful. A canal passes through the town. Its trade is considerable, so much so, as to make it rank the third in the kingdom for the extent of its exports, and at least the fourth in point of importation. Very large quantities of iron are shipped hence. In 1787 fifty-two vessels belonged to this town, carrying six thousand six hundred and forty-two tons. Uddevalla and Visby possess more shipping, but the first exports scarcely any thing but fish, and the tonnage of the second is not so great.

At Gefle there is a public school. The town-house is a handsome building. Mr. de Cronstedt, governor of Gestrice, has caused a map of this province to be engraved, which is admirably performed; we cannot say the same, however, of the duties of civility to strangers addressed to him; this slight blemish, however, we look upon as more than compensated by his conduct towards, and his zeal in the cause of Gustavus III, who has not one subject more grateful for favours received than is Mr. Cronstedt.

Some miles distant in the neighbourhood of Gefle, towards the west, are the forges of Tollfors, Walbo, Masugu and Mackmura, Forsbacka and Høugbo: on the north those of Oslottfors, Wifors, and Axmar. Continuing the road to Torneo, you traverse the forest of Tynnebro-heden, which separates Gestrice from Helsingie. In this last province are the towns of Sæuderhamm and Hudvisksvall. In the first is a manufactory of arms. Within reach of the great road are the forges of Longvind, Iggesund, Gnarps, Masugu, and Frantzhamar.

In the province of Medelpad is the town of Sndsvall; it is watered by the rivers Niu-runda and Indahls. In the village of Berge, in the parish of Timero, is shewn a machine after the Dutch fashion, which cuts the metal for coining by means of water. The forges of Galstrœum, Lœugdœun, and Oviken are situated in this province.

The capital of Angermania is Hernosand: it is the governor's residence, as well as that of the bishop, and contains, moreover, an ecclesiastical consistory and a public school. This province produces a quantity of flax, and is famous for its mode of spinning and working it. The most considerable river bears the name of the province. The forges of Utansicœu, in the parish of Hœugzicœu, and Olosfors in that of Nordmaling, are upon the highroad.

The following towns are contained in the province of Westrobothnie. Umeo, the residence of the governor; Piteo, that of the military governor; Luleo and Torneo; the latter known by the sojourn made by the academicians sent thither in 1736 to determine the figure of the earth. It contains these different forges: Horleforss, in the parish of Umeo; Robersforss, in that of Bygdeo; Meldersteil in Boleo; Svasken and Kengis, ten miles north of Torneo. Hither must you repair if desirous of seeing the sun uninterruptedly for days together; but this pleasure will be dearly bought by the fatigue of the journey from Torneo, and particularly the additional inconvenience you will experience if you should travel to Russia down the eastern side of the gulf; since you will have to traverse an immense extent of country, entirely destitute of all resources, immediately after you leave the sea. Another superior vexation is the prodigious quantity of insects of every kind, which swarm through the country in the two or three months the summer lasts. One species of fly in particular draws blood. The inhabitants obliged to be upon the rivers, have no other means of protection against them than by covering their face with a kind of mastic. For the rest, the whole road from Gefle is

as fine, and the post duty as well regarded as in any other part of the kingdom. It is a dismal country to travel through, on account of the immense forests through which you go, but in which you are perfectly secure, as well by night as by day, travelling through that part of Europe hitherto the least infested with depravity.

It will be necessary the traveller should be provided with letters addressed to the different governors, who will facilitate his obtaining lodging throughout their provinces: generally it is the clergy who receive travellers, and all who have made this journey concur in speaking highly of their kindness and attention.

If curious to traverse a part of Lapland, and pass over to Norway by the mountains, the instructions submitted at the close of the following chapter may be followed in full reliance; but above all, the adventurer must be inured to fatigue, and resolved on submitting to great privations for the space of a month at least.

From Gefle to Sudersfors is five miles and a half, by Elfscarleby and Mehede. Before you reach Elfscarleby, you pass the Dahl in a boat with oars; the postillions are used to leave you at the banks, but this must not be allowed, on account of the next post-house being at some distance from the opposite bank, whither you must either resolve on walking, or wait possibly some time for horses. A quarter of a mile beyond Elfscarleby, you follow a narrow road at the right, which leads to the cataract; it is commodiously seen from a saw-mill on the side, and still better from a small house built much lower down, on the brink of the river, for salmon fishing (the fishery is farmed for 7000 copper dollars.) This cataract is very curious, and with respect to the mass of water precipitated, is more considerable than that of Trolhoetta, but with respect to the circumjacent scenery is possibly less picturesque; there are, nevertheless, some great trees, which form a charming perspective, and we recommend both one and the other to the traveller's observance. Almost the whole of the remainder of the stage is through a forest. You turn to the right in order to reach Mehede; from Mehede to Sudersfors is rather a bad cross road. On arriving at Sudersfors, you pass over a wooden bridge across the Dahl, near which is a very pleasing cascade; from it you have an admirable view of the whole breadth of the river, which is extremely wide.

Sudersfors is an estate and considerable forge belonging to Mr. Grill; this is the only forge in Sweden at which anchors are cast, and what renders it still more interesting, the process used here is entirely different to that in practice elsewhere, where anchors are made of bar or wrought iron, whereas here it is made at once in a mould, of cast iron. It is affirmed, that anchors made in this manner are at least equal in goodness with others; they for certain are less expensive, the iron undergoing one fusion less by the latter process. Three thousand schippunds are annually manufactured, one thousand of which into bars, and two thousand into anchors; as many as two thousand four hundred have been made occasionally, and even once three thousand two hundred during the war between France and England; the latter is the largest possible quantity that can be manufactured. The ore comes from Dannemora, which is the cause of the excellence of the iron from this forge, as well as in others that use it: this ore on its arrival is at first broken (that at least which is in too large pieces) and is afterwards carried into the oven into which it is to be thrown: of these there are two in the open air for roasting the ore; one is forty-two feet wide by twenty-five; the other, of the same form is somewhat less; both seven feet in depth: the walls are of brick made from scoræ; a layer of wood is laid of the whole extent of the bottom, and as high as the walls, which is kept burning for the space of four weeks; each process of the first oven furnishes a supply for seven weeks to the great furnace, and of the lesser oven for five

weeks and a half. The ore, upon its being withdrawn, is pounded by a large hammer and thrown into a sieve, whence the finest part falls into a bucket fastened to an iron chain, which carries it to the large furnaces. When this large furnace is once heated it continues so for about six-and-thirty weeks, more or less, without interruption: after which a new crucible becomes requisite. The sides of the furnace, although of bricks made from scoræ sixteen ells in thickness, require renewal every four years. When once the furnace is kindled it is supplied every hour with a last of charcoal and a schippund and a half of ore, divided into eleven equal parts. The iron fuses in about fifteen hours: in the beginning this process is very little productive, but it increases by degrees as the furnace augments in heat, and at length produces, when in full activity, about one hundred and twenty schippunds of iron weekly. The bellows are worked by a wheel twenty feet in diameter. When the strength of the flame is considered, which proceeds from the mouth, one is astonished at the little hurry of the workmen in emptying their barrows of charcoal; small and dry as it is yet does it never instantly take fire even in the middle of the flame. The greatest attention is necessary in throwing the ore on the charcoal; as a little too much or too little might injure the fusion and have a material influence on the quality of the iron. The metal in fusion is let off every eleven hours. A channel is made in hot sand of equal dimensions with the orifice, where the molten metal flows, and the divisions are marked agreeably to the length desired to be given them: it does not run to so great a length as in France, seldom more than two feet. The sand is kept hot for the purpose of preventing accidents, which however in extreme cold weather occasionally happen. The furnace each time it is struck yields seven or eight schippunds. In less than a quarter of an hour afterwards the iron, having resumed a degree of firmness, is raised and removed for its cooling with greater dispatch; shortly after it is thrown into a cistern lined with wood, and repeatedly filled with cold water on account of its being made to boil instantly upon the first immersion: from this cistern a prodigious steam arises, and by the side of it you feel a kind of trembling under ground. Near this is a building in which the raw iron from the process is founded; for this use there are three furnaces, one hammer and a furnace for small anchors.

In another building are eight furnaces, six of which for founding the raw iron, and two for large anchors. The chimneys of the furnaces for the anchors are suspended in the air. In this forge are three hammers. During the war between England and France the demand there was could not be answered, notwithstanding all the eight furnaces were kept wholly employed upon anchors. The largest hammers weigh two schippunds and a half; the extremity alone is of tempered steel. For hammering the anchors a hammer is likewise sometimes used larger than a sledge hand hammer, called Hercules: it is entirely of iron, and has the shape of a club. Of these there are different sizes; the largest weigh nearly a schippund. They are raised, by means of pulleys, by two men, and are directed by another. There is here a machine in shape of a crane, at the end of which hangs an iron chain; it goes on a pivot, and is so true that two men are all that are required for moving the largest anchor and placing it on the anvil, in the position desired for its receiving the blow. We have omitted to mention a furnace in the open air, in which the scoræ from the three small furnaces are molten anew; in which scoræ a large quantity of iron is found yet to remain. It is but lately that this furnace has been employed.

The anchors are transported by land to Elfscarleby, on account of the cataract; the largest, which weigh thirty schippunds, require eight horses, and can be moved only upon sledges; those of twenty schippunds being the heaviest which can be transported

otherwise. Some years the larger anchors have been sent to Stockholm all the way by land, in order to forward them the quicker. They cost from 16 to 19 and 20 rix-dollars the schippund, according to their size. The iron at from 7½ to 8 rix-dollars. The mark on the anchors is a crown, beneath an S, and in smaller characters a C and a G. The annual consumption of the manufactory is twenty thousand lasts of charcoal, twelve tons to the last; the price of each of which is 21 schillings. Each furnace requires twenty men when large anchors are forged, who are relieved every twelve hours; the other furnaces seldom employ more than three men. To forge large anchors requires at least thirteen or fourteen days. At Sudersfors as much steel is made as is necessary for the workmen's tools: the obstacle to their manufacturing more is the want of sea-coal, which is very rare in Sweden. (The count de Ruuth has met with it on one of his estates in Scania, but it is of an indifferent quality.) A headman earns 50 rix-dollars per annum; besides these wages he is furnished with a house to live in, has his grain afforded him at half price, and provender for four cows; the other workmen 4 schillings per diem, an habitation, and provender for one or two cows. The estate not supplying of itself a sufficient quantity of grain, although two miles in extent, the proprietor is under the necessity of purchasing annually two thousand tons. Upon the estate there is besides a mill for sawing planks, and a small dock for building of sloops and boats; eight large ones we saw, carrying each one mast. To these must be added every trade requisite to a colony separated from society, such as carpenters, wheelwrights, glaziers, &c. The salary of the master of the furnace is 100 rix-dollars; he is paid more than any other workmen, his work being the most difficult of any. At Sudersfors there are about 600 persons, from 120 to 130 of whom are employed at the forge. The total expence of the establishment is 25,000 rix-dollars. As to the scorise, of which the bricks are made, they are run when in a state of fusion into moulds of the form required; these bricks are very durable. At Sudersfors we were shewn a building cased forty years before with these bricks, which had received no injury from time. At Fahlun experiments of a similar description have been made without success, the scorise at that place being too brittle and too highly impregnated with sulphur. Many houses at Sudersfors are covered with the bark of the birch tree, over which these scorise are laid to keep the bark level. This mode of covering houses is the most economical, but makes the roof press more heavy on the timbers. The malady to which the workmen are most subject is the *crisipelas* in the legs, owing to their being employed in fishing when not occupied at the forge, and their being much exposed to the wet. For the service of the forge, twenty-eight horses are kept. Near the bridge by which you first enter is a locksmith's shop, with one furnace and a small hammer. On the same premises are a turner's lathe for wood, and a brick or tile kiln, a blacksmith's shop, a granary, a flour mill, and a charitable establishment for the widows of the men employed at the forge. From the bridge you have a pleasing view of the new church: this is a pretty building, and capacious enough; it is built of brick with the single exception of the foundation of cast scorise. Men were employed in levelling the ground about it and erecting a very thick wall for an inclosure, on which it is intended to raise iron palisades. Near the church a cemetery and charnel-house is to be constructed: the carcass of the building was complete in April 1791.

The mansion is a very modest wooden building, painted stone colour; it is of one single story, with twelve windows in front: already has it stood a hundred years. Before it are two small pavilions, built likewise of wood, painted red, and of one story also. Between the mansion and the building is an extreme small parterre. On the first story is a small gallery, or rather corridor, in which are a number of animals stuffed, such as the elk, rein-deer, &c. In the middle of the castle is a glass tower,

whence you have a fine prospect, but which the bad weather that reigned while we were there prevented our enjoying. Adjoining to the principal building is a tolerably large kitchen garden with some small hot houses, at the extremity of which is a palisade, through which you have a delightful view of the river; in this spot it is amazingly wide, and more resembles a lake studded with islands than a river. On the side of the mansion, in a small pavillion, we saw a collection of three or four hundred birds stuffed, and a pretty apartment of shells. The catalogue of these two collections is printed, but the proprietor is daily making additions to them. In the same apartment is a library of books relative to natural history; in the billiard-room on the side some impaled animals such as the fox, the glutton, a white fox, another white and gray, a wild cat of a large size called a lynx, &c.

We cannot speak too highly of the kindness of Mr. Grill, at whose house we lived, and with difficulty were suffered to lodge at the inn, at which we arrived. He shewed us every thing himself with the greatest politeness, and explained every thing with the utmost civility. Willingly would we have had to speak as favourably of him with regard to his collection of medals at Stockholm: but after giving a formal promise to shew us them he put us off from one day to another, and finally gave for answer that they were packed up and could not be shewn. This brings to memory the expression so well known, "he shewed himself a brave man such a day;" and proves that politeness may sometimes be ephemeral.

From Sudersfors to Upsal is seven miles and a quarter, by Yfre, Lebu, and Hœugata. You travel almost wholly on the estate of Mr. Grill for the first stage, tracing back the road by which you came for about three quarters of a mile; afterwards you turn to the right, and having gone further three quarters of a mile you find yourself again on the highroad to Upsal. Half a mile before you reach Yfre you pass over a bridge across a river, and a quarter of a mile beyond another, the parapets of which are of iron; from this you have the prospect of a number of charming cascades. In order to reach the post-house you leave the high road on the left, and join it again by a cross road. On this stage you notice one of the largest plains in Sweden; thence to Upsal we traversed plains and a well cultivated country; a quarter of a mile before you arrive there you pass by the side of the church of Old Upsal, celebrated in the days of paganism, but at present abandoned. We saw afterwards several heaps of stones, under which, according to tradition, some ancient kings lie buried.

CHAPTER XIII.

Upsal....The Cathedral....University....Cabinets....Instructions for traversing the Alps of Lapland.

UPSAL, formerly the capital of Sweden, at present of Upland, is a very small city, and contains scarcely more than four thousand inhabitants, exclusive of the students, the number of which, as is the case of all universities, occasionally differs, but which may be generally estimated at five hundred at least. From the castle, a tolerably large but irregular building, you have a very fine view of the town and country; and thence it is that you are enabled to form the best estimate of its extent.* A river runs through it which has a communication with lake Mœler, and which is of benefit to the very trifling commerce carried on by the town. Notwithstanding the inconsiderableness of its trade, if the extent of the city be regarded, it is very well inhabited, for independent of those, who from their situations are obliged to reside here, such as the governor, and

* We did not notice by the side of the gates the tun full of water, which is described by the Dutch traveller (Le Voyageur Hollandais.)

the archbishop (Mr. Troil, a well informed man, formerly bishop of Linkœeping, and author, among other things, of *Letters on Iceland*, a work much esteemed, and which has been translated into French) a number of Swedish noblemen have taken up their abode here, some to be nearer to their estates, and some to avoid the expence and tumult of the capital. Among these we have to notice in particular the Senator, baron Geer, formerly secretary of state for foreign affairs: we have to thank him for the obliging manner in which he received us, foreigners entirely unknown to him, but still more for the acquaintance of a well informed, affable, polite man, in whose society the curious traveller could but acquire great advantage. Upsal on many accounts is deserving of being seen; in order to notice all, a stay of at least three days will be requisite: this city is interesting were it only for its giving birth to Linnæus and Bergmann. A house is building in memory of Linnæus at the royal gardens, which serves for a public promenade.

The cathedral is the largest and handsomest church in Sweden; of it this assertion might make a person who had not seen the others form rather a high opinion; but having viewed them it will be readily conjectured that better might be erected, which yet should be far from perfect. This church is however truly remarkable on account of the tombs it contains, which, although no master pieces, are interesting, as they regard the history of the country. The church is two hundred and thirty feet long from the extremity to the altar; beyond which is a chapel of some depth: its width is one hundred and eight feet; it has three naves, and chapels all round it: in that behind the great altar is the tomb of Gustavus Vasa and his wives; his children and grandchildren are interred in the one adjoining. In this John III, was buried. The monument over his tomb, erected by Sigismund, was made in Italy; but the vessels carrying it to Sweden being shipwrecked on the coast of Dantzick it was transported thither, where it remained near two hundred years; it has been brought hither only within these few years: it is no honour to the arts, and was in a bad state. In another chapel are the sepulchres of the families of Oxenstiern and Stenbock. In another two beautiful Sarcophagi in marble to the memory of Charles de Geer, marshal of the court, and his lady; his bust also in white marble, on the fragment of an antique fluted column, erected by his wife. The tomb of Sture and his two sons, killed by order of Eric XIV. The sepulchre of the first wife of Sigismund. On the right of the great altar are the relics of St. Eric, and nothing else remarkable. Linnæus is inhumed beneath a stone near the door without any inscription or even his name (whatever the Dutch traveller may advance to the contrary.) In a sort of cave adjoining the church is a wooden idol of the God Thor, which does not appear so ancient as said to be, with the chalice, crosier, &c. presented by pope Alix III, to the first bishop of Upsal.

The university of this city was founded by Sten Sture the elder, in 1476, who obtained permission for the purpose from Sixtus IV, and took the institution at Bologna for his model. The administrators and senators confirmed the bull of Sixtus IV (of the 28th of February 1476) on the 20th July 1477, and granted to this academy all the privileges enjoyed by the university of Paris. In 1624 Gustavus Adolphus assigned them estates under the direction of the consistory of professors. The revenue was then 25,000 crowns, of 3 dollars; but this sum is now nearly tripled: it is however dependant on the seasons. The university appoints two professors, called *Ærarii*, to manage its property, who retain their places for two years, when one of them goes out. There are four faculties, viz four professors of theology (there were five) who at the same time compose the ecclesiastical consistory, two of jurisprudence, thirteen of philosophy, and four of medicine. The new professors are: one of theology, one of private eco-

nomny, and one of eloquence and politics; the others established in 1751 are, one of chemistry, and one of physic; in 1761, one of public right (now abolished) and one of anatomy, during the revolution of 1772. The courses in medicine last three, four, or five years before the student can take a doctor's degree. The novice must undergo two examinations; this is a study less followed than any. The courses in jurisprudence, when followed only to qualify for the bar, continue for two or three years; those of theology, three or four years. The king alone grants a doctor's degree. In philosophy two themes must be maintained; this is the course of all others the most followed; the director is changed every six months, at St. John's day and at Christmas. The professors nominate three candidates for the office, one of which was wont to be elected by his majesty, at present he chooses who he will; the directors have no increase of allowance, their only emolument being derived from the compliment paid by each student on his admission to the university during his rectorship; this present is two or three rix-dollars, and two or three ducats if the student be of a distinguished family. The stipend of the professors is 1400 silver dollars and a hundred tons of corn, which may be estimated at 1600 s. cd.: some of them have apartments, but most not. No one can become a civil magistrate without undergoing a public examination at one of the three universities of Upsal, Obo, or Lund. There is a fourth at Gridswald in Pomerania, which is under the jurisdiction of the empire. The personal jurisdiction of the university extends not only throughout the city, but for six leagues around (in matters which regard the students.) The holidays are from the 14th December to the 28th January, and from the festival of St. John to that of St. Michael. The professors give gratuitous lessons four times a week; for private lessons the scholar pays two or three rix-dollars monthly, according to his capacity, which is paid every other term. There are some prizes of private foundation called Stipendia, of which more than a hundred students at Upsal reap advantage; these are from 45 to 400 plottes each, and are usually adjudged by the consistory; but an appeal lays to the chancellor in case of dissatisfaction, who finally awards. The Stipendia distributed by the king amount to 3000 plottes. In 1730 there were two thousand students, in 1791 but six or seven hundred.

In the bull by which the university was instituted, the archbishop is designated chancellor; but the academical constitutions of 1625 assume, that thenceforward it shall be a senator of the kingdom, the archbishop being only vice-chancellor. It is the body of professors, or the academical consistory, which elects the chancellor, and their nomination is confirmed by the king: for a number of years the presumptive heir of the crown has had the title.

The library of the university is highly celebrated throughout Europe, but in our opinion without desert, notwithstanding it contains many articles well worthy the inspection of a traveller. In the first place we saw a number of things which appear out of place certainly in a library, such as an antique case made of different sorts of stone, with a small spinnett, and little paintings on agate representing the passion of our Saviour, &c. some very minute works in wood and ivory, the whole presented to Gustavus Adolphus by the city of Nuremberg, for his daughter; two small books of flowers, fish, and animals, painted on vellum by queen Christina; a number of toilet trinkets which belonged to her; the portrait of general Konigsmarck, in the service of the republic of Venice, formed by lines of writing in latin, which give an account of his life, on vellum; a large agate of sixteen inches by thirteen, on one side of which the last judgment is depicted, and on the other the passage of the red sea, by Koenig, with other matters of little moment.

In the first of the three rooms of which the library is composed, is a marble bust of Charles XI, placed there in 1701 by Ben. Oxenstiern; in the third that of Gustavus Adolphus, erected in 1731 by Frederic I.

The first room contains belles lettres, history, and natural history. The second was added by the late king in 1767, when prince royal, as appears from the inscription over the door. The third comprises jurisprudence, theology, and physic.

The most valuable article in this library is the gothic manuscript known under the name of *Codex argenteus*. It contains the four evangelists in letters of gold and silver, each line interlined; it is in quarto, is incomplete at both beginning and end, and consists of one hundred and eighty-seven leaves; in the margin is a translation of some passages in latin: we do not believe it has been printed, as some travellers affirm. Besides this, *Commentaria historica Regis Erici XIV, cum directionibus et profectionibus planetarum domorum, et partium pro anno 1566*, an original in his own hand writing; the same for the year 1567, a copy. *Edda et Scalda*, a very valuable Icelandic manuscript on vellum, with figures coarsely drawn, incomplete and much damaged. The *Edda* was composed by the layman Sturleson, in the thirteenth century; he was murdered in an insurrection. Mr. Mallet in his introduction to the history of Denmark, speaking of this work says "J. P. Resenius published the first edition of the *Edda* in quarto, at Copenhagen, in 1665; by the side of the text is a version in latin by Stephanus Olai, a learned ecclesiastic of Iceland, and a Danish translation by Stephanus, with variations taken from a manuscript of Magnus Olai, an Icclander. The most ancient manuscript of the *Edda* is thought to be that which belongs to the king of Denmark: it is considered to have been written at the close of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth. A valuable manuscript of the *Edda* is also to be seen at Upsal. Mr. Gœurandson has published it with a Swedish and latin version: the text of this edition differs very immaterially from that of Resenius." We have a difficulty in comprehending how a complete translation of that work could possibly be made from a manuscript in such an imperfect state. The laws of Iceland, a very ancient manuscript on vellum. *Dialogus creaturarum moralisatus*; the first work published in Sweden at Stockholm, 1483. *Manuale ecclesiæ Linkopensis*, an extremely rare work. *Sœuderkrœuping*, 1525, the only one known. A latin commentary on the seven psalms, 1515, the first work published at Upsal. The same volume of Rudbeck as is found in the king's library at Stockholm. *Thomas Aquinas Secunda secundæ*, in folio, Mentz, 1467, in good preservation. Two editions of the *Catholicon* of the fifteenth century, without a date. A German bible which belonged to Luther, Wittenberg, 1541. The first folio bible is in latin: Nuremberg, 1475. A German bible in folio, 1494, Lubeck; this is the oldest German bible printed. A Bohemian bible, 1489, small folio, with figures in wood. Pliny, in latin, Rome, 1473, in folio, on paper. Suetonius, 1470, Rome, in folio, on paper. The most ancient Swedish bible, Upsal, 1541. The New Testament in Swedish, with the arms of Gustavus Vasa, Stockholm, 1526. The laws of Sweden, on vellum, 1617, at Stockholm, very elegant. The library consists of nearly fifty thousand volumes. The manuscripts are on the first story. The university bought a collection of five hundred volumes of manuscripts of the widow of Mr. Palmskolds, most of them are in quarto, some rare articles among them have been printed. Professor Giorgi arranged and made a catalogue of them, which consists of two large volumes. Notwithstanding the number of manuscripts is very considerable, many receptacles are empty. There is nothing among them singularly valuable except the *Diarium Wadstenense*, an original manuscript on vellum, small quarto, written by different hands from 1344 to 1544. This work was published by Benzelius, at Upsal, in 1721: Mr. Nordin is about to publish a new edi-

tion. The fund set apart for the library is 1000 plottes per annum, a sum which appeared to us inconsiderable indeed.

The mineralogical cabinet, under the management of Mr. Afzelius, professor of chemistry, is classed agreeably to the system of Cronstedt; the councillor of mines, Swab, first began the collection. The university has possessed it ever since 1750, and it has been considerably augmented by the celebrated Bergmann; it is now very complete, particularly as to what regards the minerals peculiar to Sweden. These entirely fill one cabinet, to the number of three thousand specimens; the general collection is contained in about forty large cases. We saw here also some stones engraved, none of which were remarkable; a number of crystallizations and petrifications peculiar to Sweden, of but little interest; some shells also, but in no great number. The most valuable article in this cabinet is some massive, native and artificial gold, found at Nertchinskoi in Siberia, analysed by Mr. Bergmann. A number of mineralogists doubt, but unjustly, the existence of this specimen. In a small cabinet are seen the models of the pumps, furnaces, and other utensils employed in mines. There is but a very poor chemical laboratory. Mr. Afzelius, in April, 1791, had but thirty scholars, a matter which appeared to me very singular in a country, the mines of which form its principal wealth, and in which chemistry should consequently be cultivated above all other sciences.

The cabinet of Mr. Thunberg is exceedingly curious from the beauty of the specimens collected, and their number; for it embraces objects of more than one description, although wholly analogous to natural history: Mr. Thunberg has travelled a great deal, and has himself selected a great number of interesting articles: he has been at Japan, and even in the capital, owing to a concurrence of circumstances, which few Europeans have had the good fortune to meet with: of animals and birds these are the most remarkable: the Horse of the Cape of Good Hope; a head of the Ant-eater, from the same place; a Buffalo, idem; the American Ant-eater; a white Fox; a Stag, from the island of Java, a very rare specimen; an animal resembling the Ermine, with a much longer body; three species of Sloths, from America, Ceylon without a tail, and from Java, the latter very rare; a China Pheasant; a male and female Eyderdown Duck; three species of the *Alca arctica*, very rare; a collection nearly complete, of the birds peculiar to Sweden, and a number of other animals and birds; a very beautiful collection of butterflies; the Atlas of Ceylon, a female, measuring nine inches from the extremity of one wing to the other; the male is not so large as the female: the Luna of Surinam, rare; the Priam, from the islands of Banda and Amboyna, costs 25 ducats in Holland; the Laternaria, a species of Fulgora, from Surinam, extremely rare; Pneumoræ, maculatæ, immaculatæ, and sexguttatæ, rare, particularly the last named, from the Cape of Good Hope; a superb collection of insects, crabs, and crayfish, spiders, scarabæi, bees, &c.; a new *scutellæus* of the Gideon species, with three horns, unique; corals and marine plants; a herbarium of plants of all countries, consisting of nearly twenty thousand specimens; a large piece of trapp of three colours; the base reddish, green and white, twenty inches long by sixteen wide, engraven en cameo, in China, after the antique, and representing leaves and fruit; an exceeding rare and valuable article: some shells; a spindle (Fusseau) singular on account of its size, being nearly seven inches; a shell from Jamaica of the *Tellina* genus; and another from Japan yet undescribed; an *Isogonum*, extremely rare, of five inches and a half; a Placenta, five inches in diameter; a Hammer fish, seven inches and a half at the end, the handle six inches long; a *Patella*, from Japan, nondescript. A Polish cap, nearly two inches. In the adjoining garden are five or six thousand exotic plants, as well of Sweden as from foreign countries, in green-houses and in the open air. Mr. Thunberg had a hundred scholars. His cabinet

he has made a present of to the university : his voyage to Japan was published in 1791, and translated into German.

There is a catalogue of the different cabinets of the university of Upsal, published in the form of dissertations, with the title, *Musæum naturalium Academiæ Upsaliensis* : many parts have already appeared, containing an account of what has been presented to the university by Mr. Thunberg and others. The collection of plants extends to twenty thousand species, the most rare of which are those of the Cape of Good Hope and Japan. The *Flora Japonica* is already printed, and Mr. Thunberg is at present employed on the *Flora Capensis*.

The coins of Japan are in the cabinet of his majesty at Drottningholm. Mr. Thunberg gave a description of them before the academy of sciences at Stockholm. Among the Indian coins there are numerous rare species, such as the pagoda of Malabar with the figure of an elephant in gold, and the twelve rupees in gold with the twelve signs of the zodiac, struck by Nourmahal, the wife of the grand Mogul, Selim I. It is extremely rare to meet with this collection complete, on which account it is very dear, costing more than 4000 livres.

The cabinet of Mr. Ziervogel is very curious, and above all remarkable in the department of shells, of which there are nine hundred different species, and in all nine thousand specimens ; a great number are sawed in twain in order to shew the interior : this appeared to us a new and well conceived plan ; some are sawn in a transverse direction. The following are the most remarkable in the cabinet : the *Ciprea ocellata*, with black spots ; a tolerably handsome collection of Harps, although the Imperial is wanting ; the *Hippo castanum murex* ; *Turris Babilonicus murex*, of three inches and a half in height ; *Murex perversus*, three inches and a half ; *Trochus Pharaonis solaris* ; *Turbo chrysotomus*, of a golden colour within ; a *Scalaris*, of nearly two inches ; *Helix caracolla* ; *Helix amarula* ; a grouped *Mitella* ; *Lepas* ; *Spondilus gæderopus*, of two inches with very long thorns ; *Arca tortuosa*, of three inches and a half ; a white Hammerfish, of five inches and a half, the arms more than six inches long, a side of it is wanting which is a great pity ; a Hammer, six inches by six ; a Placenta, of three inches and a half ; *Crysta galli*, *mytilus* ; a number of Argonauts ; numerous handsome Nautili, two of which *Pompili* six inches and a half in length, some are painted. A fine vase of rock chrystal, six inches in diameter, with a hunt extremely well engraven on the inside, a little chipped. A trifling collection of fish and marine plants. Very beautiful insects of nearly three thousand different sorts, but seventy are wanting to make the collection of those of Sweden entirely complete. A quantity of amber of all descriptions. A complete collection of stones and minerals. Mr. Ziervogel, in imitation of Mr. Thunberg, presented afterwards his cabinet to the university. The naturalist must be highly grateful to them for adopting this method of preserving to the public without disparagement, such truly valuable collections.

A full mile from Upsal, by turning a little from the great road, you arrive at Morastein ; this is a small house on the left side of the road, built over the spot where formerly the kings were crowned ; over the door is inscribed *mora stenar, anno 1770*. The interior of the room is twelve feet square ; a number of stones are ranged on the ground by the side of the walls of different sizes, some with characters engraven on them, but which are almost wholly effaced. What follows is written on the sides of the chamber at a certain height, and appears to relate to the sovereigns who have been crowned here.

"Konunga Waloch hyllningar oro fordom har skedda Konung stenkil 1060. K. inge. K. Magnus Ladulos D. J. 1276. K. Mag. smek. D. II. 1319. K. Eric, D. XIII. 1396.

K. Christopher, 1441. K. Carl, D. VIII, 1448. K. Christiad I, 1457. Riks. f. Sten Sture, D. yngre. 1512, flera berättelser om Töurners diss 1700. Rudbeck's Atl. Schefferus de Upsalia. Wexionus. Eubergs om Upsala. Salvii om Upland. Tunfeldt öfver sucrig. Med flora."

Mr. Ludeke, the pastor of the German church at Stockholm, took a drawing of the stones in 1789, which has been engraved; his son, at present at Göttingen (in 1793) is employed on an account of them.

From Upsal to Stockholm by Morastein, is seven miles and three quarters.

Instructions for those desirous of traversing Lapland and the Alps, in order so to pass over to Norway.

On arrival at Luleo, which is one of the towns of Westrobothnia, fifteen miles from Torneo, provided the traveller be desirous of continuing his route towards the provinces of Lapland, which bear the name of their capital, or chief place, he must proceed to old Luleo, situated a mile from the new. At a quarter of a mile distant, he will come to the river of Luleo, where he may go three miles by water; after which he will be obliged to walk for a mile or more through an arid sandy forest on account of the great rapidity of the river, and the rocks and stones in its bed which hinder the passage of boats; he must afterwards return to the banks of the river and take boat again, proceeding thus for four miles to a cataract of no great consequence, where some thousand barrels of salmon are annually caught. From this spot he must again go on foot for two miles, and then take to the water anew for three miles, in boats which he will find at every station pointed out. At eleven or twelve miles from Luleo, Lapland begins; from its borders to Jockmock church is six miles further. The forests and marshes may be passed over in four or five days, which will bring the traveller to the house of the rector (Mr. Fielstrøume) a polite and intelligent man, honoured with the title of king's almoner.

This church, built about a century ago, is situated in a hilly country, in the midst of a large forest of pines and fir.

Gelliwari mine, the most considerable in all Lapland, is six or seven miles west of Jockmock.

If desirous of continuing his journey towards the Alps, the traveller must observe the following directions: 1st, he must walk for a mile from the rector's house; 2d, cross a lake of the same breadth, and afterwards go on foot two miles, which will bring him to another lake called Purkiparer. He will find tolerable accommodation at night in the houses of the inhabitants, emigrants from Westrobothnia, whom the government has encouraged to settle in Lapland. From lake Purkiparer he must march two miles and a half, when he will have to cross another called Purkipaur. In its neighbourhood is a mountain called Atiekoiwe (grandfather's head) at the foot of which is a cavern consecrated by the ancient Laplanders to some of their divinities at present unknown. In it also are found numbers of rein deer's horns, remnants of sacrifices on the part of the Laplanders. The opening is so near the lake, that you may enter it without getting out of the boat; its dimensions are ten or twelve feet in breadth by six or eight in depth.

After passing the lake he must proceed on foot two miles, and will have to cross another large lake four miles broad, having passed which he will arrive at a habitation called Tiomotis. At a quarter of a mile from this place he will see a copper mine now abandoned called Kuriwan (copper mountain.) From Tiomotis he must march two

miles through the forest in order to reach lake Tiomotis, which is five miles in length ; this must be traversed in the direction of the Alps, which are distinguishable at the distance of eight or ten miles by their summits covered with snow, he will next see a rock of extraordinary height, and which on account of its resemblance is denominated the pulpit. A little farther he will notice the beautiful cascade Cascawari (described fifty years ago in the acta Upsal) precipitated with great noise just at the brink of the lake. At length he will reach Quickjock, another church of this province ; it is situated at the foot of the Alps, in such a pleasant spot during the summer, that the learned author of the celebrated Atlantica was thence induced to place the terrestrial paradise within the frozen zone (the rector's name is Ohrstrœum.) If desirous of crossing the Alps, the traveller now must ascend the first mountain, the most lofty of the whole, it is called Walliwari : the ascent is nearly a mile. From the summit of this mountain he will have most extensive and picturesque views of the whole province. From Walliwari you look down as on an immense map, and distinguish beneath you the tops of the Alps, at times enveloped in clouds.

It requires at least ten or twelve days to cross the Alps and arrive in Norway, on which journey he must absolutely travel on foot for eighteen miles, and provide himself with a tent and provisions. Scattered about here and there he will meet with some of the Laplanders with their flocks in the most fertile valleys ; but occasionally from their erratic life, he may meet with none. After crossing the Alps, their mountains of snow, their masses of ice, their deep rivers, &c. he enters Norway at the 68° of latitude, and finally arrives at the North sea.

CHAPTER XIV.

A Summary of the History of Sweden from Gustavus Vasa, to the Ascension to the Throne of Gustavus III.

As it forms no part of our plan to speak of the kingdoms of the North previous to their obtaining consideration in the political balance of Europe, we shall begin with the reign of the great Gustavus Vasa, under whom Sweden first saw herself finally released from a foreign yoke, and left to her own powers.

GUSTAVUS VASA.

Gustavus, the liberator of his country whose gratitude adjudged him the crown, was born of an illustrious family in 1490. His father Eric Vasa, was murdered in the horrible massacre at Stockholm on the 8th November, 1520. His great soul was wholly intent afterwards on avenging his father, and freeing the country from the tyrant beneath whose scourge it withered. After wandering about a length of time in Dalecarlia, and escaping a thousand dangers, he had the good fortune to muster sufficient force to make himself master of several towns, and finally to drive the Danes from Sweden in 1523, yet not without a number of battles in the two years it took him to effect his object. Previously nominated administrator of the state, this year he was made king at the diet of Strengnæs, and honoured with a title which he had so justly deserved, he entered his capital in triumph. Notwithstanding his power was unlimited, he governed Sweden rather as a father than a master. The Dalecarlians indeed revolted several times in his reign, to subdue whom he was obliged to use rigorous measures, which he exercised likewise towards two senators guilty of rebellion. At the council of Cēnrebo in 1529, the Roman Catholic religion was entirely abolished, and the creed of Augsburg

received as the rule of faith throughout the kingdom, which put an end to those disputes concerning religion which had lasted so great a length of time.

To the former possessions of the crown, Gustavus added the immense property of the clergy; and in 1531, with a view of giving greater weight to the new religion, he replaced the canons of Upsal by Lutherans; and caused Lawrence Petri, a Protestant, to be installed archbishop of that city for the celebration of the marriage of the king, and coronation of the new queen: Gustavus even gave one of his relations in marriage to the archbishop. In 1541, he made a treaty with Francis the first, king of France, to whom he sent an embassy the next year, the two sovereigns by this treaty contracted an alliance offensive and defensive. In 1544, Gustavus requested the states, assembled at Westeros, to make the crown hereditary in his male line, which was unanimously consented to, as a reward justly earned by his important services. It was decided at the same time, that in case of the royal line becoming extinct, the senate, in conjunction with the states, should elect a new king.

This prince died in 1560, after a glorious reign of nearly forty years. He possessed the requisites of a great man, was brave, enterprising, active, a great politician, and inaccessible either to love or flattery; never did he unsheath the sword except from necessity, yet never did he yield aught it was his duty to defend. He released Sweden from the shackles of Denmark, and notwithstanding the turbulent restless spirit of his people, was cherished by them as their common father. In short, he was a prince whom posterity may take for a model. Why were not his children like him?

ERIC XIV.

Eric, the son and successor of Gustavus, sensible and well informed, was yet highly culpable, irresolute in his plans, and imprudent in his conduct. The close of his reign was marked by acts of fury and madness, of which the Stures were the unfortunate victims. He placed great reliance in judicial astrology. He charged his brother John with rebellion for having married Catharine the daughter of Sigismund I, king of Poland, and an ally of the Muscovites, with whom he was at war; and notwithstanding he had consented in the first instance to the marriage, he besieged John in the castle of Abo, and having taken him prisoner, confined him in the castle of Gripsholm, whence he was released in 1567. The prince however never forgave his brother this imprisonment, but joining with his brother Charles in 1568, afterwards Charles IX, they besieged the king in Stockholm, and obliged him to abdicate the throne. This unfortunate prince was imprisoned in many different castles, and after nine years confinement was finally poisoned.

This death, while it excites our pity for the victim, inspires one with horror at his brother John, who succeeded him.

Eric XIV, in 1568, created counts and barons. Of the three dignitaries made on this occasion, Peter Brahe was the first. The families of the other two are extinct.

JOHN III.

John the Third was declared king by the states assembled at Stockholm; he reigned alone, notwithstanding his engagement of sharing the throne with his brother Charles, and which engagement was the inducement for Charles assisting him against Eric. The succeeding year Eric was condemned by the states to perpetual imprisonment; but in 1578, some partisans yet remaining faithful, he attempted to escape from prison. John, apprehensive of danger to his crown from such a rival, determined on poisoning him,

to a proposal of which nature the states had the baseness to give their approbation.* John contented himself with ceding to his brother Charles three provinces, as prescribed by his father's will, but exacted from the inhabitants an acknowledgment of him as the only sovereign of Sweden.

This prince was almost continually at war with the Danes and Muscovites, with various success. The following incident is highly worthy of relation. In 1573, six hundred horse and a hundred foot belonging to the Swedes under the command of general Ackeson, being abandoned by the Livonians their allies near Revel, defended themselves so vigorously against sixteen thousand Muscovites by whom they were surrounded, that they killed seven thousand of them and put the others to flight, making booty of their baggage. John, up to 1583, the period of the death of Catherine Jagellon, daughter of Sigismund I, assiduously attempted at different times to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion, but never with success; he even resorted to violent measures, such as rarely indeed avail in matters of faith. His son Sigismund, prince royal of Sweden, obtained by the credit of Anne, queen dowager of Poland, the sister of his mother, the crown of that kingdom in 1587. Religious disputes still continued: duke Charles being steadily attached to the creed of Augsburg, the established faith of the nation, a great coolness between the two brothers arose in consequence; but in 1589 they were reconciled, and the succeeding year duke Charles was nominated governor of all Sweden.

John died in 1592: he was an ordinary character, destitute of great vices as well as of any splendid virtues. The death of his brother Eric will be an immortal stain on his memory; the welfare of the state must in vain be pleaded in excuse for fratricide, the more so from the usage in similar cases of confounding the welfare of the individual with that of the state. His secret cabals to promote the Roman faith, did injury to the worship he sought to establish, and the ascendancy over him which he suffered his first wife to assume, does no credit either to his firmness or his character: the sway of woman is mild, but unless it inspire to glory and virtue, kings should resist it in common with all men.

SIGISMUND.

Sigismund, king of Poland, by the death of his father inherited the throne of Sweden: he delayed repairing to his new kingdom for some time: duke Charles his uncle, who acted in the interim as administrator of the kingdom, applied himself sedulously to rooting up all traces of the Catholic religion. Sigismund, on his arrival in Sweden, endeavoured to re-establish it, but met with strong opposition: he remained but a short time in this kingdom, his uncle Charles being named by the senate administrator in his absence. The duke, desirous of rendering himself popular, dismissed all such from their employments as professed the Roman faith; among the rest Eric Brahe, governor of the castle of Stockholm. In 1595, notwithstanding the king's prohibition, the duke convoked the states. At their sessions it was again decreed that the creed of Augsburg should be the only religion tolerated in the country; that the Romish priests should quit the kingdom within six weeks, that Catholics should not be allowed to make open profession of their religion, and be deemed incapable of holding any appointment. Moreover the duke, in conjunction with the senate, was appointed governor of Sweden. In 1597, Sigismund, jealous of a measure which tended to deprive him of all authority, found means to disturb the harmony subsisting between his uncle and the senate, parties

* Among the manuscripts of his majesty at Drottningholm, the original approval of the states is to be seen.

were formed in consequence, and that of the senate prevailed. But the duke assembled the partisans which adhered to his cause, and caused himself to be chosen governor by them again; he wished to make the senate agree with this election, but it refused. Upon this he took up arms and made himself master of a number of places. Sigismund, unable to prevent hostilities by negotiation, determined in 1598 on transporting an army to Sweden. The two parties came to blows near Linkœeping, and the king was worsted; notwithstanding this, Charles came to an accommodation with his nephew, by the terms of which the king resumed possession of his castles, strong places, vessels, &c. and the duke was declared entirely innocent. The treaty was signed by the two princes; after which the king retired to Poland, in lieu of repairing, as he had promised, to Stockholm, where his first act was to enter a protest against the treaty he had entered into.

Such a procedure irritated both the duke and the states, and engaged them to renounce their oath of fidelity to the king. An assembly for this purpose was called at Linkœeping in 1600, at which both Sigismund and his eldest son Ladislas were excluded from the throne; to the latter a year had been granted for his recanting the Romish faith, and coming to assume the crown. A long time afterwards, even the same proposal was made him anew, yet ineffectually. The same assembly of the states vested Charles with absolute power, and acknowledged his son, then six years of age, and his heirs male as his successors. Thus Sigismund continued to reign in Poland, preferring, notwithstanding he had children, an elective to an hereditary throne; this is certainly an election for which it is difficult to assign a cause, particularly as an able prince might have conciliated both parties and preserved them friends. He died in 1632, after a long and stormy reign: he wanted that discrimination and policy required in the delicate and awkward situation he found himself, and was rather guided by his own than the will of his people, which he was destitute of that vigour necessary to controul.

CHARLES IX.

Charles IX, enjoyed sovereign authority; but had not the title of king, than at which price his ambition was to be satisfied; pretending a desire to be released from the burthen of government, he was on the contrary raised to the throne by the unanimous suffrage of the states, assembled at Norkœeping in 1604. The few years of his reign were employed in wars with the Poles, the Russians, and the Danes. His son, Gustavus Adolphus, when yet but sixteen years of age, took Christianstadt in Scania from the Danes. Such a beginning was taken as a presage of what he afterwards effected. Charles died in 1611, aged 61 years. By the previous details, it will be evident that this prince was ambitious and politic. He was frequently at war, and displayed proofs of his ability in that department. It cannot, however, be disguised, that he usurped the throne; but history will pardon his usurpation, since to that was owing the succession of Gustavus Adolphus, one of the brightest ornaments of the Swedish crown.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

Gustavus Adolphus mounted a throne yet insecurely established, and attacked by three powerful enemies. Although scarcely seventeen years of age, the council appointed by his father confided with him the government of the state. This prince put himself immediately at the head of his troops to oppose the Danes. Different places were reciprocally taken and lost, without any evident advantage on either side. Peace was shortly afterwards concluded, and a truce was made with the Poles. In 1614 he found

himself obliged to renounce all his hopes of placing his brother Charles on the throne of the Czars. The truce with Poland was several times renewed; but in 1625, Sigismund, who always imagined his pretensions just to a crown which he had not been able to retain, determined positively on war. This war lasted till 1630, much to the disadvantage of Poland, which was assisted by the emperor to support its continuance; while at the same time he himself seized upon a part of the coasts of the Baltic. Gustavus could not without uneasiness behold the project of the house of Austria to domineer in the north. However, in order to avoid proceeding to extremities on slight foundation, he sent to propose a reasonable accommodation to the imperial plenipotentiaries then at Lubeck; but his ambassadors were not even admitted. Gustavus having demanded attention in vain, conceived it belonged to him for the honour of Sweden and his own, to make preparation for war. This was then resolved upon, and declared in 1630. This was that famous war, known by the denomination of the thirty year's war, which lasted uninterruptedly to 1648, and in which the Swedes began to crown themselves with glory under the command of their king; and the lustre of which was further increased by the different generals he had formed: they became the terror of Germany, and were looked upon as the best troops in Europe at a time when all the powers of the continent were involved in war. The campaigns of 1631 and 1632 are master-pieces of military tactics. The rapidity of the conquests of the Swedish monarch is astonishing, as well as the multiplied advantages he obtained over the best generals of that day. The cause of this was his being not only the best general in Europe (proved by the school he formed) but at the same time the bravest soldier in his army. At length, on the 16th November 1632, this great man encountered death at the battle of Lutzen in Saxony, in the 38th year of his age. The Swedes, it is true, were victorious here, but in losing their king they lost more than a battle; in case of his death, he had nominated Banner to succeed him in command.

Puffendorff asserts he was killed by duke Albert of Saxe Lauenbourg, which is the truth, but does not ascribe the real motive of this villainy; it was as follows: ten years or more before the battle of Lutzen, the duke of Saxe Lauenbourg, being at a ball given by the queen-dowager, at which the king and several senators were present, claimed precedence of a senator, which was opposed by his majesty; the prince, obliged to submit, shortly after put his cane between the senator's legs and nearly threw him down; this being perceived by the king, in the first heat of his resentment he gave the duke a box on the ear. The affair was unnoticed at the instant, but the duke never forgave the blow; and at Lutzen, in the middle of the action, he shot Gustavus, who fired at him again as he fell, but missed his aim; the duke thereupon fired a second time, after which the king was trampled under the horses' feet. The king had a heiduke, who accompanied him wherever he went; but this man being wounded in passing through a coppice, the duke availed himself of his absence to fire at the king, after which he returned to see if the heiduke was dead; this he feigned to be, and afterwards related the fact to a clergyman, who took his deposition in a bible; this bible was afterwards found, but no one knows aught of it at present. After the death of the king, general Banner took command of the army, in spite of the opposition of the different princes serving in it. An oath was tendered to the troops, and such officers as objected to it were replaced by others.

Duke Albert of Saxe-Lauenbourg, on the very day of the battle, went over to the emperor, and was killed by the Swedes at the siege of Schweinitz in Silesia.

Gustavus, by his personal qualities and brilliant actions, acquired the title of the Great, a title which upon every account he eminently deserved. The leisure afforded him

by peace or truces was employed in framing wise laws, in encouraging the arts, commerce, and agriculture; and, in one word, in proving that he was as great in peace as in war. A worthy descendant of Gustavus Vasa, he had not in an equal degree that suppleness and skilful policy which distinguished his grandfather, but of which again he had no need, since he had only to maintain himself on the throne in which his predecessor required to be established.

Without daring to decide which of these two monarchs has the greatest claim to our admiration, we shall just remark, that their name is a favourable omen for Sweden: he who at present fills their seat has already realized the major part of the hopes which that illustrious name encourages, as well as the great obligations it imposes. Gustavus IV, will not degenerate from his ancestors; this we dare to predict, and after having had acquaintance of the master and the scholar, the augur has little right to be vain of his prophecy.*

CHRISTINA.

Christina, the only daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, succeeded her father when only six years of age, under the guardianship of a council of regency. During her reign, the war in Germany was carried on with renewed vigour. The Swedish generals formed in the school of the great Gustavus, arrayed themselves with glory, as well as the armies they commanded. The principal chiefs who headed these troops were, the duke of Saxe Weimar, who died in 1639; Gustavus Horn; the famous Banner, who died in 1641; Kniphausen, killed in Westphalia in 1636; Alexander Leslie; James de la Gardie; Koningsmark; Wrangel; the celebrated Torstenson, named generalissimo at the death of Banner; and Charles Gustavus, count Palatine, who succeeded Christina. In 1637 Sweden made an alliance with France, which lasted to the peace of Munster in 1658. This peace was as glorious for Sweden as had been the war. The great Turenne on many occasions fought with the Swedish army not unworthy of such an illustrious ally. In order to give an idea of this war, we shall trace the great battles which took place between the Swedes and the Imperialists, without saying any thing of the towns carried, or innumerable conflicts more or less decisive, and many of which equivalent to battles. Leipsic in 1631; Lutzen in 1632; Nordlingue, 1634 (the only one lost); Perlberg in 1636 (general Banner); Rheinfeld, 1638 (duke Bernard); Lutzen, 1642 (Torstenson); Jancovitz, 1642 (Torstenson.) But what renders these campaigns admirable as lessons for military men, is the series of operations, is their various combinations; for a battle is scarcely ever any thing more than the affair of a day, whereas to manage a campaign requires more talents than the gaining a number of battles. During the continuance of this war, there were several engagements between the Danes and the Swedes, which we shall not particularise.

In 1650 the queen, in the assembly of the states, nominated Charles Gustavus, duke of Deux Ponts, her cousin-german, as her successor. The formal project of the queen was to abdicate the throne, and Charles Gustavus, while openly he appeared to blame her intention, had the address secretly to establish her in her resolution. Notwithstanding she highly esteemed this prince, she constantly refused to marry him. At length, on the 21st May 1654, in spite of the reiterated representations of every order in the state, Christina pronounced her intention of resigning the crown on the 16th June fol-

* We shall leave this article just as it was composed in 1791, before an execrable treason deprived Europe of a great man, sovereigns of a model, and Sweden of a support, the loss of which she will feel most sensibly, and sooner perhaps than is imagined.

lowing; a ceremony which took place with the greatest solemnity, the queen first reserving to herself some very considerable possessions, and a right of sovereignty over her servants and dependants: she was at that time twenty-seven years of age. Whatever motive may be ascribed to the abdication of Christina, it certainly required great strength of mind and resolution to meditate for so great a length of time, and put in execution, a project of similar nature. It appears a very difficult thing freely to renounce a crown, particularly in one who was born to the throne, and had known no other condition of life. Christina had reigned gloriously; she had protected the arts, industry, and commerce, and established post-houses (in 1636:) her sense and acquirements would have made her conspicuous, even had she not united with them the splendour of royalty; her youth held out assurance of a long continuance of life; but the love of liberty, of independence, got the better, in her, of every other consideration: in the throne she saw nothing but splendid slavery, the bonds of which her whole thoughts were employed in breaking asunder; for the inclination of this princess for the arts can only be regarded as a secondary motive for her conduct; this with that of numbers is our opinion.

Christina, notwithstanding, deserves to be ranked in the number of great sovereigns; she was an extraordinary woman, and implacable in her vengeance. (This is proved by the death of the marquis of Monaldeschi; an action in the life of Christina which we are very far from approving, particularly from her having chosen to exhibit at a foreign court, a spectacle till then unseen; but she thought she had a right to punish one of her servants, who assuredly was guilty, a right which, as we have before noticed, she had reserved to herself in full plenitude.) She held public opinion far too much in contempt; yet must it be allowed she possessed great qualities. It is affirmed that she repented having abdicated, which is credible; and this opinion receives some support from the circumstance of her having travelled to Stockholm upon the death of Charles Gustavus; this journey, however, was all for nought, the minds of the people being no longer favourably disposed towards her; for Christina, upon her first leaving Sweden, retired to Rome, and on passing through Inspruck had abjured Lutheranism, and embraced the Roman Catholic religion; she returned again therefore to Rome, and died there in 1689, in the 63d year of her age. We shall here remark, that this princess, on leaving Stockholm, took with her her furniture, pictures, books, medals, jewels, plate; in one word, all she could carry, and left her palace in such a perfect state of destitution, that her successor was obliged to hire carpets and borrow plate for the ceremony of his coronation: the queen deeming no doubt that in leaving him the crown, she left him quite enough.

CHARLES X.

Charles Gustavus was the son of the count Palatine, prince of Deux Ponts, and Catherine, the sister of Gustavus Adolphus, who were married in 1614. The king at the time declaring, that if he should die without children, he wished that the eldest prince born from this alliance should ascend the throne; in the person of Charles X, the will of Charles was literally complied with. This prince, throughout the whole of a very short reign, was entirely intent on war; he defeated the Poles and Danes in many engagements. Charles transported his army over the two Belts on the ice, and forced the king of Denmark to conclude the peace of Roschild, by which he acquired a great extent of country. The passage of the Great Belt, four Danish miles (fifteen to a degree) wide, took place on the 7th February 1658. This was an enterprise which ought to serve as an epoch in the wonders of the world: the council of war being of an entirely

opposite advice, the king yet resolved on the passage, adhering to the opinion of count Dahlberg,* a soldier of fortune, then major of artillery, who pledged himself for its success. A squadron of guards and the king's carriage were lost; the rest all arrived: orders were issued for every one to take care of himself, and succour none on pain of death. Shortly after the peace, Charles, suspecting the Danes might attack him when he should be otherwise employed, and wishing to put it out of their power to injure him, himself first broke the treaty; so that he had on his hands at once Denmark, Poland, the empire, and Holland, and bravely opposed all his enemies. A premature death carried him off at Gottenburgh in 1660, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and sixth of his reign. This prince was intrepid, indefatigable, and endowed with great talents for war, which he was continually waging. To him the pacific virtues, which alone complete the happiness of a nation, were unknown; yet throughout his reign, Sweden continued to be respected abroad, on account of her maintaining the reputation so long acquired. It is on this account alone that Charles deserves to be reckoned among the sovereigns who have graced the throne of Gustavus Vasa. His son, five years of age, succeeded him.

CHARLES XI.

Charles XI, resembled neither his father nor his son; nevertheless he was at war for several years, and gained in person two battles from the Danes, under command of their king, Christian V, (that of Lund in 1676, and that of Landscron in 1677.) Peace being concluded in 1679, Charles cemented it by marriage with the sister of the king of Denmark. He immediately limited the power of the senate; and managed, in 1682, in spite of the opposition of the nobility, to be invested with absolute power, which he preserved to the day of his death. He took advantage of his authority to recruit the finances of the state and the police of the kingdom; he knew how to make himself respected as well by his subjects as foreign powers: the flourishing state in which he left the army, commerce, and finances, is solely attributable to the use he made of his ability for governing, and his acting without controul and by himself. He handed down unlimited power to his son, which that prince frequently abused.

Charles XI, died in 1697, forty-two years of age; he had prepared the peace of Ryswick, which was not concluded until after his death. Charles XI, reigned seven-and-thirty years, and reigned a despot.†

* General count Dahlberg, who was present at this passage, an attempt which stands unequalled in the annals of war, served under Charles XI, and accompanied him in all his battles, and particularly at Lund, on the 14th December 1676: he was afterwards made governor of Riga, and was with Charles XII, at the famous passage of the Dwina, then nearly ninety years of age; he consequently was present at the most memorable actions of three several reigns. He it is who published *Suecia antiqua*, a collection of plans and views in Sweden. He left no son: by the female side, count Oxenstiern, formerly prime minister, descends from him. Since an opportunity offers to speak of this senator, though we may risk offending his modesty, we yet cannot suffer it to escape without observing of him what we shall be joined in by all who know him. To a name rendered so famous by the grand chancellor under Christina, he unites the most frank and noble manners, elegance of language, an abundance of sense, mildness, amiability, and information void of pedantry, which in our esteem increases its value.

† Many people detest the name of despot, considering that word synonymous with tyrant; what, however, constitutes despotism, is the power of making laws, of cancelling such as exist, of imposing taxes at will, and of lessening the freedom of the people. Hence a number of persons in France, where clear ideas on government are extremely rare indeed, notwithstanding it is a subject which has employed them ineffectually for these four years past, confound the power with the will. Russia un-

Although the means he made use of in assuming absolute power, may be considered by some as worthy of blame, it will yet be difficult indeed to pass censure on the use he made of his authority. He left to his successor a flourishing kingdom, a rich treasury, and an army; perhaps it had been more fortunate for humanity, if Charles XII, had found his kingdom in the same state he himself left it: yet again who can insure that this ungovernable character would have been restrained by want of power? Ought we not rather to conceive, that the condition of his subjects would have been much more worthy of regret, if an exhaustion of men and money had manifested itself at the beginning of his reign? This prince, attacked by three powers, neither regarded the state of his army, nor the means of his country; he only looked to the insult and revenge; the personal courage with which he was inspired appearing to him to counter-balance every other consideration. Sweden has reason to bewail the death of Charles XI, since his successor in a few years lost all the fruits of a long and glorious reign: yet can it not be concealed that Charles XII, never was the offender, and possibly, had he not been forced to arm for defence (and having assumed arms, he certainly bore them too long) he might have been ignorant his whole life long of his talents for war, of his fatal propensity.

CHARLES XII.

Charles XII, succeeded his father, and was declared of age at the close of 1697, although at that time no more than fifteen years and a half old. This prince, so famous from his exploits, was attacked in 1700 by the united forces of Denmark, Russia, and Poland, the sovereigns of which countries thought to take advantage of the youth of the new king, little imagining with whom they were about to deal. Charles obliged Denmark to sue for peace in six weeks time; and in the same year defeated the Russians at the famous battle of Narva, the relations of which differ with respect to the force of the contending armies; but generally agree in allowing that the Russians were beaten by an army vastly inferior in number. Mr. Leveque hazards an assertion in his history of Russia, on the subject of this action, as incredible as it is absurd: he pretends, that in spite of the capitulation of a part of the Russian army, the Swedish generals detained and ill-treated even those who had surrendered, and that in the presence and in violation of the orders of the king. This assertion is evidently false: in the first place, the Swedish generals never would have dared to infringe upon the orders of their king, and that in his presence, of a king so arbitrary in his will, and whose engagements were ever sacredly observed: moreover, it is not the character of Swedish soldiers to maltreat their foes after capitulation. Mr. Leveque composed his book in Russia; there it was that he imbibed that antipathy towards the Swedes which appears throughout his work:

doubtedly is a despotic state; still more so even than Turkey; which might easily be proved were we to enter into discussion on the subject; yet will no one attempt to compare Catharine with Nero or Caligula. Denmark also is a despotic government, perhaps as much so as Russia; yet no one esteems the Danes a nation to be pitied, although, according to the philosophers of the present day, all subjects of despotism are objects of pity. We will readily grant that such a case may occur, but deny that it is a positive consequence. The most tremendous despotism is that which is exercised by a number, examples illustrative of which may easily be found in Europe. The more despots there are, the heavier the yoke they impose: a sensible and well-informed man, void of ambition, and friendly to peace to order, and justice, will ever prefer the smallest number of despots; because he will be satisfied that having to obey his task will be but the more laborious, from being submitted to the caprices of a mob always ignorant, frequently unjust, and sometimes brutal. Were we to point out a perfect government, we should exemplify the empire of law; but then again to how many chiefs should we confide the trust of seeing to their execution?

how vain such poor attempts to prejudice that brave nation ! No, Mr. Ledeque, say what you will, the Swedes will never be regarded as a rude and barbarous people ; the inverse indeed would have been much more credible. The famous passage of the Dwina in 1701, in face of the Saxon army, is one of the most brilliant actions of modern warfare. We shall not follow Charles in his victories. Every one is acquainted with the vengeance he took on Augustus, the king of Poland, by dethroning him. His intention was to treat the Czar Peter in the same manner ; but at length, after nine years success, fortune forsook his banners at Pultawa. This battle, fought on the 27th June (O. S.) 1709, destroyed the effect of his previous victories. The provinces upon which he had seized were retaken, his army annihilated, and the Czar thus saw himself freed from a dangerous enemy, and at liberty to dedicate his attention to the civilization of his people. Charles taking refuge with the Turks, remained five years among them ; vainly endeavouring, by every contrivance, to engage them to assist him with troops. His enemy Peter, finding himself in 1711 surrounded at the Pruth with his army by the Turks, Charles was in hopes that he should be allowed to profit of his awkward situation and attack him ; but the Czar had the prudence to capitulate, and thus frustrated all his plans. In the mean time the Turks, weary of such a guest, yet unable to rid themselves of him, resolved upon attacking him by force ; then it was that Charles sustained in his house an unexampled siege, and displayed so much intrepidity, that, while we can but condemn him for defending himself against all right and reason, we yet cannot withhold our admiration.

At length Charles departed in 1714 for his dominions, that is to say, to continue the war. Baron Goertz, a species of adventurer, but an able politician, having insinuated himself into the good graces of the prince, was trusted with the management of his affairs. He contrived to bring to conclusion a treaty of alliance between his master and the Czar, tending to re-establish Stanislaus in the throne of Poland (for this unfortunate prince, after the defeat of his protector, had fallen with his fortunes) and to place the pretender on the throne of England : these vast projects were overturned on the 30th November 1718, by the death of Charles at the siege of Fredericshall in Norway : he meditated the conquest of that kingdom, and every thing leads one to think that he would have succeeded, for never had he commanded a finer army. He is blamed by M. de Voltaire for preferring rocks and deserts to the fine provinces of Germany, which he left to themselves ; we differ from M. de Voltaire : Norway has other recommendations than rocks : its position renders it susceptible of an immense trade ; and as it leans uninterruptedly on Sweden, it appears to us far more desirable to that kingdom than provinces in Germany, which, however rich, are more distant, separated by the sea, and difficult to defend.

It has been said that all the qualities of Charles bordered on extravagance, and that he was rather extraordinary than great ; this is true : more a soldier than a general ; this may be true also : nevertheless, he possessed a fund of military knowledge, which he proved on various occasions ; but his intrepidity, carried to success, leads one to forget the general to regard the soldier alone. Charles possessed some estimable qualities ; he was pious, a foe to adulation and luxury, and exempt from foibles ; he rewarded merit, particularly valour, which he looked upon as a principal virtue : he may perhaps not unworthily be styled a great man, but he was a king, and he was not a great king : he neglected those duties to which a sovereign ought to attend ; agriculture, commerce, the arts, the welfare of his people, these were wholly foreign to him, and every thing but arms : he left his states exposed to his neighbours, destitute of men and money ; whence we may conclude, that this prince may in some points be admired, but that it

would be dangerous for Sweden should he be imitated by his successors: had he consented to the peace proposed by the Czar in the midst of his victories, he might have dictated what terms he would, and have ranked on a level with the greatest sovereigns; but thirsting for vengeance he fancied fortune harnessed to his chariot wheels. This confidence was one of his greatest faults; another his advancing too far into a country in which, should he gain a battle, his condition would not be ameliorated, but in case of defeat (which happened to him) he would be destitute of all resources. It appears certain that the principal cause of his losing the battle was the incapacity of Meneppa to fulfill his engagements, to which likewise the wound which Charles received might not a little have contributed. Had the king appeared on horseback at the head of his army there is no saying what influence his presence and example might possibly have had on the event. Shortly after his death baron Gœrtz, accused of tyranny and extortion on the people, was beheaded at Stockholm. We look upon him less as really guilty, as he did but obey his master's order, than as a victim to the misfortunes of the times; a victim possibly requisite in the disastrous position of the kingdom. As we proceed we shall speak at large of the death of this king.

FREDERIC I.

Charles XII, never having been married, the states and senate conceived no occasion more favourable could offer for annihilating arbitrary power. Upon such conditions the crown was offered to Ulrica Eleonora, the sister of Charles XII. She accepted them, and the constitution was placed upon the ancient footing. The queen was proclaimed king, according to custom for queens ruling themselves, and was crowned in 1719; but the year following she engaged the states to approve of her yielding the crown to her husband, the prince of Hesse Cassel, who was crowned in May 1720. Russia resumed hostilities against Sweden, the death of Charles annulling all treaties between him and the Czar. At length the peace of Nystadt, in 1721, restored tranquillity to Sweden at the price of several provinces on the coasts of the gulf of Finland. During the twenty years this peace continued Frederic employed himself on internal affairs, commerce, industry, and finance. In 1731 he established the East India company; in 1734 entered into a treaty of commerce with Turkey. At length, in 1741, Sweden, having cause to complain of her conduct, declared war against Russia; but the states failed in taking the necessary precautions in similar circumstances. The Swedish army under Wrangel was defeated near Wilmanstrand by troops superior in number; and this was the only action during the war in which the Swedes conducted themselves with their usual valour; after this they kept continually retreating, scarcely ever obtaining any but slight and unfrequent advantages, a matter to be attributed to the misunderstanding among the generals, and the almost utter impossibility of war being carried on with success by divided councils at the helm. Generals Buddenbrök and Levenhaupt, who commanded in the two last campaigns, were arrested, and, as it frequently happens, they were made the scape-goats for the bad success of the war, and beheaded in 1743, regarded, by all impartial men, rather as unfortunate than guilty victims.

To complete the misfortunes of Sweden, she had to contend with enemies in her bosom; the Dalecarlians revolting were subjected by force alone: at length the kingdom exhausted by such a disastrous war felt itself obliged to sue for peace with Russia. The peace of Abo, in 1743, guaranteed the possession, on the part of Russia, of the provinces before ceded, and fixed the limits of the two states as they are at the present time.

The queen Ulrica Eleanora died at the close of 1471 regretted by all her people, whose affections she had justly earned. The king had no children. In 1742, after long debates, the duke of Holstein-Gottorp was named as successor to the throne of Sweden by the three orders of the state (the clergy protesting in vain against the election;) but this prince, unfortunately for him, had been declared successor to the throne of Russia, and could not accept of the offer of the Swedes. In the following year the duke of Holstein, bishop of Lubeck, father of his present majesty (Gustavus III, 1791) was made prince-royal of Sweden, and married the succeeding year to Ulrica of Prussia, sister of the great Frederic. In 1745 the king made a treaty of defensive alliance with Russia, but which lasted no longer than 1747, when he made a new alliance with Prussia, and afterwards with Denmark, upon the occasion of a tripartite league between Russia, England and Holland; but the good understanding subsisting between the two countries was not interrupted. In 1750 a canal of communication between Stockholm and Gottenburgh, joining various lakes and rivers, was begun, and but for the cataract of Trolhætta would have been completed. This prince renewed, in 1748, the order of the Seraphim, instituted in 1334 by Magnus Ladulos; that of the Sword, instituted by Gustavus I, in 1523, and created the order of the Polar Star.

In 1751 Frederic was taken from the Swedes, who bewailed him as a father. This prince had no other ambition than to render his people happy; no wish but to promote the arts, agriculture, and trade; his were the virtues of peace, less brilliant than warlike deeds, yet far more solid, desirable, and necessary to the happiness of man. If with that portion of authority left him by the renewed constitution, he merited praise like this, what might he not have earned if vested with absolute power? For we are wide of imagining that absolute sway has any influence on the character of kings; it merely affords the means of displaying themselves with greater energy, and renders them, from its possession, either more amiable, or more worthy of dread: thus, though Tiberius were a monster, Titus was a god.

ADOLPHUS FREDERIC.

This prince ascended the throne in 1751, after an oath was administered to him to maintain the constitution of government as established in 1720. The new style of the calendar was adopted in the beginning of his reign, an academy of belles lettres instituted under the patronage of the queen, and a pyramid in honour of the labour of Mr. Maupertuis and the learned academicians who accompanied him in 1736, erected at Torneo. The royal authority already so much diminished was exposed to new attacks; and in consequence, in the year 1756, a revolution was attempted in favour of the king, the chief victims of which were the count Brahe and baron Horn. Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, conceived herself obliged to enter into the league against the king of Prussia. This war did not redound to her honour, and was terminated in 1762 without advantage or loss, except of men and money, serving to demonstrate that armies, wherein there are more than one party, more than one mind, are ever incapable of any thing great. In 1762 the two factions, known by the name of ~~hats and bonnets~~, began to declare themselves openly: foreign powers assisted either one or the other party, and each triumphed in its turn. The sovereign alone, always subject to humiliation and insult, felt himself constrained to simulate a fixed determination to abdicate the throne, in order to obtain the convocation of a diet which might afford some alleviation to the long sufferings of the people. This resolution was the

more embarrassing from the senate alone, that is to say, without the concurrence of the king, being disabled by the laws of the realm from putting any orders into execution. This convocation of the states however effected none of the changes requisite. Adolphus Frederic died in 1771, regretted for his goodness and humanity, and pitied by those witnesses to a reign which the injustice and vexations of a corrupt senate rendered the epoch of misery to the people and discomfort to the king. He left his son the name of king of Sweden, with which alone that young prince did not long remain content.

The reigns of these two sovereigns, from 1720, afford a new proof of what we have before advanced, that kings without authority are of little value. In the wars of 1741 and 1756 who in the Swedes would look for the companions of Charles XII, and Gustavus Adolphus? But for history one would take them for novices in war: nothing is seen among them but generals disagreeing among themselves, a divided senate dictating arbitrary orders to distant armies, of whose force and position they were perfectly ignorant. To what a deplorable government has not Sweden been subject for these fifty years! To what humiliations has the chief of a nation, pretendedly free, been subject? a nation which, while mocked with the title of free, groaned beneath the tyranny of a number of families, and what is even worse, beneath a foreign yoke. It cannot be too strongly enforced that to degrade the king is degrading the nation which permits it; if it be his own people who vilify him, at the peril of his life, a king worthy of the name ought to resume the authority which is indubitably devolved on him, or if means for the attempt be wanting (that is to say courage, for that alone is requisite to begin with) he should abdicate the throne and live a private man, tranquil, and, if a virtuous man, respected; so would he fill his proper station.

In the number of kings whose history we have sketched, we have noticed several whose memory will with justice be renowned, because they reigned substantially. A powerless king may be humane, affable, virtuous, a good father of a family, a good friend, but cannot be a great king. Adolphus Frederic possessed every estimable quality; this is a tribute paid to him by all who knew that sovereign: was it ever said or written of him that he was a great king? Stanislaus, the present king of Poland, what is his character after a thirty years reign? that of being an amiable, well informed man, whose conversation is enchanting; but this is all. Royal dignity is easily forgot when but the name remains; and in speaking of one so situated, the judgment given is similar to what would be given on a private man.

CHAPTER XV.

Gustavus III, the reigning Monarch....Duke Charles the Regent.

WE shall dilate more in describing the reign of Gustavus III, : to this we are induced by several motives: the revolution effected by him, sufficient in itself to render his name illustrious; the establishments which he has formed; all that he has done towards the welfare of his people; the state in which he has left arts and sciences; the advantage we possess of having personally known him, and of having had means of appreciating part of his rare qualities; his death even, a death upon which he might have calculated, since Henry IV, fell also by an assassin; his death the greatest misfortune that could have befallen Sweden; all tend to induce us to trace the principal events of the reign of this great prince. This is a tribute deservedly his due, and which with the utmost cordiality we offer to his memory.

We have observed that Adolphus Frederic left but the title of a king to his son. The state was torn by two opposite parties; the senate by its arbitrary exactions was oppressively grievous; the sovereign alone enjoyed no prerogative, but was subject to the most humiliating vexations; in short, things had arrived to such a pitch that the crown could but be considered as a burthen to a prince who knew himself capable of supporting alone the whole of its weight.

Let us not be surprized then that Gustavus III, endowed with a strong mind, with great energy of character, should feel himself indisposed to tolerate such a shameful yoke. The revolution of 1772 is known to all the world, even in its most nice minutiae; this we shall not attempt to describe, yet shall we communicate to our readers an anecdote but very little known, for the truth of which we can vouch. The king of Sweden had confided his project to none but Louis XV.; nevertheless the secret transpired, was known in England, and mentioned to the English minister at Stockholm. Judge of the astonishment of Gustavus; this unseasonable discovery engaged him to execute his plan some days before the time he at first intended, which did him not however any injury. This is the manner in which the secret transpired. Madame du Barry had noticed the king reading a dispatch with much attention; whether out of simple curiosity, whether at the instigation of the English ambassador, she picked his majesty's pocket of the letter upon his falling asleep, and imparted its contents to the ambassador. (This is a fit moment to observe that, notwithstanding it be made to amount to a much larger sum, the real assistance offered by France to the king of Sweden at this critical juncture was no more than 500,000 livres) it got wind among many people at Stockholm, who even knew the day fixed for the purpose: but when they saw Gustavus the evening before present at a new piece at the opera till eleven o'clock, and appear perfectly gay and unconcerned, they could not imagine it would take place on the succeeding day. We shall just remark here that when this prince projected any important affair he always affected to give balls and entertainments, into the spirit of which he appeared to enter with so much glee that no one could think it possible his mind could be intent on aught but mirth and pleasure.

This revolution, brought about by a prince but six-and-twenty years old, totally changed the constitution of Sweden, and was effected without the loss of a single drop of blood. As Frenchmen we may be allowed, in comparing it with our own, to heave a bitter sigh. It proves that the excesses which will live an immortal stain in our history might have been avoided; however philosophers and the reasoners of the day assure that revolutions cannot happen without violent convulsions and numerous victims: if you object the revolution in Sweden, they answer, Oh, that was quite a different thing: and indeed it was, and therefore do we sigh; but why was it different? In both the one and the other country the constitution of the government was changed, the existing laws were annulled for the substitution of others; one power was annihilated for the creation of a different one: these are just and very striking resemblances; in what then does the difference consist? In this: in Sweden, he who effected a revolution had no one to consult; he had the genius to cause it to be adopted by all his subjects, and excited the admiration of Europe: in France, those who caused the revolution possessed beforehand the good wishes of the people, yet found the secret of dissatisfying and disgusting a great part of the kingdom, and all Europe; they have been unable to fix their edifice upon a solid base, whilst in Sweden the same structure required but a few days for its perfect completion. We cannot tell if these differences will be found available in justifying the misfortunes and atrocities of the revolution.

Gustavus III, unites to those qualities which constitute a great king, those the most amiable in individuals; he has an inexhaustible fund of anecdotes of all descriptions.

Rarely is a circumstance related in his presence without its bringing somewhat correspondent to his memory. Every age is present in his mind, and whatever be the nation he is equally well acquainted with its history. Frequently has he amused himself by embarrassing strangers who have passed for intelligent, and who have even deserved their character on points relating to their own country: in one word, as a social companion none can be more agreeable. When we look upon him as a monarch he exacts the just tribute of praise and admiration. This prince possesses those qualities which spur a man to great deeds from a due calculation on their success: that natural eloquence, that talent of expressing with fluency those sentiments with which he would inspire others; that gift of speech, the effect of which in a sovereign's mouth is sure, Gustavus received from nature; nor ever has he employed it to the multitude without success.* He is possessed of great personal courage; evinced in his campaigns in Finland: indeed, if at all deserving of reproach, it is for exposing himself too much. His conduct towards the officers, condemned in 1790 by the council of war, is the highest proof of clemency that ever was exhibited by a sovereign: out of a great number of delinquents sentenced to death five of the most guilty, it was expected, could not escape the sword of the law; one alone paid with his head the treason of the whole, nor would he even have suffered had he not delayed too long to implore for mercy. The most frivolous pretexts† were caught at with avidity by this monarch to save the guilty: this however did not prevent remarks that he was fond of decapitation; to which we advanced, as our opinion, that he appeared to us not sufficiently so, since he might, and possibly ought to have taken off the heads of the other four officers, as well as that of a certain officer of rank in the navy, tried a number of times, yet never unanimously condemned, although highly culpable, whose name we may dispense with mentioning; the Swedes will recognise it easily enough. Thus is it plain, the contagion was not confined to the army; the admiral was equally merciful with his brother, for under any other commander the guilty man would certainly not have been tried by two councils of war, nor have ever left his ship again. Nevertheless we are firmly persuaded that the sovereign alone has the right of pardoning an officer guilty of disobedience in battle; and that the general who presumes so far exceeds the limits of his authority.

With the talent of speaking, with courage and clemency, the king possesses great ambition, and indefatigable activity, an immoderate thirst of glory, and what alone makes him undertake every thing, a strong reliance on his good fortune. Perhaps we may deceive ourselves, yet cannot we refrain from thinking that a man, who with all these qualities wears a crown, must draw on him the eyes of all the present age, and command the admiration of posterity.

Still not to be chargeable with a want of frankness, and that we may shew that impartiality which we profess, let us endeavour to reply to the detractors of this prince,

* When the king of Sweden visited France, in 1784, we courtiers thought he spoke too much for a king; this without doubt was occasioned by our being so little accustomed to conversation with kings. Not but that it ever is best for a sovereign to be silent unless he speak to the purpose, but in our opinion a king who should have been able to speak to could not possibly have done us harm.

† A certain officer having caused himself to be reported as insane, was as such confined in the lunatic hospital at Dannviken. Some imagine the king might have been the dupe of this stratagem; the following anecdote may serve on this score to undeceive them. The king speaking to us one evening of what we had visited in the course of the day, we informed him that we had that very day been to see the hospital for lunatics. Did you see K.? We were not so indiscreet as to require it, satisfied with noticing the pavilion in which he was confined. So, so, you fancy that I gave little faith to his being mad. But in truth the king only sought for a pretence to save his life.

for he is too great not to have calumniators. He is accused of a crime in declaring war at a time that he had not the power of making either war or peace. This reproach is not unjust; we have no doubt but Gustavus knew that he exceeded thus the powers he himself had obtained, and that he thoroughly repented not having inserted such an article in his constitution of 1772, which would have passed them as well as the rest; and his deficiency in this instance is certainly a fault on the part of the prince which can no otherwise be excused, than by an apprehension he might have of acquiring the less from his asking too much. However that may be, this prerogative inherent in royalty he did not possess; he was desirous of obtaining it, but at the same time anxious that the war should be carried on for the advantage of his country: and people worthy of credit, even in Russia, agree that had it not been for the defection of his officers in Finland, nothing could have prevented the king going to St. Petersburg, not for the purpose of keeping it, that he would not have been able to do, but of laying it under contribution, of drawing thence a considerable sum of money, and of obliging the emperor to agree to the restitution of a part of the countries wrested from his predecessors; in one word, for terminating the war in one short campaign by a glorious peace, of which he himself would have prescribed the terms.

Here again have we occasion to admire the clemency of his majesty.* The campaign of 1788, was prepared a long while before in the midst of entertainments and spectacles. A fine army, a fleet of nearly thirty ships of the line, equipped in two months time, an assurance of the defenceless state of the enemy's coasts; what a prospect was here of success! A traitor, a Swede, Sprengporten, who had gone over to the Russians some years before, frustrated the grand preparations. The empress proposed to him to serve against the Turks, but he preferred being employed in Finland, where he could be of greater service, assuring her that he should be able to seduce good part of the Swedish army. This villain entered the camp on different occasions disguised as a peasant, with his pockets filled with gold, and gained over nearly a hundred officers, principally Fins. It is affirmed as a fact, that an officer can be pointed out who sold himself for a hundred roubles; a cheap price indeed to take in exchange for infamy. The project of these wretches was not confined simply to a refusal of advancing, they were likewise to seize on the king's person and deliver him to the Russians. This prince was in perfect security, absolutely ignorant of this frightful conspiracy; that he was not seized was wholly owing to the cowardice of those who had engaged in the plot. Reflect but an instant on what must be the situation of Gustavus, when his troops having entered the enemy's territory, his officers flatly refused to march, owing to his not having authority to undertake a war, as they assumed, without the approbation of the states. The king instantly perceived that all his blooming hopes were blasted, all his great preparations rendered useless, in one word, the whole campaign abortive; a campaign, of the success of which he had so much reason to be confident. He caused his forces to retreat, and sent the officers to be tried at Stockholm. We are far from inclined to blame this prince's conduct, we have no such right, for clemency, even where excessive, is still a virtue. We shall only state what in his place we would have done. Immediately upon the refusal of the Finish officers to march, we would instantly have had them arrested, disarmed, and surrounded by some battalions; advancing into the circle we would have said to them: Gentlemen, do you persist in your disobedience? Remember that at present you are soldiers opposed to the enemy, and not citizens deliberately in council. Should they have answered

* Were we desirous of multiplying examples we should not need them. In 1772 a man convicted of offering to assassinate him was sent to Pomerania with an appointment of 500 rix-dollars.

We are resolute: their determination was made a long time before, and their correspondence with the enemy, afterwards proved, they had pledged themselves to persist. That being the case, gentlemen, as an officer at the head of his regiment is bound to obey as much as the meanest soldier in the ranks; and as all disobedience in the face of the enemy by military law is punishable with death, the law shall take effect: we would then have decimated the guilty, given up to immediate execution those upon whom the lot had fallen, and imprisoned the remainder in the nearest citadel; afterwards we would have filled up the vacant appointments, and have given the word to march, with firm assurance that none would have ventured to hesitate. Without being a king, a general ought to have acted thus, and we could cite those who would not have acted otherwise. This conduct on the part of the king would have been so much more secure in that the soldiers, although seduced in measure by their officers, would have sided with the king immediately he addressed them. It is not of them that his majesty complained on this mournful occasion; on the contrary, often has he repeated before us, that once entreated with the king at their head, the Swedish troops would brave even hell itself.

To other embarrassments to which his majesty was subject, is to be superadded the impossibility of his addressing the Finnish soldiers, except by an interpreter; the Finnish language having no analogy with the Swedish. We had an anecdote from his majesty, which for its singularity deserves to be repeated. Being desirous of addressing some soldiers who were murmuring, he made use of an officer whom he met on the spot for an interpreter. This officer delivered the speech of his majesty to the soldiers, and the answer of the latter to the king, quite different to what was expressed by either. The prince was not till some time after made acquainted with this piece of roguery, as impudent as novel. He had liberality enough not to seek to know who this officer was.

The king in despair returned to Stockholm, where shortly after a party was formed against him. The project of it was no less than to reduce him to the state he was in on ascending the throne, and if possible, even lower. The chiefs of the party spoke openly of their intention and nothing but the assembly of the diet was waited for to consolidate this new scheme. Gustavus, in the most terrible position imaginable, hesitated whether or no he should assemble the states; fortunately he determined for the negative, swayed, as it is said, by the advice of two foreign ministers; had he convoked them at that instant he would have been ruined. To these multiplied embarrassments succeeded a sudden irruption into his dominions. The prince of Hesse, at the head of twelve thousand Danes, landed in the neighbourhood of Gottenburg. Gustavus was at the time in the mountains of Dalecarlia: setting off with only a single servant unknown to any one, he harangued from the same stone, on which on a similar occasion Gustavus Vasa had stood, the descendants of those who had assisted him to expel the tyrant Christiern. Gustavus III, whose eloquence was uniformly persuasive, engaged a number of these mountaineers to set off for Stockholm. (In one village, where the men were employed at their labour, the king addressed their wives, who pledged themselves for their husbands.) They arrived at their place of rendezvous, and under the command of baron Armfeldt, clothed and dressed in their country garb, with the blue ribbon conspicuous over his Dalecarlian dress, took a position at Drottningholm, whence they had an eye on all that passed in the capital. The king here for the first time heard of the invasion of the Danes: he immediately set off, and arrived at Gottenburg at an instant when sought for all over the kingdom, at an instant when this city, incapable of defence, was about to surrender to the prince of Hesse. The presence, the language of the king gave courage to all. No longer was heard any notion to surrender; the Danish

herald coming to demand the keys, received his answer from the monarch's mouth, whom he mistook for an officer. Mr. Elliot the British minister at Copenhagen then displayed that elevation of character so frequently distinguished in the British nation. He declared that his court would consider the prolongation of hostilities, and any refusal on the part of the Danes to evacuate the Swedish territory, as a declaration of war.* The prince of Hesse upon this caused his troops to retreat, and reaped no other advantage from this campaign than the obloquy of having dastardly invaded the dominions of a king in misfortune, without even the slightest pretext. This general had landed at Gottenburgh some months before; he was received there with the greatest respect, particularly on the part of the duke of Sudermania, who was there at the time. The whole of the city was shewn him as well as the forts, without the least idea that in so short a period he would avail himself of the information he was thus afforded. The known influence of the prince of Hesse on all the military operations of Denmark leaves no room to doubt of his being the director on this occasion, a conduct which stamps him with infamy. This prince was moreover, with great reason, blamed for not having raised contributions on the city of Gottenburgh, or carried off the stock of goods with which the magazines of the East-India company were full. The villainy once begun some booty ought to have been made without having had the excuse alone for the trouble. All this might have taken place before the king arrived; with him once there nothing indeed could have been more hazardous on the part of the Danes than to have tried the fate of arms. His majesty had absolutely determined on giving them battle in a little plain adjoining the city. He had collected from three to four thousand men; general Armfeldt was on his way to join him with nearly ten thousand, and the Swedes, animated by the presence of their king, who came for their salvation, would have shewn themselves difficult to conquer. Not that the state in which the king found the town was at all fit for defence. The cannons on the ramparts had balls which did not fit the calibres of the guns, and the officer of artillery there was unacquainted with the range of the mortars: beneath the master's eye soon however was all adjusted.

It will be found hard to credit that which follows: the king who, by his presence, saved the warehouses of the East-India company from pillage, at a time they contained three cargoes to the value of from 11 to 12,000,000 of livres,† requested of it a very trifling loan: it granted him a part only of what he required. Here again the king was deficient; thus should he have addressed the directors: Gentlemen, it is evident that your salvation is owing entirely to myself: in effecting it I have incurred a pressing necessity for 100,000 rix-dollars; this is but the twentieth part of the value of what I have preserved to you; grant me this sum I beseech you immediately; I offer you to indemnify yourselves out of the duties payable on your successive cargoes. If the directors were endowed with common sense they would have answered: Sire, we have a lively sense of the obligations we lay under to your majesty: we deem ourselves but too happy in offering him this feeble testimonial of our gratitude; yet deign, Sire, to accept it rather as a free gift; a gift undeserving of a thought. The king would have thanked them as a company should be thanked, as a province is wont to be presenting the government with a ship, and there would have been an end of the affair.

* Admiral Byng, in the Mediterranean 1718, afforded a similar example. Mr. Keith, when ambassador at Copenhagen insisted in a similar manner that the government should not attack the life of Matilda. From what country is it that ministers dare to take upon themselves, without instructions from their court, such positive declarations, and without an apprehension of having them denied? Such procedures do great honour to any nation whatsoever.

† From 450 to 500,000*l*.

The king, on his return to the capital, convoked the diet; but having had especial reason to be dissatisfied with that of 1786, he had the precaution to secure the votes of the three orders for the act of security. The nobility alone were refractory: his majesty consequently felt himself obliged to intimidate them by an act of vigour, no less than the arrest and confinement of a number of the most considerable among them in Frederichsoff, the present arsenal. The people sided with the king, and testified their zeal in the most unequivocal manner, by insulting those who opposed him; and in this number some of the first in the kingdom, men whose rank one should think would have guaranteed them from similar vexation: but who, if the truth be spoken, deserved the obloquy with which they were treated, more on that very account than did the others. The nobility not choosing to give way, the king determined to terminate at once these continual dissensions. He entered the house of lords without any one suspecting his intentions. The king's party were pre-advised that if he should get into his carriage on leaving the house it would be a token that he had gained his point; on the contrary, if he should mount his horse (some of his horses ready saddled standing in the square) it would be the signal that force must be used for obtaining that to which persuasion was inadequate. An immense concourse of people accompanied the king to the square. He enters the house, and immediately upon his entering the chamber (entirely unattended) two gentlemen, well known by him to be of the opposite party, closed the door rudely after him. The king feels no wise disconcerted; he takes his seat and proposes the act of security to the assembly,* which had already obtained the suffrage of the three other orders. He puts the question to the vote; no, no, resounds from all parts; some of the members however attached to his majesty vociferate yes with all their might. Notwithstanding much the less, the king feigns to believe that the number of yeas is the greater: he declares as much to the assembly; again the yeas and noes are repeated in a similar proportion. The king again makes the same remark, and orders the marshal of the diet to sign the acceptance of the assembly in the name of the nobility; adding that notwithstanding the consent of the three other orders already obtained enforced that of the fourth, he yet preferred that the act should pass by the free will of his nobility, whose zeal and attachment to the crown he was happy on this occasion to acknowledge. After thanks thus well deserved, his majesty sends to notify the passing of the act, on the part of the nobility, to the three other orders then sitting. Immediately after the heralds, lessened before hand, parade the town, and announce the diet closed. This proclamation greatly disconcerted the nobility, whose intention it certainly was to protest as soon as the king should have left the house; but his majesty kept his seat until the dissolution of the diet was proclaimed. His majesty then left the house, and was received with acclamation by the people, whose violence it were to be feared the nobility would have had to dread, in case things had taken a different turn. Since that period a number of gentlemen have retired to their estates, where they remain condemning the king until they shall meet again in another diet.

His majesty, yet, is far from having as partizans all the nobility who remain in Stockholm: we could enumerate many of that body, of both sexes, who owe their all to him, but who, nevertheless, are not the less enraged at him; some women, particularly, who would have died of grief if his majesty had omitted for three weeks together to invite them to sup with him, are among the most violent of his calumniators. As French-

* This act gives the king the power of making peace and war, fixes the taxes to the next diet without prescribing when it is to take place. The want of money alone therefore can oblige the king to summon the states.

men we are far from being astonished at this sort of ingratitude. Some among the ladies, desirous of qualifying their opinion, reason right and wrong on governments, administration, the power of kings, &c. But they are unwilling to declare the real motive of their hatred, which is merely the preference they give to a government in which they have a chance of seeing their husband, their brother, or their cousin, take part in the administration, to one in which there may be but one efficient.* Egotism glides into the heads of the fair as well as our own. Yet should the nobility reflect and cease to murmur, without the king they would be nothing not only in Sweden but in any monarchical state whatever. The most opulent gentleman in the kingdom, enriched by the bounty of former kings to his ancestors, inhabits the capital; here he ought to pass for somebody, but here, unless when spoken of as one of the chiefs of the party opposed to the king, arrested in 1789, insulted by the people, and recommended, after asking advice of the police, to leave Stockholm, none ever speak of him; the world in short scarce knows of his existence.

Let us resume: the king had not the power of declaring war, except by first observing those forms he is blamed for having neglected, by compliance with them he gave notice to the enemy of his intention, and time to put himself in a posture of defence. The general approbation of the war on the part of the diet proves that his motives for declaring war were not so destitute of justice as has been asserted. Had this prince given the enemy an opportunity to prepare his defence, he would have had attributed to such conduct the whole of the consequent mischances, and with reason. In war the niceties of the drawing-room are disregarded. (England has almost constantly began her attack on us before any declaration of war. In 1756, two ships were taken by them *Le Lys*; and *L'Alcide*, before we knew of the commencement of hostilities.) Sweden is not strong enough to stand against Russia, when that power is at liberty to oppose her with her whole force. Gustavus took advantage of the state of security in which that power was wrapped, to endeavour to regain a part of the provinces wrested from his predecessors. In these dismemberments, it cannot be disguised, justice was seldom regarded; they were the result of the wars of Charles XII, and no one but knows that Peter the Great in alliance with two other princes, attacked this prince without the smallest shadow of equity, just at his leaving his cradle. The Russians exclaim against the king of Sweden for attacking them without notice; but had he informed them of his design four months before, undoubtedly they would have laughed at him. The Russians had committed a great fault in leaving their frontiers unguarded. They say they had no mistrust of the king of Sweden; those neighbours with whom a nation has before been at war it ought always to mistrust. Their oversight was shameful: thanks to their roubles they escaped its punishment. Let them profit by the lesson.† They knew how little was wanting to have made it a terrible one. The carriages of the empress were in readiness, every thing was prepared for flying to Moscow. There were not five hundred cossacks on the whole of the southern banks of the gulf between the Swedes and Petersburg. The scarcity of men was such, that three regiments were sent post from the army of prince Potemkin, seven or eight soldiers on a kibiek, by two hundred at a time.

As it is right that all should be laid open, we shall mention to our readers a very extraordinary opinion, but which was communicated to us as well founded: it will serve

* The same reason causes the Russians to disapprove of the revolution in Sweden, as well as the last in Poland. They found it so pleasant to be masters in other countries!

† Since this war they have fortified the frontiers, particularly the mouth of the Kinen. Henceforth there will always be kept from 18 to 20,000 men in this part of Finland.

to prove that the brain of man is liable of access to the most absurd inconsistencies. We have been assured that the king having by his own fault missed his object the first year, owing to a siege badly planned, and an unsuccessful campaign, himself engaged his officers to enter into a criminal correspondence with Russia, in order that this treachery might serve him as an excuse to the nation for having undertaken an unjust war, and effected nothing where much might have been done. Although a serious reply to such an atrocious and unfounded charge might well, indeed, be dispensed with, we yet shall examine its merits. In the first place, could it be supposed that the officers arrested and tried would have failed to avail themselves of such an ample apology to avoid the punishment to which they were subject? A minute detail of the whole process is in existence, and no such thing appears: besides, this charges Gustavus with an unpardonable offence, that of causing an officer to be beheaded, and many others to be imprisoned, on account of a crime suggested by himself. A conduct of this description could be followed by none but one who had previously, and that provedly, done the same; but that the incredulous may finally be convinced, if further be requisite for conviction, let them know that the revolt of the officers in Finland was contrived, by that traitor Sprengporten, at the very instant of his going over to the Russians in 1779: that in 1783 the first meetings of the conspirators took place in Helsingfors, at a lodge of freemasons; that Sprengporten regularly attended these meetings from Russian Finland, where he resided, which was the more easy for him to do as the king was then abroad. The conspirators at that time were fifty and much increased in number afterwards. Many persons known well enough at Stockholm, if this work should chance to fall into their hands, must inwardly own that our information is correct: easy in fact would it be for us to give further particulars; from such we however shall abstain. What we have said will be enough to shew that the plot did not commence with the beginning of the campaign, as is generally believed.

We shall not dilate upon the war in Finland; it would cause us to exceed the limits we have prescribed to ourselves. We shall leave to historians the task of transmitting to posterity the victories of Fredericshamm and Svensund; satisfied ourselves with remarking how great the difference between the Swedes in the present war and those who fought in 1741 and 1757. The victories of Gustavus Adolphus, Charles X, Charles XI, Charles XII, and Gustavus III, were owing principally to their presence. The Swedes are accustomed to see their kings at their head. If the soldier is guided by reason the presence of his king can but have great effect on him: he will feel that where he who might peaceably and in security await the details of a battle, exposes voluntarily his life and bears all the inclemency of the weather, he cannot himself retreat before the enemy, nor murmur at his toil. The presence of a king prevents all disobedience and all altercations, more common than is usually imagined among generals. A king will take upon himself what a general would not dare without mature deliberation, in council or an order from court; in the interval of which the favourable opportunity is frequently lost. The generals of the king of Prussia would not have ventured many of the battles won by that monarch; and to his heading his troops himself is the high reputation of the Prussian forces entirely to be ascribed. What we have said of the Swedes is applicable to the French; nor is it in this instance alone that these two people resemble each other. We know the time when the French soldier at the simple name of the king, whom he had never seen, would gaily have fronted certain death: what then would he not have done if he had been at the head of his army; but for a long time our kings had been unaccustomed to shew themselves to their soldiers, an omission which will ever meet its punishment soon or late.

The king having obtained all he wished conceived the title of senator useless, as the senate was destitute of power, in consequence it was suppressed; desirous of annihilating the memory even of a body which had so long abused sovereignty, and under the despotism of which his people and himself had suffered for so long a period. We can but approve the suppression of this heap of petty tyrants; the avidity and corruption of whom were at their height, and with whom any mode of enriching themselves whatever it might be was allowable.*

A great part of the nobility however was connected with the senate; and consequently the annihilation of a body, the omnipotence of which shed or appeared to shed a lustre on themselves, was not regarded by the nobles at large with an indifferent eye; yet certainly this despotism, shared among a few families, could at no time extend to country gentlemen, who on the contrary were crushed by its oppression in common with the rest of the kingdom. But it belongs to the character of man to view things in a different light to that he ought, and this position was amply proved by the Swedish nobility on this occasion. That which ought to have secured its eternal gratitude to Gustavus has been looked upon by that body as an usurpation, of which it has avenged itself, after a long interval, in a manner that will fix an indelible disgrace on the first order of the state.

The revolution of 1772 is still considered by the nobles as a crime on the part of his majesty. They repeat, and are supported by some historians, that he swore to maintain the ancient constitution upon his ascension to the throne, and that he could not change it but by rendering himself a perjured man. Proud of this discovery the anti-royalists are pleased with the idea, and imagine or pretend to imagine that this assumption cannot be answered; we shall however endeavour at an answer.

It is every where allowed that an oath extorted by violence is null: the most rigid publicists consider those engagements valid alone which are freely made, and that the unrestrained only can pledge themselves, or truly express the real intentions they may have. Was the oath of Gustavus on his ascension to the throne unsubject to constraint? If the state of Sweden be honestly regarded at that epoch, we do not believe that any such question can seriously be made. The sovereign in 1771 finds his kingdom a prey to the arbitrary vexations of the senate and the states: he succeeds a father, outraged continually with insult and humiliation, even to the very day of his death; and that accelerated in all human probability by such abuse. Could he, was he at liberty to refuse the adoption of this constitution so humiliating to royalty? Would he not have exposed himself by a refusal to the loss of a crown, the shadow of which alone the states conceded to him, but that they might possess the reality? Is it not evident therefore that the oath of Gustavus must be classed with those extorted by violence? Had this prince and his successors felt themselves bound by such a vow, arbitrary power would have been perpetuated to endless time; for it is past a doubt that no king would have been suffered to ascend the throne without first taking this absurd oath. Let the Swedes therefore shower down blessings on Gustavus, for considering that a vow, the ob-

* A senator had sold his suffrage, on a certain important occasion, to the French ambassador for 4000 *plottes*. The secretary of the embassy, employed to carry him this sum, met him in a coach in the street; he imparted the object of his mission, upon which the senator informed him he had only to hand him the money, which was in bank notes. The young man did as every one similarly circumstanced would have done: he gave him the money. Judge what must be his surprise and indignation, upon learning the next day from the ambassador that the senator had again demanded the same, denying the receipt of the former. The matter was of importance, his opinion of great weight; it was thought better therefore to give 8000 *plottes* than to lose 4000, and the sum was paid a second time. The ambassador and his secretary, now an ambassador, are yet living, 1793.)

servance of which tended to the perpetuation of abuses, ought not to be binding, for thinking with reason that the good of his people ought to be above an illusory oath, that the government of a single man, superior to events, were preferable to that of a covetous multitude, a prey to their passions, to intrigue, the slaves of foreign powers, and ever ready to sell themselves to the highest bidder.

It is possible that the affair of the diet of 1789 offended these nobles more than any other part of the conduct of the king; they have never been able to forgive him the passing of the act of security, the less for their having placed their dearest hopes, their strongest reliance on reducing his majesty, during its sessions, to the state he held in 1771. They ought, however, to feel greatly obliged for his forbearance, since by his ascendancy over the people he could have made them sorely repent their conduct. They complain of the king's extorting their concession; but, had he not obtained it in the house of lords, that assembly can but know that he would still have had it pass by force, and at the price of blood; not his blood, not the blood of the people, but that of the nobles: they owed him gratitude for his mercy, and how was it shewn?

The death of this great prince, the loss of whom is already felt in Sweden; this crime, an eternal stain on the character of the Swedish nobility, deserves that we should speak of it at some length: we shall consequently make it the subject of the following chapter.

The young king is very forward for his age, he promises much, and we dare pledge ourselves for his performance: he possesses the ease of the perfect sovereign; far from being intimidated in a circle of half a hundred, which would but be natural in a youth of thirteen (he was not indeed so old when we saw him) he unaffectedly contrives to speak of something to all entirely free from embarrassment; it is worthy of remark that when prince-royal he had three court days every fortnight. His education is very nicely attended to, and his hours of study exactly regular. We have no doubt that he yet continues as laudably attentive to his duties as when we were in Sweden. Although a monarch now he is convinced that his youth requires yet some years of toil and study to fit him for the station which providence has assigned him. Although very young this prince must sensibly feel his loss: what pity that thus a premature death should so soon have robbed him of a tender father, a model, and a guide! Shut be his ears to the counsel given if not in unison with the lessons of Gustavus; never may he forget that he has to hand down the sceptre to his child as free as it descended to himself; that it is a property which is but his for life, and for which he is responsible: let him beware of perfidious insinuations, tending to limit his authority, presented under the specious but deceptive mask of philosophy. Yet again, in adhering to his advice, let him not run counter, let him not seek to add to the power he now enjoys; its limits are irrevocably fixed: wisdom itself presided at the establishment of the present constitution; protect it Gustavus Adolphus; call to mind the princes whose glorious name you bear, Gustavus Vasa, Gustavus Adolphus, Gustavus III.; be they ever present in your thoughts; and however crooked, however difficult the path you have to tread, but take them for your guide you never can go wrong.

Prince Charles duke of Sudermania, the king's brother, is at present regent. The confidence reposed in him by his brother, his friendship for him, which ever was unchanged, led us to imagine that the intentions of Gustavus would be respected after his decease; to our great regret must we state that we have been deceived. The motive of the regent's conduct is to us a problem: many present themselves to our imagination, on which to fix we know not. Could it be contempt or indifference to the will of a dying brother? either seems to us incredible, the first shocking; hopes of

doing better? Surely it were the height of presumption to expect, in a few weeks rule, to do better than him who, not a common man, had been employed for twenty years in striving to do well. Whatever may have been the motive the regent has dismissed most of the persons appointed by the late king. This conduct, to say the least of it, shews deficiency of judgment, in so much as it will prevent those he has placed in their stead from attaching themselves to him, lest they should experience from his successor a similar treatment. It is constantly highly impolitic to disapprove in toto of the conduct of a predecessor; for as it is next to impossible that all his measures should be bad, a general exception either denotes excessive arrogance or violent exasperation against him; neither of which sentiments are creditable, particularly with respect to a brother much superior in knowledge to his censor.*

Of all the matters in which the regent has differed from his brother none are more striking than what regards the French revolution. No doubt the new power with which he is vested has made him look upon things in quite a different point of view; for we well remember that, in 1791, he held an opposite opinion to that he has since professed: if this be in its favour it has taken him some time to adopt.

The regent set out with a most rigid plan of economy; he began with dismissing the French actors, an indirect censure on the conduct of the last king, with whom the theatre was the chief amusement and principal expence;† but then again he kept no mistress (at least publicly;) and to us it seems that his pleasures had at least the advantage of decency which, in persons of a certain distinction, constantly tells for something.‡

We shall terminate this article with observing that we did expect from the regent a very different conduct. We yet have hopes; and pray for nothing more ardently than that they may soon be realized.

CHAPTER XVI.

Assassination of Gustavus III.; his death.... Trial of the conspirators.... Clemency of the king.

AT length are we come to that execrable murder, which our pen would refuse to describe but for its being a duty imposed by the plan of our work. If on the one hand the enormity of the crime excite our astonishment, on the other the magnanimity of Gustavus, his firmness, his heroic courage afford us consolation; for in the common habits of life we feel it soothing to find those we love, those we take pride in exalting, shew themselves worthy of general admiration: man applauds himself on such occasions for his discernment, and with respect to Gustavus III, we have no fear of any room for changing our good opinion.

That the project for making away with the king was long in agitation is an indisputable fact: the assassins had missed their aim at Haga, where his majesty's cabinet being on the ground floor afforded great facility for the execution of their treason. It is well known that on the very day of his assassination it was spoken of at Hamburg and Brussels

* Leop. Id of Austria acted in a similar manner on his succeeding his brother the emperor Joseph, nor was this the only foolish thing he did in course of a reign of very short duration.

† It cost him annually 100,000 rix-dollars.

‡ What adds to the indecorum (at least in our eyes) of keeping a mistress, is where the case of one possessed of an amiable and lovely wife, a wife pleasant, playful, and lively in the extreme, whom also, notwithstanding these recommendations, the breath of calumny has never sullied; the clearest proof of innocence, for none do wrong, however high their rank, but scandal will attain when it has room.

a matter already effected. It has been said that the predominant party in France, apprehensive with just reason of the influence of Gustavus, contributed to his death: this is possible; and this prince was so firmly persuaded of its being the fact that, upon his receiving the blow, he exclaimed, it is a Frenchman. It is believed that the murderer, after making his escape from the isle of Gothland, to which he had been banished (for treason in Finland during the war with Russia) travelled to Paris: this we do not affirm, but should it have happened there can be little doubt of this monster having been instigated to the deed by those who had the meanness, the impudence to place the bust of a regicide in their hall of audience.*

On the night of the 16th March 1792 the king, according to custom, was at the masked ball at the opera; while walking he felt himself shot in the side. He did not fall, but had strength enough, by leaning on a person near him, to reach his apartment adjoining the theatre. This frightful event became immediately public: baron Armfeldt arrived in a condition difficult to describe; and as his consternation was at its height, the king comforted him by observing, "do not be alarmed, my friend, it is only a wound, you have been wounded yourself and know what it is." In the mean time the murderer, favoured by his accomplices, escaped, and two days expired before he was discovered: the pistol he had used, being found on the ground, was instrumental to his detection; upon its being shewn to the gunsmith he pointed out the purchaser.

Surgeons were sent for from all quarters. The king immediately directed them to give their opinion, adding that, should he have but a few hours to live, he was desirous of employing them in his affairs and those of the state; and consequently that it would be but lost time to probe and dress the wound. After the surgeons had examined it they declared as their opinion that it was not mortal: his majesty thereupon consented to have it dressed, and was carried to the castle.

The next day countess Fersen, count Brahe,† and baron Geer, all of whom had for a long time absented themselves from court, came to visit his majesty, who received them with great kindness, and expressed the pleasure their visit afforded him in these memorable words: my wound is of some utility I find, since it brings me back my friends. What remorse must not a similar phrase occasion in those who had turned their backs on such a sovereign!

The remaining twelve days of the life of the king were employed in the affairs of state; his indefatigable activity was still the same, and every interval between his pains was put to profit. His last act of sovereignty was to appoint his friend general Armfeldt governor of Stockholm, an appointment which the regent did not suffer him long to enjoy, as he acted upon the system of keeping in the back ground the greater part of those attached to his brother.

The king desired to be kept ignorant of the names of his assassins; the murderer's

* This society (the jacobin) so fearfully famous, wished, by the honours paid to the villain Ankerstrœm, to persuade the world that it contributed to his crime: not indeed because it fancied the action laudable, but because it was desirous of a new kind of glory worthy only of itself; that of disposing at will of the lives of sovereigns. Well aware, are its members, that people of sense are far from giving them credit for such authority; but fools, that is to say the mob, are sure of it, and this is all that is wanted by a horde of plunderers who govern but by terror. How much must they not be surprised that their reign has been so long.

† We were of the company when count Brahe and his lady supped with the dutchess of Sudermania: we do not now recollect upon what occasion, but we mentioned the circumstance to his majesty some few days after: this for example you must look upon as somewhat indecent, was his majesty's observation. We must allow his majesty's remark was just indeed.

alone was mentioned to him, and Liliehorn,* the author of an anonymous letter which is copied further on. This villain came to throw himself at the feet of his sovereign, and begged for pardon, which was granted.

The pistol with which his majesty was shot was loaded with two balls and several nails: a small part of the charge only could be extracted from the wound. Art was exhausted in vain, and on the thirteenth day (in the forty-sixth year of his age) Gustavus III, died in inexpressible agony, after receiving the sacrament, preserving the firmness and resignation of a great mind to the very last. He did not die without first exacting a promise from his brother that the murderer alone should undergo capital punishment: thus by an act of clemency, sufficient in itself to render him immortal, he terminated a glorious life by a still more glorious end.

All the accomplices, that is to say, Ribbing, Horn, Liliehorn, and Ehrensverd, wrote to the young king, when the judgment of the parliament on their crime was published, all entrenching themselves behind the letter of the law, and seemingly taxing the tribunal, which as regicides had condemned them to death, with rigour and injustice. We procured all these letters, as well as that of Horn to his father, and Ribbing to his mother, in which they attempt to comfort them for the misfortune of having given them birth: in fact we know of no greater calamity than to have such children. It is fit we should observe that Ankerstræum, Ribbing, and Horn threw with dice for which of them should kill the king, to the first of whom the lot devolved: they were bound by oath to kill themselves after destroying his majesty; but whether from want of resolution, whether from hope of saving himself the assassin omitted this. And such wretches dare to appeal for favour to the law!

General Pecklin opposed the king in 1756; alternately in the pay of either France or Russia, he sided with the court in 1762: he was made a colonel in 1772, and was on the point of tampering with his regiment against his master when arrested and conducted to Gripsholm, where he was detained for some weeks: there he was treated with distinction and respect; at the end of that time the king released him, an act of clemency disapproved by the world, Pecklin being known to be a very dangerous man. In 1786 he appeared at the diet but did not make himself conspicuous; in 1789 he was arrested with several other gentlemen, but only in his own house; and upon representation to his majesty that his estates required his presence, was suffered to proceed to them. This man, who from 1772 had lived in the utmost obscurity, left it in 1792 to enter into a conspiracy against the king's person; but familiar with crime, and master of himself, he would confess nothing; by which means he established his innocency, the laws of Sweden exacting confession before sentence of death can be passed.

Address of general major baron Charles Frederic Pecklin to the king.

“Sire, your parliament, by its decree of 24th May last, relative to the horrible treason committed on the person of his late majesty, Gustavus III, of glorious memory, has declared, on the subject of the denunciation made against me by the guilty, that as

* We were very well acquainted with this Liliehorn when at Stockholm. He is the son of a woman in a very inferior station about the queen: he was brought up at the king's expence; and has had a very rapid advance, being a major in the guards at an age that would, without injustice, have allowed him to vegetate for some time to come in an inferior station. We frequently spoke of him to his majesty: we were never pleased with the manner in which he spoke of his benefactor; but between a conduct of this description and an assassin there is so wide a difference, that we should never have suspected him capable of participating in such a crime.

the proofs they afforded could not be looked upon as full and satisfactory, the matter, as far as it regarded myself, should be reserved for further evidence; and that in the interval I should be transferred to the fortress of Carlstein, in order there to be kept, and be exhorted by clergymen to make confession of the fault with which I am charged.

"It is not without the deepest grief that I see myself suspected, arrested, and condemned for a crime of which I am perfectly innocent, and which the witnesses legally heard have been unable to prove, since the parliament itself declares, 'that full and satisfactory evidence is yet wanting.'"

"Your majesty will be pleased, therefore, not to take amiss my prayer for a reversion of this decree.

"Equity is the first virtue of a king and a judge; and internally I feel persuaded, that the chief desire of your majesty is to exercise it, as the most secure method of establishing your power in the hearts of your subjects; and in what does it consist, unless in the fair application of the law, and the true interpretation of its meaning. Harboursing this persuasion, I dare flatter myself, that your majesty will not countenance the proofs accepted by the parliament, especially as, according to all I am able to comprehend, they are in absolute contradiction to law.

"The law clearly establishes, by the 17th sect. 7th chap. on the subject of trials, that 'the testimony of no person, being himself criminally indicted, is to be taken in evidence, nor that of one who turns informer, nor that of an accomplice.' He who is objectionable not being allowed to give his evidence, the judge can certainly pay no regard to the testimony of a person objected to in law, but should on the contrary rate it wholly void of truth; hence is it that the law imposes a penalty on every informer that makes not good his charge; and if the 9th sect. of the same chapter permit, that in criminal causes the testimony of an objectionable witness may be heard, it is only, as is formally declared in the same paragraph, 'to enable the court to obtain means of acquiring legal evidence;' but it is not said, that the testimony of the rejected person shall itself be accepted as evidence.

"As during the course of the trial, nothing has appeared against me but the relations of persons accused, accomplices, and such as have participated in the crime, of what had been imparted to me at private interviews; it appears to me, that had law been duly administered, the judge would have paid no attention to similar relations; and the less, from the disagreement in the different testimonies of the guilty parties, and from their written varying materially from their verbal evidence, as is declared by the parliament in many parts of its decree: whence it follows, that, if they were objectionable persons, their testimony for that reason is inadmissible by the 17th chap. 26th sect.; and added to this, the greater part have only related what they had heard from others, which, according to the 14th sect. of the same chapter, cannot be considered as legal evidence.

"All that appears likely is not therefore fact. History points out many examples of persons accused, who have had so many apparent proofs brought against them, that the judge, fully persuaded of their criminality, has not seen the least possibility of their being innocent; and yet, after their punishment, the real guilty man has appeared, and shewn the judge in error; wherefore, unless where no voluntary confession appears, or legal testimony, as a statesman, the judge has always held it a maxim, to prefer saving a number of guilty to the punishment of one innocent man.

"If, in the present instance, the individual relations of six guilty persons could furnish a half-proof, it would give birth to the absurd idea, that the relation of twelve culprits ought to be regarded as entire proof; although, in hopes of mitigating their punish-

ment, they might have agreed before the perpetration of their villainy, or at least before their arrestation, that in case of discovery, they should denounce an innocent person as the principal instigator of their criminality. None but Charles Pontus Samuelson (Liliehorn) and Adolphus Lewis Ribbing, who were arrested, the one not until several days, the other till several hours after the treason, accused me in the first instance; the others have only repeated what they had heard them say, or spoken of matters which had no relation to this affair. God preserve the country from a law which should authorise such traitors to appear in evidence! For who, in such an age, could be certain of preserving either his honour or his life.

"As for other circumstances alledged against me, and which the parliament has looked upon as legally supported, they are: that I acknowledged that Thure Stenson (Bjelke) had frequently spoken to me of revolution, rebellion, and pillage; that a number of the conspirators dined with me on the 16th March, and that, according to the evidence of the witnesses heard, many persons attempted to enter my house the following night. But to these I shall humbly beg to object; that Thure Stenson never did say, and that I never have acknowledged that either he or others had formed a design to change the form of government, to excite an insurrection, or pillage, a natural consequence; wherefore, from his arguments relating to changes in other circumstances varying from the affair in question, I did never imagine that I had any thing to denounce, nor any danger to prevent; and being accustomed, at my time of life, to receive friends daily at my table, for the recreation of my retirement; as to some of the guilty, before looked upon as worthy people, presenting themselves to dine with me, this is one of those innocent incidents which cannot be laid to my charge: again, their coming that day without any invitation, appears a connivance among themselves for my ruin; and if a number of persons came with a view of entering my house without being suffered to enter, this cannot be laid to my charge. Your majesty will perceive that these circumstances form no matter of accusation against me, and that, conformably to law, in spite of the requisition of the parliament, I cannot regard it a duty to prove the probability, from the just suspicions that I have conceived, of the resolution entered into among certain of the guilty to effect my ruin; I trust too much to the equity of your majesty to doubt for an instant of your approbation in this particular.

"Hence it follows, that the charges made against me by the guilty, and the different relations given by them of what they have heard and say themselves, or learned from others, joined to other circumstances of little importance, cannot in any ways, according to the sense given them by the parliament, afford any other than collateral evidence, or half proof; on the other hand, if the meaning of the law be regarded, if all prejudice and suspicion be laid aside, these denunciations and these circumstances yield no proof whatsoever; for what does the law mean by appearances and circumstantial evidence? In case of murder or assassination, for example, it may be produced, that arms belonging to the party accused have been found near the murdered corpse; that he resides in the neighbourhood; that he may have been seen covered with blood, &c.; these are appearances. But the speaking proofs of my innocence will not escape the penetration of your majesty. A number of my servants, examined upon oath, have given from their testimony no reason to imagine that I had any knowledge of the plot formed against the late king; so far from it, they have attested my innocence, for they have deposed, that my doors were kept close the whole night, and that none of those who knocked were admitted, which certainly would not have been the case if I had been concerned: further, when the girl Peterson came to inform me that the king had been wounded by a pistol, I was so much hurt at the news that it occasioned me an ill-

ness, an incontestible proof of my surprise, and the real grief I felt at this fatal event. Moreover, who can reasonably imagine that an old man of seventy years of age, weighed down and wasted by the vicissitudes he has undergone, dropping by degrees into the grave, and occupied wholly on his latter end, could have allied his phlegm and indifference to the violence and ambition of a parcel of madmen, and plot with them a conspiracy against the person of the king, and a revolution, contrary to his conscience, to his reason, and to prudence.

"But, Sire, since no half-proof, nothing circumstantial, admissible by law, has been produced against me, how can the parliament, wholly unprovided with these, have ventured to impose on me a real punishment, a punishment the most severe that in my unfortunate situation it possibly could do, that of depriving me of my liberty, and those attentions which my age requires, by confining me in a fortress the rest of my days.

"The chief motive of this sentence cannot be, as alledged by parliament, to induce me, through the remonstrances of the clergy, to make confession of fault; for if this were absolutely necessary, it would be equally practicable in a house here in the city, where clergymen are to be found more enlightened and more eloquent than could be in a distant fortress.

"And supposing the parliament to be influenced by the three royal letters cited by the king's solicitor, your majesty will perceive that the king's letter, dated 11th November 1756, states, that "doubtless for the purpose of discovering others concerned, some of the accomplices may, even before trial, be confined in a fortress until more ample information be procured;" and it is expressly ordained in this letter, that the prisoner should be criminal, and his crime proved; but this citation cannot be looked upon as regarding him arrested merely on suspicion. As for the other two letters of his majesty, neither can be deemed as applying to the case.

"To conclude; as he who committed this horrible crime has been legally and justly punished, and as those who formed this infamous conspiracy have been discovered and condemned; while against me, as I have shewn, no witness or legal charge has been brought in the whole course of the trial, I live in hope that your majesty will decide that a more rigid confinement, for the purpose of extorting confession, ought not to take place; imploring, if I should have mistaken the meaning of the law, the clemency of your majesty.

"I am, for the few remaining days I have to live, with constant zeal and the most profound submission, Sire,

"Your majesty's most humble, &c.

"CH. FRED. PECKLIN."

Copy of the anonymous Letter of Liliehorn to Gustavus III, on the day of his assassination.

"Deign, and graciously allow an anonymous person, whose pen is guided by the voice of honour and conscience, with the most perfect frankness, to warn you that there are individuals, as well in the provinces as here in the city, who breathe nothing but hatred and vengeance against you, to the length even of your destruction by some mode of assassination. That they should have failed the night of the last masked ball has been a subject of regret with them; and they notice with pleasure that another is announced for to-day. Assassins shun the day; nothing, they say, can be more favourable

to them than darkness, and the disguise which you are accustomed to wear on these occasions; you are therefore entreated, by every thing that is sacred, to defer this cursed ball to a more suitable opportunity, for your present and future interest, as well as that of some enthusiasts, from whose hands doubtless, upon reflection, the Almighty will cause the dagger to be thrown. I have the honour to assure you, in the face of heaven, which I call to witness the motive and purity of my intentions, that the advertisement I give you comes from a man who is nothing less than a courtier, who is in need of nothing, and who is very far from approving all the rash steps you have taken, either in war or politics, and particularly in what regards morality. In making this confession with the utmost cordiality, I shall appear to you the less liable to suspicion when I assure you, that being present at the diet at Gefle, I should not have hesitated an instant to have drawn the sword to oppose your mercenaries with all my powers, in case they had resorted to open force, as was at one instant expected. Vouchsafe, therefore, to distinguish a difference between the conduct of a man of honour in his senses, and that of an enthusiast and a traitor: the one wishes well to the commonweal, asking for nothing more certainly than to be so situated as would allow of his making use of means sanctioned by religion and honour to promote its welfare; the other conceives all measures tolerable which may contribute to the object in view. It may, however, be difficult, if not altogether impossible in the end, to forewarn you against all the calamities which surround you, unless you put yourself in train to become sincerely reconciled with the same part of the nation, by following a conduct, however little, yet different to that you have hitherto done.

"I have conceived it for my internal satisfaction a duty to reveal this shocking secret, which I learnt by mere chance two hours ago; be persuaded, also, that I am not inspired by a panic terror in taking this step, but on the contrary by the dreadful certainty I have, from what has been divulged to me, of the verity of the fact. Take good heed, I further entreat you, of the ground floor at Haga, as being, according to their declaration, a place more appropriate than any other for their purposes. You cannot use, generally speaking, too much precaution: if I may advise, keep away entirely from masked balls, at least till after the holidays, this being of importance to yourself as well as to us all. You will do wrong by shewing a courage which nothing can move; we know that you have bravely faced the enemy; you may therefore with perfect security and without dishonor avoid the blow of a traitor. I shall never cease to put up prayers for your happiness; beseeching you, in the mean time, to make no perquisitions for the purpose of detecting the author of this advice, as they would be fruitless, having been entirely alone while I wrote it, and not having communicated its contents to any one."

This letter was given in a garbled state in all the newspapers at the period of the fatal event; above, it is given with exactitude: the traitor who wrote it knew well enough what effect an anonymous letter would have upon the king; had he had any real intention of saving him, he would have personally divulged the conspiracy: but we are not to wonder at the conduct of the wretch; he owed his all to the king, his support, his military rise (he was a major in the guards) and we live in an age in which ingratitude to the throne is looked upon as a merit; as if kings were the only men on earth bound to do good, the only objects of unscrupled assassination.

Extract from the verbal process at the Castle of Drottningholm, on the 15th August 1792, in presence of

His royal highness the duke of Sudermania.
 His excellency count Wachmeister Ricksdrots.
 His excellency baron Sparre, grand chancellor.
 President baron de Kurck.
 President baron de Reuterholm.
 President count de Ruuth.
 Seneschal Rogberg.
 Seneschal Ulner.

On the above day, the report of the commission being called for, and the two protocols of the 4th July being read, the secretary of the commission, Iserhielm, presented the definitive conclusion of the high tribunal, upon the revision of the decrees of the parliament, on the 24th of May of the present year, against the former counts Horn and Ribbing, lieutenant-colonel Liliehorn, and lieutenant baron Ehrensverd, as well as against the other persons implicated in the horrible crime committed on the person of the late king; after which his royal highness was pleased thus to express himself:

"All the prescriptions of law having been exactly followed, none of the advantages which it affords the criminals having been withheld, and the confirmation from the high tribunal, of the decree of the parliament made on the 24th May, having been presented to us, we have nothing more to do than to make known our sentence and will upon the occasion.

"A prey to grief, to those afflicting sensations which agonise our heart, while the memory of a respected king and much beloved brother is united with the anguish which the unhappy and deplorable manner in which he was taken from us occasions in our bosom, we have nevertheless, in conformity to our painful duty, caused representation of all the occurrences of this horrible affair to be laid before us, with the substance of the different acts as they regard the same.

"It is not without the most lively emotion that we perceive, by these elucidations, that an unheard of conspiracy has existed against the life of our revered monarch, and been executed in such a shocking manner as makes humanity shudder, in a manner that never could we have thought possible in our days and in Sweden. This stain, not upon the nation, known in all ages for its honour and fidelity, but upon a small number of guilty persons, ought to be washed away and expiated according to the rigour of the law; and this is our duty to effect. Our heart, torn by the most cruel remembrance, feels sensibly the horror such an atrocious deed is calculated to excite; but these feelings, although satisfactory for our grief, are not the only ones that afflict us. What adds to our trouble is, that we are under necessity of rendering the just severity of the law (which we are far from desirous of mitigating in favour of criminals of this description) compatible with the sacred promises extorted from us by the prayers and injunctions of a dying brother, our king.

"The instant is at hand which is to decide and make public the fate of these unfortunate men, who, by the nature of their crime, are more unhappy than they possibly could be in undergoing the punishments they have merited. The law has pronounced their sentence, and we feel persuaded that the axe falling on their heads, would be to them, in their frightful situation, the first and greatest of favours. Our confirmation

of this decree would satisfy, at this moment, the rigour of justice ; but we are withheld by the strongest and most efficacious reasons, which we shall unveil for our own justification and the benefit of posterity.

"Being by the side of the bed of his late majesty a few days before his death, and speaking to him of the misfortune which had befallen him, and the dreadful consequences that would follow ; his majesty, whose sensible and generous heart was ever prone to pardon, vouchsafed to express to us, that the idea of the merited torments which the guilty would have to suffer affected him more by far than all his pains ; he added, moreover, that this oppressive fancy would never let him rest, unless we should promise and swear, upon the faith of a brother and a prince, that in case he should chance to die, his intercession should avail for the salvation of the lives of those wretched men who had been wanting to him in fidelity. Moved even to tears at such noble sentiments, we yet dared to represent to him that law, whether human or divine, would not allow so horrible a crime to pass without penalty of death, and that the honour of the Swedish name and public security expressly called for justice. His majesty, sensibly affected by these heartfelt representations, then said with anguish, that if the law of reprisal necessarily exacted blood for blood, that if his intercession was insufficient as a party to save the life of the unfortunate man who lifted his hand against his life ; he yet persisted that his should be the only one to pay for the death he had occasioned ; and that none of those concerned in the plot, however great their number, or deep their interest therein (which at that time was not discovered or perfectly known) should suffer for it in their lives.

"His majesty at the last added, that this was not only his last application as a brother, but his last will as a king, as the power of pardon could not be taken away from him as long as he lived ; and again exacted from me the most solemn promise ; such I could not, nor had the right to refuse him any longer. This affecting and remarkable conversation, which will develope to posterity the generosity and clemency of Gustavus III, and which, more than the victory at Slenksund, will tend to eternize his name, shall be the basis upon which our sentence and resolves shall be founded.

"As a christian, a subject, a brother, as a man, we cannot, ought not to vary from the will of a dying king. He had the incontestible right of pardoning in his own cause. We shall follow loyally his orders, nor shall it be reproached his brother that he deceived him in the arms of death.

"In consequence of the reasons before alledged, we declare and ordain, that the sentence of death awarded by the parliament, and confirmed by the high tribunal, against the former counts Claudius Fredericson Horn, and Adolphus Lewis Ribbing, the former lieutenant-colonel and chevalier Charles Pontus Liliehorn, and the former lieutenant baron Charles Frederic Ehrensverd, shall be commuted into perpetual banishment ; that they are degraded from their nobility, and declared unworthy of all right of citizenship ; that they shall be immediately conducted to the frontiers of an offended country, without hope of ever being allowed to return, and with prohibition, under pain of suffering the death pronounced against them, ever to require the same. The care of their punishment we leave to their conscience and remorse, persuaded that the bitter reflections to which we deliver them will be more intolerable than death itself."

* The regent deceives himself ; men of this description are strangers to remorse. Banishment is no punishment for scoundrels who could no longer live in Sweden ; two of these wretches, on their passage even from Copenhagen to Hamburgh, proved that sentiments of repentance, imputed to them by the regent, were far from their thoughts. Notwithstanding the motive ascribed lower down, it is in a fortress that regicides, whose life is not shortened on the scaffold, should end their days.

we shall hasten their immediate expulsion, in order so, if possible, to efface the remembrance of such a horrid crime, which, by their detention in the fortresses of the kingdom, would only renew the remembrance of a misfortune in itself indelible. For ever be these unhappy wretches banished from that Sweden whose calm and tranquillity they have disturbed; and in order to encrease their remorse, let them know that it is the king, against whose life they dared to conspire, who, in his dying moments, gave them theirs.

As for other persons accused since, we are not authorised by the will of his late majesty to lessen the severity of the law in their favour, neither can we in an affair of this nature follow our innate inclination to clemency; whereupon we confirm, with respect to them, the definitive sentence of the high tribunal: in consequence of which councillor Von Engestrœum shall be suspended from his post, and be confined for three years in a fortress. Major Hartsmandorff shall likewise be displaced and imprisoned for a year; the secretary Von Engestrœum shall be suspended from his office for twelve months, and general major baron de Pecklin shall be confined in a fortress until more ample information; but the territorial judge Nodell, agreeably to the sentence of the parliament and the high tribunal shall be released from all charges.

His royal highness immediately appointed the fortress of Waxholm for the prison of councillor Von Engestrœum, that of Malmoe for major Hartmansdorff, and that of Warberg for general major Pecklin.

The present verbal process and the sentence it contains having been read and collated, the commission broke up its sitting, in fidem protocoli.

(Signed)

N. JOHNSON.

We conceive that what will now have met the reader's eye requires no comment. A dying king pardons his assassins: the last act of his power is to draw aside the vengeful sword of the law, from punishing those who had robbed him of life: how honourable, how glorious such an end! How well it crowns a reign, too short for Sweden, but long enough, for those sovereigns disposed to take him for a model, and enlightened enough to follow his steps.

The clemency of the king is so well known to us, that upon the first intelligence of this execrable act, we declared as our opinion, that if his majesty recovered, the murderer alone would be punished with death. The event has shewn that we were not deceived.

CHAPTER XVIII.

On the Death of Charles XII.

THIS event, so important from its consequences, which paved the way for Sweden, to obtain a piece wanted so many years before, and which changed the form of government of the country, is related in so many different manners, but each so void of proofs, that every historian, without being liable to the charge of imposture, is left to adopt which he will. The statement of M. Voltaire has had most partisans, yet do we consider it wrong, and the researches we have been able to make put our opinion beyond all doubt. We shall presently discuss that of Mr. Coxe, given at great length in his second voyage to the North, published in 1791: but shall first begin with the account of Lagerbring, professor at Lund, taken from his history of Sweden, vol. iv. part 3. which treats of the reign of Charles XII, Stockholm, 1779; in it will be seen the essential differences which characterise the account of each historian.

" On the 28th October, 1718, the king coming from the Western Ed, entered Norway, followed by the other columns of the army. On the 20th November, batteries were raised against Frederickshall. On the 27th, fort Gyllenlow was taken by assault, at which the king was present. On the first Sunday in Advent, the 30th November, the king attended divine service in the morning, and afternoon at head quarters at Tistedalen; in the morning he burnt certain papers. At four o'clock in the afternoon the king visited the trenches on horseback, and at nine in the evening all was done, and the king was a corpse. Charles standing in the trench, his body bent, with his head supported on his arms leaning on the parapet, the officers present imagined him asleep; but as he remained in this posture a longer time than usual, they went up to him, and found that life was gone." This is the account of Mr. Nordberg; others pretend that the engineer Megret, who had the direction of the works in the trenches, was seated so near the king that he perceived a kind of convulsive tremor in him, whence he concluded him dead. M. de Voltaire, whose relation differs from that of others, says that no one was near the king but Megret and Siquier. "The king was standing," says he, "opposite to a battery of the enemy, whence was a great discharge of musket balls, with his body half uncovered from the enemy's fire; at some paces distant was count baron Schwerin, count Posse, a captain in the guards, Kalbert an aide de camp (it should be aide de camp general Kaulbars) was waiting his orders. All at once Megret and Siquier saw the king fall on the parapet. A ball of half a pound weight had entered his head on the right side, and made such a large hole that you might put in it your three fingers; the left eye was entirely flattened, and the right forced out of its socket. When Megret saw that the king was lifeless he exclaimed: 'The play is over, now let's to supper; but Siquier hastened to inform baron Schwerin, &c.'" Colonel Carlberg, then lieutenant-colonel of engineers, who was present also in the trenches, has given another relation different from the preceding. "When colonel Megret, charged with directing the attack, had marked a new line with fascines and gabions at a distance of no more than two hundred ells from the bulwarks of the fortress; the enemy began a violent fire both with musketry and cannon: this was the first time of their using musketry against the workmen in the trenches. The red hot balls and burning pitch on the fortress gave sufficient light round about. Mr. Carlberg, after giving instructions to the men how to place the gabions, went down into the first trench, where some officers of high rank were standing close to the feet of the king, who leaned on the slope of the parapet of the trench, with his left hand under his jaw, so that a part of his face was above the parapet directed towards the fortress. Hereupon a ball struck him on the left side of the head (this, from inspection made of the wound, is evidently false) without any other movement being perceptible but that of his hand, which dropped from his jaw, and his head which reclined on his cloak. The aid de camp, general Kaulbars, was the first who perceived the death of the king; he struck Carlberg on the shoulder, and begged him to make haste to relate it to general P. B. Schwerin, who directed that it should not yet be made public, and that his body should be transported to head quarters. He thereupon was put on a litter and covered with white cloaks. At this instant Siquier approached the litter, took the king's hat, and put his hat and wig on him. The litter was accompanied by Carlberg, and a captain Schultze (since ennobled under the name of Nordencrentz) to Tistedalen, and the body was carried to the same house where the king had taken up his abode. After general Schwerin, the duke of Holstein, field marshal Mœurner and general Diiker were among the first who saw the defunct. The hereditary prince of Hesse was then at Torpum, at the distance of three quarters of a mile from Tistedalen, and on his arrival the whole army had orders to decamp." Thus

in many circumstances the relation of Carlberg differs from those of Nordberg and Voltaire. The last remarks that no one was present when the king was killed except Siquier and Megret, and that the first of these related the death of the king to general Schwerin.

Carlberg says quite the contrary. Nevertheless we must not accuse M. de Voltaire for relating circumstances such as they were given to him, and not improbably by the same Siquier;* but at the same time we have no right to look upon as false the account given by an individual who heard, saw, and did himself the things which he describes, and whom neither fear nor reward could induce to write any thing but what he could vouch from actual experience.†

Different opinions were entertained of the king's wound; such as examined it, maintained that it could not have been made from the fortress or the redoubts of the enemy. On a draught of the siege of Fredericshall on which it was affirmed that the king was killed by a shot from the redoubts, an officer of high rank, who was at the time also in Norway, had written in German with his own hand, that is not true. It was generally conceived that the blow did not come from either a Dane or a Swede. No rumour was more common than that Siquier, the king's aide de camp, had murdered the king. It is not doubted that he himself confessed it when ill at Stockholm in 1722, but it is added that this illness was accompanied with delirium. Some have imagined that remorse had extorted this confession; others again have insisted that Siquier after his recovery, when for the benefit of the waters at Medevi, was tortured by the same remorse, although then perfectly in his senses and not delirious. In case Siquier had been near Kaulbars and others who were standing by the king's feet when he was killed, it would not only have been easy, but his duty to have obtained their testimony, and by his neglecting this, suspicion is no wise diminished. Another circumstance is also equivocal: Nordberg relates that Siquier and Megret followed the king into the trenches, but I have been credibly informed that Siquier had nothing to do in the trenches, and that being interrogated by a certain person as to what business he had there, he hesitated in his answer. M. de Voltaire however declares him entirely innocent. He grounds his conviction in the first place on a declaration made to him by Siquier himself. "I could have killed the king of Sweden; but such was my respect for that hero, that if I had been so inclined, I should not yet have dared;" and secondly he observes that "Siquier died poor, and that such exploits are ordinarily well paid:" but if the miserable wretch do not in such cases receive his wages in advance, his earnings may turn out extremely small. The third circumstance which he thinks absolves him from the charge, appears to be of greater consequence, to wit, "that the ball which terminated his majesty's life weighed half a pound, a ball of which weight would not enter the mouth of a fusil." But how did Siquier learn that the ball was exactly of that weight, since in Sweden it is entirely unknown; probably it might be ascertained from the verbal process on the subject of an inspection of the body by three Swedish noblemen,‡ a copy of which I give in a note subjoined.

* In admitting this hypothesis, it is next to impossible not to have violent suspicions of Siquier, as shall be hereafter detailed.

† The statement of colonel Carlberg was communicated by himself to the author, and the copy which he possesses he is assured was written by col. C.

‡ In the year 1746, on the 12th July, between five and six in the morning, the undersigned went down into the Mausoleum called Carolin or Palatine, on the equestrian isle of the church at Stockholm, and opened the coffin of king Charles XII, defunct, whom they found in the condition and order following: a mattress or pillow stuffed with aromatic herbs covered the face of the king, under his head

"We pass over several other memorable things related by M. de Voltaire, probably communicated to him by Siquier, of which however the persons in attendance by the king ought to have better information, notwithstanding their narratives differ from that of M. de Voltaire. Another circumstance as memorable as it is unaccountable. An officer of high rank in the neighbourhood of Fredericshall foretold that the king would die on the 30th November. The report of this prediction was very extensively spread, and no secret of it was made. It is not known whether it ever reached the ear of his majesty, but as we have before remarked, he was noticed the morning before to have destroyed some papers, and had nothing in his pockets but a prayer book and a miniature of Gustavus Adolphus. If the death of the king had not happened, the prophecy would only have been laughed at, but as it was confirmed by the event, it was thought to have some signification.

"To judge from appearances, the king died at a very unfortunate time for Sweden; but the death of kings is decided by powerful motives, which are not always those that suit the interest of man."

The foregoing is an exact translation as afforded us by a learned Swede; he further added, that the time would come when the death of Charles would be spoken of at present we do of that of Gustavus Adolphus, and we are very much of his opinion. We shall now proceed to discuss the opinion of Mr. Coxe, expose our own, and leave our readers to determine which is the best founded in argument and assertions.

Mr. Coxe, in his *Travels in the North*, published in 1791, enters largely into the subject of this death; he pretends that Lamotraye and Voltaire have given false accounts of this event; this is true, it is certain, from the verbal process before cited, and from the mask moulded over the face of the king, of which Mr. Coxe speaks, that his eyes were not found out of his head, that the ball did not weigh half a pound, and that the orifice was considerably smaller than reported. Mr. Coxe cites the same verbal process as we do, with some slight difference. His translator has mistook him grossly in putting depth for length, and penetrated for went out. Mr. Coxe could have seen no other mark than such as we have described: his conclusion from it is simply that the wound was made by a small bullet, which is incontrovertible: but he persists in believing that it came from the fortress, and principally supports his opinion by the account afforded by the old Norwegian Elkenson, a cannoneer in the Danish garrison during the and joining his face was a cloth. The head was uncovered without any cap, but in lieu was surrounded by a laurel wreath. His hair was in good preservation, of a very light brown colour, and the length of a little finger combed upwards on the sides, but the top of his head was bald. On the right side just beneath the temple was a plaster, which stuck so fast that with great difficulty we could remove it; when removed, we perceived and felt an oblong orifice slanting in a direction towards the back of the head seven lines in length and two in breadth; on the left side which was covered with a plaster of the same size, the whole of the temple was torn away, and the fragments of the bones evidently denoted the passage of the ball from that part. His face was much wasted, his mouth rather open, and some of his teeth were visible. Under his head were several pillows of white linen full of fragrant herbs. Along his sides and on his arms a number of small white bags were laid filled with the same materials. His arms were stretched by the side of the body, and his hands covered with white gloves were placed opposite each other. His shirt was of linen of a smaller degree of fineness, and his winding sheet of cambric.

EH. HARLEMAN.

EL EKEBLAD.

ANDREW JOHN, of Hæpken.

The original of this attestation is in the king's library at Stockholm. It was communicated to the author by the royal librarian Gjöæurwell, and may be seen in a work written by him, entitled *Swedish Anecdotes*, part 3.

Baron Harleman was superintendant of the king's ships. Counts Ekeblad and Hæpken were afterwards made senators.

siege. We reason therefore from the same materials as Mr. Coxe, but decide in a different manner. We are well persuaded that the king was assassinated, and shall detail the conjectures upon which we decide, for where there is absence of proofs we must be satisfied with conjecture.

In the first place Mr. Coxe, if impartial, must allow that it is farcical to esteem the narrative of the old Norwegian alluded to as of any weight: will he attempt to persuade us, or does he himself believe that a cannoneer in a fortress any more than a soldier in the ranks can know any thing of what passes except immediately by him, particularly at nine o'clock at night in the month of December. From his responses we gather for certain that there was no firing that night from the fortress of Oberberg, this indeed the Norwegian must surely be competent to say, as he was in the fort; but this is all that he could know, and this proves nothing more than that Lamotraye is in error, assuming the shot to have come from that place. Mr. Coxe adds that the old man was of a frank character, and that there was nothing to induce him to tell an untruth: certainly not, nor did he conceal aught he knew. He states moreover that the Danes made use of musketry, that the parapet where the king stood was perfectly within reach of the place, that a number of shells were fired, and that the king might have been killed by the enemy. This was all known before; and if Mr. Coxe reflects, he will see that this proves nothing against the assassination: for it is impossible to presume that any one would have chosen a time for making away with the king by a musket or pistol shot when out of the reach of the enemy's batteries, or when the enemy made no use of balls against the Swedish trenches similar to that by which he was struck, that is to say, small bullets. This would have demonstrated to all Europe that the monarch died by assassination, and there is good reason to imagine that such was not the intention of the guilty. We conclude therefore, that the conversation, noticed with so much satisfaction by Mr. Coxe, proves nothing against our assumption, or in favour of his own. It must further be remarked, that the old Norwegian told Mr. Coxe that a number of soldiers were killed by the side of the king, so many indeed that they were buried on the spot. It is very extraordinary that this cannoneer should have seen thus much from his fortress of Oberberg (from which the Swedes were separated by a hill) or that after the army had decamped, he should divine that the soldiers killed in the trenches had been so killed near the king, and at the same time he was himself. To conclude, it is very singular that this man should have known that, of which no relation makes mention; for in all those which speak of the greatest number of persons about the king, speak but of four or five without enumerating any soldiers whatever. Mr. Coxe says that the present king of Sweden (1791) had conjectured that Cronstedt was the assassin; but afterwards confessed that he was mistaken; this may be, but if Mr. Coxe has ever had the honour of speaking to the king on this subject, he would have found that if his majesty no longer believes that Cronstedt was the assassin, it follows not that he does not believe he was assassinated by some other person. These are what Mr. Coxe calls proofs, finishing with these decisive words:

"The question relative to the death of Charles XII, is now rendered very simple: unlikely anecdotes and vague conjectures cannot weigh against a positive fact: the pretended assassination is a mere chimera." We see nothing positive in all this, unless it be the tone of assurance which Mr. Coxe assumes, nothing chimerical unless it be in his assertions. We subjoin our reflections upon the same data.

First reflection. According to the verbal process, the authenticity of which is incontestible, the ball went through the head in a horizontal direction, making a very small hole on entering, and tearing away the temple and shattering the bones as it went out

on the left side; it consequently must have had a violent impulse, whence we may fairly conclude that the shot was from a very short distance: then, the more near the parapet is assumed to be the fortress, in order to render probable that the shot should have proceeded thence, the more impossible do we make it that the ball should have taken an horizontal direction; for it must not be forgotten that the fortress of Fredericstein is on the summit of a perpendicular rock, and the situation of Charles the plain, near a craggy rock, at the end of the governor's garden. If the shot therefore had come whether from a cannon, musket, or carbine, fired from a great eminence, it could not move in an horizontal direction, to strike a point situated below it; perhaps it may be said that the course of the ball was changed by striking somewhere, as occasionally happens; but this objection becomes a nullity, when we consider that it pierced every obstacle, shattered the parts it encountered, which are precisely the hardest in the whole head, and that it necessarily must have gone through either the neck or the jaw, if it had not taken its direction in a perfectly straight line. The hat of Charles affords a new proof of the ball passing out at the temple, since the hole is beneath the button, unless, indeed, the king wore it a la Pandoure, with the button on the right, in which case the hole would have been much enlarged by the curious, as Mr. Coxe observes in his first travels.

Second reflection. Not only did the ball traverse in a horizontal direction, but also from the right temple to the left: let us see if this be probable. According to all accounts the king was examining the enemy's batteries, standing, and his head supported on his hands. Mr. Coxe indeed makes him to be seated on a wooden chair which was shewn him; as this by no means changes the position of the head of the king, we shall pass lightly over this opinion which nobody ever gave before. The king then was in front of the batteries, and as his business there was to examine them, it cannot be presumed that he would for that purpose present the side of his face, or if it be admitted that the form of one of the batteries absolutely made a right angle with a line from the middle of the king's forehead, in such case, in the first place, the trenches must have been opened so as to be liable to enfilade, and in addition the batteries have formed a perfect semi-circle; both these suppositions are inadmissible; the Swedish engineers were no novices; the place was attacked in such a manner, that, but for the death of the king, it must have been taken in a few days; and the Danes for certainty had no batteries fronting each other in their fortresses: so that in any case the king might have fronted the batteries without exposing his side to any, as there is no doubt but he did.

Third reflection. It is plain from the blood on the glove of the right hand, and on the sword belt, that the king first put his hand to the wound, and afterwards on his sword, which he even drew half from the scabbard. The first movement is instinctive; nature engages us to place the hand where pain is felt. But the second supposes reflection; and however rapid the action, it appears to us not the effect of chance; it evinces a determination to repel an aggression. We appeal to Mr. Coxe; would he, in the trenches, exposed to continual fire, if he felt himself struck, would he lay his hand on his sword: many officers have seen similar events in trenches, can they cite an example of a single man attempting to draw his sword against a cannon ball, or the bursting of a bomb? It seems to us that this fact has been much too slightly noticed, as from due examination it seems important.

Fourth reflection. The mask of stucco, which we mention as well as Mr. Coxe, extends only to the extremities of the temples; but the wound is left visible on the right side; why was it not also on the left? The temple torn away, the bones shattered, nothing of this is marked on the plaster: would it be rashness to imagine that this sham

affixture was only placed there to prevent the curious from making the same reflections that we do now, reflections resulting from the verbal process entirely, since no author has ever spoken of the effect of the ball? If to this be added the epoch at which this mask was moulded; the short time elapsed from the event, it will readily be conceived that this precaution was used from a formal resolution to make no perquisition after the origin of his death, as has been proved by the event.

Let us now examine upon whom our suspicions ought to fall, since, from this examination, in our opinion, we may gather, if not the certainty, at least the possibility of ascertaining the assassination. It has been noticed before that Siquier was generally suspected, and it will be allowed from all the relations we cite, that it was not without some reason: M. de Voltaire in attempting to justify him but increases it: we think that he ought not for the honour of Siquier to have made public this phrase, so highly extraordinary: I could have killed the king, but such was my respect, that if I had been disposed, I yet could not have dared: that is to say that if he had less respected him, he could have done the deed. What language! he could, he says, have killed him; but is there an aide de camp of a king with the army, who might not kill him even ten times a day? and was it ever known to come in the mind of any such to say he could have killed him? This phrase appears to us something more than awkward in his mouth, at least it is far from any possible justification. M. de Voltaire says, that Siquier died poor. Without speaking again of an answer to this objection, the example of many might be quoted, who, in the course of a few years, have expended enormous sums, sums more than adequate to the remuneration of the greatest crimes. As for the third objection of M. de Voltaire it is rather an evidence against Siquier; that he himself related the circumstances; for Siquier knew well enough that the bail did not weigh half a pound, that it was impossible to introduce three fingers into the wound, and that his eyes were not forced out of their sockets: he could not be ignorant of these matters, since he was upon the spot, and saw the body of the king recently after the event.* He had therefore a very formal intention to disguise the truth: would he have acted thus if the shot had truly come from the citadel, and if he had not had very cogent motives for putting such construction on his death? We see Siquier take the king's hat and carry it immediately to the prince of Hesse; why take his hat? If he had simply to announce the death of the king what need was there of a speaking proof? It would have been believed without that. We shall add to these observations an anecdote, but little known, which we have from good authority. "Siquier, upon his arrival, found the prince of Hesse about to sit down to table, washing his hands in a golden ewer: upon learning the death of Charles, he immediately made a present of the ewer to Siquier, no doubt as an acknowledgment of the value of the information." Such a present, in our fancy, would have been more properly bestowed on the bearer of intelligence of a victory. These details do not justify Siquier, but they are evidence, not against him alone.† We lay no stress on the circumstance of almost all the well informed Swedes coinciding with us in opinion as to the assassination, because conjectures are not facts; but we think we have

* He is even without excuse, since counts Lieven and Carlberg who had seen the body of the king, as well as him, affirm positively (according to Mr. Coxe in his first travels) that the shot proceeded either from a musket or a pistol. What tends further to criminate Siquier, is his mistating the fact so as to do away with the idea of his being assassinated. Could a murderer, we ask, or the accomplice of a murder, do more.

† This is not the only example which might be found in modern history of a sovereign; a frightful suspicion of whom would have tarnished the memory, but that the splendour of a long reign has caused it to be forgot.

thrown as much light as possible on an event which will never be known for certain. Our readers will appreciate the arguments pro and contra, and will judge for themselves. We are very bold in daring to contradict Mr. Coxe, who is convinced that Charles was struck by a small ball, because from the nearest bastion, he was not more than from five to six hundred yards distant; and who, farther on, is sure that the king was killed by a ball from the citadel, and boldly contradicts the assertions of those who pretend that he could not be within musket shot; a position which nobody of sense has ever maintained for the causes formerly assigned. We are not so positive of our assumption: we expose our doubts. Mr. Coxe may be in the right; it is very possible he may be wrong.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Morals of the Swedes....Religion....Laws....Government....Taxes.

OF all the nations in Europe, that which, on account of its morals, deserves the highest rank, is incontestibly the Swedish nation. The people are naturally good, virtuous, and attached to their religion, and their sovereign. Probity is general among them. In 1790 we met with waggons laden with the knapsacks of the soldiers who died in Finland: they were escorted by a certain number of country people, who were relieved at successive stages. They were on their way to Scania, that is to say the extremity of the kingdom, for the purpose of restoring to the relatives of the deceased, the effects they had left behind them. Frequently have we left our carriage open in the high road for hours together, both by day and night, but never did we miss a single article. If any thing can tempt a Swede to appropriate to himself the property of another, it is brandy, the love of which is at its height with them; it would be dangerous to leave it within his reach; for frequently the temptation is too strong for his honesty. In this character of the people we speak of the country alone, the cities being as corrupt as they are found elsewhere.

The Swedes are not covetous: they are ever content with what you give them, and oftentimes ask nothing for their services. They are sober in every other particular, brandy excepted. This lamentable habit begins in infancy, and may be regarded as one of the causes of the depopulation of Sweden. We have seen children, nine or ten years of age, drink such large glasses of brandy as we ourselves never could compass.*

The constitution of the fair sex is frigid; there is nevertheless, no dearth of libertinism in great towns; there it begins sometimes earlier than at twelve years of age, and is carried to excess until eighteen or twenty; the young folks then become prudent, that is to say, confine themselves to one lover, and after some years marry, commonly to great advantage, the men not regarding in the least their former way of life.

From so much debauchery prevailing, it is not surprising that venereal complaints should be common, as they are; and what is more unfortunate, there is scarcely one man in Sweden, on whom you can depend on occasion.

The habit of drinking, far from being peculiar to the common people, prevails among the higher classes. We are sorry to have to confess that it is not unusual to see great noblemen occasionally on rising from table unfit for serious avocations. This defeat does not, however, diminish their other good qualities (for they are polite, affectionate, and engaging) it is rather to be regarded as a vice peculiar to the country than to individuals, a vice, which, however, would be better laid aside. Some travellers pretend

*The glass of brandy is called soup; the pour boire of the French; the trinkelt of the Germans; our sup of beer, or something to drink your honour.

that women, as well as men, drink brandy before their meals; this is false. In Sweden, as in other countries, brandy is the beverage of none but a certain class of females, and is not used in good company.

The established religion of Sweden is the confession of Augsbourg, without any variation. All religions are tolerated freely. There are more than two thousand catholics at Stockholm (where they have a church) and within the kingdom at least six thousand: many families are established in Finland, and come to Stockholm once every year or two to fulfil their duties.

We must mention the Skevikare, who inhabit the small island, Wermdœun, near Stockholm. They are a remnant of those secretaries who, from a scrupulosity of conscience, seceded from the Swedish church in 1738. In the beginning, as they affected to continue public worship, the sacraments, and particularly priests, they necessarily drew upon themselves a persecution, which even extended to banishing them the kingdom; but in 1746 they were permitted to form an establishment in the island of Wermdœun, where they bought the estate of Skevik, whence they are called Skevikare. There is much whimsicality in their doctrine, but their lives are virtuous.

The Swedes are better informed than the people of other nations: all the country people, without exception, know how to read; hence Gustavus III, whom nothing escaped, and who was reasonably apprehensive of the effect which news from France might have among them, forbid any notice, whether favourable or otherwise, of our revolution to be taken by the Swedish Gazetteers; he considered he was rendering his subjects an essential service in keeping them entirely ignorant of the subject.

The code of laws now followed, were digested in the reign of Frederic I. They are clear, wise, and precise: in civil actions each party pays his own costs, the loser never being condemned with all costs. The criminal laws are humane, as they ought to be in a country where great crimes are extremely uncommon. No person accused can suffer death without confessing his crime. Criminals sentenced to die are beheaded. There is a Latin translation of the Swedish code of laws, in quarto.

The preface of the law of Upland, amended and published by Birger, son of Magnus, in 1295, begins thus:

"God himself made the first laws, and sent them to his people by his servant Moses, the first great judge of his people: so, likewise, the powerful king of Sweden, and Gothia Byrghir, son of king Magnus, sends this book of the precepts of Viger, and the laws of Upland, to all those dwelling between the sea, the river Sœva, Cœudmorda (the northern forest.)

"Laws should be pronounced and executed for the government of all, the rich as well as the poor; to distinguish what is just, and what unjust. It ought to be observed and pronounced for the protection of the poor; the peace of the wise; it should exist for the benefit of the innocent and virtuous man, and as a bar to the criminal and wicked. The country ought to be governed by law, and not by violence; for that country is always in a good state in which the laws are observed: if all men were just there would be no need of laws.

"The first institutor of these laws was Viger Spa (that is to say the wise) a pagan in the time of paganism; he was sent by king Ingiard. What we have found in his collection applicable to every body, we shall transcribe into this book; what is not applicable, and too harsh, shall omit: what was unknown to the pagans, that is to say, christian and ecclesiastical law, we shall add at the beginning of this book; and in this law shall follow our ancestors, Eric the Holy, Byrghir Jart (that is to say duke Byrghir) and king Magnus: but in what thereto is added or omitted, we shall follow our own

mature deliberation, with that of our senators, which all wise men will applaud: this is composed for the use of all dwelling as we have described.

"This book of the law was made and written in the year from the birth of God 1295: the learned lords who follow being present: M. Andre, Provost of Upsal; M. Rœud-Kœuldorsson; M. Benedict Boson; Ulver Lagnmansson; Hagbarder de Suderby; Andre de Forekarleby; Thorsten de Sambran d'Attundalande; M. Philipp de Runeby; Jlakan, the great provincial judge; Eskil-Skielghi, Sighurd the judge; Jowan Gasabogher de Fiedhundraland; Ulver d'Oldmstum; Gotric and Ulridin, judges; besides these, the greater part of the learned of the three districts of Upland, as well judges as feudatories were summoned, and all gave their consent to this law, which Byrger the great judge caused to be transcribed in this book, according to the advice of all those before-mentioned.

"We, Byrghir, by the grace of God, king of Sweden and Gothia, salute all those who shall see this letter, with the salutation of God, and his own," &c.

N.B. It is difficult to translate into the French language, and preserve the energy of the ancient Swedish laws; the Latin language is better adapted for expression; add to which the language of these laws is widely different from that at present used in Sweden, so much so that few of the learned are able to comprehend and appreciate the value of the words.

Torture was abolished by Gustavus III.; another benefit conferred on Sweden by this prince.

It does not form any part of our plan to speak at large of governments; we shall only say that the government of Sweden appears to us more perfect, than those the most extolled, as to the manner in which the nation is represented at the diets; the peasantry forms a fourth order in the state; this is the only great country in Europe where the cultivator is looked upon as somebody.* It might be possible to correct some abuses which exist in the mode of election of the peasants, and the number of members at the diet, but here the adage may be applied; the best is still a foe to good. The Swedes, content with enjoying a constitution preferable to that of other people, tolerate the small number of abuses by which it is accompanied; they fear damaging the trunk in lopping the branches. The real, and possibly the only abuse, in the Swedish constitution, is, that it is impossible for the king to keep where he is placed by it; but this is an evil without a remedy; the sovereign, in a monarchical and hereditary state, must necessarily, in process of time, assume an ascendancy over the other powers, of whatsoever description they may be.† Wherefore, as this evil is infinitely smaller than that of being governed by an elective king, we prefer the Swedish constitution, which we regard as being most free from faults of any that we know.

The taxes are numerous, and even burthensome in the cities; yet do they produce but an inconsiderable sum; the total revenue of the state not amounting to more than thirty-three millions of livres.

Every post under the government is liable to a certain tax, such persons as hold several, pay but on one, but that is always the most considerable. Those who have the title without being actually employed, pay double.

* The same practice exists in the Tyrol, a small province belonging to the emperor. In France we conceived the people were represented by giving a double representation to the tiers etat, as if lawyers, doctors, and coffee-house politicians, were the people. What an absurdity!

† If he does not assume this ascendancy he will be overwhelmed; there is for him no mean; wherefore, in order to distinguish which of the two be preferable, let a look be cast on the relative situations of England and France.

The taxes consist 1, of a personal tax; 2, of an impost on appointments, revenues, and funds producing income; 3, a tax on windows, luxury, horses, and carriages, superfluous servants, silk furniture, gilding, and watches (these latter taxes were laid on by the diet of 1789, and the others at the same time increased;) 4, on silk* dresses, snuff, and tobacco, for the maintenance of the king's different palaces, the parliaments, and the fund of the college of physicians.

There exists a book on the imposts, granted by the states at the diet of 1789; they were granted until the next sessions, without fixing any time. We are ignorant if that held at Gefle in 1792 has occasioned any change.

CHAPTER XX.

Population.... Commerce.

SWEDEN and Finland fill a large space of country; nevertheless, they contain no more than three millions of people. The nature of the soil frequently unfit for cultivation; its numerous forests, and the severity of the climate in its northern parts, all concur to the want of population in Sweden. The frequent use of brandy, which we before have noticed, is another cause of diminishing the number of its inhabitants, from the great number of victims who die before they reach maturity, or who, if they live, remain in consequence unfit for procreation. But this is a misfortune which we must be satisfied to lament; we consider this shocking habit too deeply rooted to allow of eradication; it is too inveterate among the nations of the north. We have witnessed the disorders of which the populace were guilty, upon the king's prohibiting the peasantry from distilling their own brandy; nobody can deny that his motive was good, or that in a country in want of grain, it is absurd to consume a part thereof in brandy; nevertheless he could not succeed, and has felt himself obliged to leave the abuse uncorrected.

The commerce of Sweden is very inconsiderable, and for some years back has been in its disfavour. Its articles of merchandise are iron (the most important) copper, deals, pitch, herrings, alum, &c. The following tables will give a perfect idea of the state of its trade.

Its annual importation of raw and clayed sugars, amounts to from two to three million pounds weight; the price regulated by the markets at Bourdeaux, as well as the price of refined sugar by that of Hamburgh.

One great abuse exists in this country, which is the facility that bad-intentioned men have of becoming bankrupts; his account once rendered, the insolvent gives himself no more uneasiness; it will readily be seen how discouraging this must be to a certain class of men, and for our parts we are at loss to conceive how an abuse of such magnitude can be suffered any longer to exist.

* The sumptuary laws forbid the wearing of coloured silk, and are observed. The common dress in silk is black, with, in a court dress, an addition of flame-coloured silk bands. The sumptuary laws, with respect to the number of dishes allowed to be served up at table, are less rigorously regarded. We have, however, been present at entertainments at which they were observed.

A general Account of the Number of Ships belonging to each Town, with their Tonnage as given in 1787.					
Towns.	No. of Vessels.	Under 100 Tons.	Above 100 Tons.	Of 500 Tons and upwards.	Total Tonnage.
Björneborg,	10	845	546		1,391
Borgo,	3	244 $\frac{1}{2}$	412		956 $\frac{1}{2}$
Brahestadt,	6	335 $\frac{1}{2}$	742 $\frac{1}{2}$		1,078
Bostadt,	9	490 $\frac{1}{2}$			490 $\frac{1}{2}$
Calmar,	49	3,615 $\frac{1}{2}$			3,615 $\frac{1}{2}$
Carlsrona,	46	2,049 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,739 $\frac{1}{2}$	890 $\frac{1}{2}$	6,679 $\frac{1}{2}$
Carlsbam,	41	1,979 $\frac{1}{2}$	644		2,623 $\frac{1}{2}$
Christinæstadt,	5	299 $\frac{1}{2}$	727		1,026 $\frac{1}{2}$
Christianstadt,	2	504 $\frac{1}{2}$			504 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ceinbritsham,	1	36			36
Ekinos,	10	945 $\frac{1}{2}$			945 $\frac{1}{2}$
Engelholm,	1	26			26
Falkenberg,	2	134			134
Gottenburg,	200	13,716 $\frac{1}{2}$	8,920 $\frac{1}{2}$	7,374	29,970 $\frac{1}{2}$
Gefle,	52	4,067 $\frac{1}{2}$	2,545 $\frac{1}{2}$		6,612 $\frac{1}{2}$
Gamla Carleby,	16	656	3,382		4,038
Halmstadt,	24	1,076 $\frac{1}{2}$	264 $\frac{1}{2}$		1,341 $\frac{1}{2}$
Helsingbourg,	10	344 $\frac{1}{2}$			344 $\frac{1}{2}$
Helsingfors,	10	434	1,555	582	2,569
Hudwickwall,	3	182 $\frac{1}{2}$			182 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hernosand,	7	281 $\frac{1}{2}$	994		1,275 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hallandslan,	4	153			153
Jacobstadt,	10	706	1,266		1,972
Kunghelf,	6	487	218		705
Kongbacka,	1	22			22
Kullenskone,	1	38			38
Landscrana,	15	1,074 $\frac{1}{2}$			1,074 $\frac{1}{2}$
Louisa,	8	633 $\frac{1}{2}$		1,103 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,436 $\frac{1}{2}$
Laholm,	1	29 $\frac{1}{2}$			29 $\frac{1}{2}$
Malmoc,	33	1,733	742 $\frac{1}{2}$		2,475 $\frac{1}{2}$
Marstrand,	1	26			26
Nycarleby,	2		230	552	782
Norkieuping,	33	2,327 $\frac{1}{2}$	2,265		4,592 $\frac{1}{2}$
Nykieuping,	3	153 $\frac{1}{2}$			153 $\frac{1}{2}$
Nystadt,	1	40			40
Poskallawick,	1	60			60
Piteo,	2		524		524
Skanor,	4	161			161
Stockholm,	259	17,698 $\frac{1}{2}$	25,696 $\frac{1}{2}$	5,179 $\frac{1}{2}$	48,574 $\frac{1}{2}$
Stromstadt,	11	775 $\frac{1}{2}$			775 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sundswall,	1	124			124
Scuderham,	1	134 $\frac{1}{2}$			134 $\frac{1}{2}$
Torneo,	2		636		636
Uddewalla,	74	4,992 $\frac{1}{2}$	2,396 $\frac{1}{2}$	700	8,089 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ulcoberg,	22	528	4,283 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,195 $\frac{1}{2}$	6,007 $\frac{1}{2}$
Umei,	4	203	510 $\frac{1}{2}$		713 $\frac{1}{2}$
Warberg,	18	1,510 $\frac{1}{2}$			1,510 $\frac{1}{2}$
Wasa or Kask,	7	219	1,790 $\frac{1}{2}$		2,009 $\frac{1}{2}$
Westerwik,	35	2,983 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,179		4,162 $\frac{1}{2}$
Wisby,	71	4,758 $\frac{1}{2}$	926		5,684 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ystadt,	35	2,027 $\frac{1}{2}$	220		2,247 $\frac{1}{2}$
Abo,	24	1,778 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,344	1,762	4,884 $\frac{1}{2}$
Æurebro,	1	62			62
Æuregrund,	19	1,353 $\frac{1}{2}$			1,353 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ostammar,	1	60			60
	1224	79,138 $\frac{1}{2}$	68,816 $\frac{1}{2}$	19,289 $\frac{1}{2}$	167,195 $\frac{1}{2}$

The summary Account of the Commerce of Sweden with the different Powers of Europe in 1785.							
EXPORTS.				IMPORTS.			
		In French money 24 livres to the Pound sterling.				In French money 24 livres to the Pound sterling.	
		Livres.	Sous. Den.			Livres.	Sous. Den.
To	France,	10,986,799	11 10	From	France,	7,706,781	17 10
	England,	8,344,298	0 0		England,	3,081,469	0 0
	Holland,	2,394,602	7 6		Holland,	1,693,376	15 2
	Spain,	3,886,141	17 0		Spain,	3,156,153	17 0
	Portugal,				Portugal,		
	Italy,				Italy,		
	Russia,	1,140,040	0 3		Russia,	7,153,476	10 3
	Denmark,	10,608,993	4 0		Denmark,	14,343,618	7 6
	Poland,				Poland,		
	Prussia, and Germany,				Prussia, and Germany,		
Total value of Exports from Sweden.		37,360,875	0 7	Total value of Imports in Sweden.		37,134,876	7 7

Balance of Trade between Sweden and other Countries.										
	Liv. Sous Den.				Liv. Sous Den.					
France,	}			Sweden exports above her imports,	3,280,017	14	0			
England,				do.	do.	5,262,829				
Holland,				do.	do.	701,225	12	4		
Spain,				}		do.	do.	729,988	0	0
Portugal, and Italy,										
Russia, the imports exceed the exports by,	}	6,013,436	10	6						
St. Bartholomew,										
Denmark,										
Poland,										
Prussia, and Germany,										
The East India Company,	}	3,734,625	3	0						
Profit of Freight to the Swedes,										
	}	3,159,510	10	0	From one foreign port to another,	600,000	0	0		
					Balance to the disadvantage of Sweden	10,895,628	16	4		
						2,111,943	7	2		
		12,907,572	3	6		12,907,572	3	6		

Table of Exports from Stockholm in the Years 1786, 1790, and 1792.

	1786.		1790.		1792.	
Iron in bars,	183,942 Schip.	15 Lisp	222,382 Schip.	4 Lisp.	209,960 Schip.	10 Lisp.
in small bars, flat, round, &c.	18,417 do.	17 do.	19,290 do.	1 do.	5,888 do.	7 do.
Anchors,	194 do.	4 do.	867 do.	13 do.	361 do.	2 do.
Tinned iron, &c.	35 do.	16 do.	2 do.	7 do.	39 do.	
Cannon,	4,226 do.	14 do.	541 do.	13 do.	4,017 do.	4 do.
Ball,	273 do.	2 do.	263 do.	6 do.		
Cast iron,	193 do.	12 do.	207 do.	13 do.	739 do.	17 do.
Iron plates,	4,867 do.	3 do.	4,144 do.	4 do.	2,017 do.	13 do.
Nails,	481 do.	6 do.	1,070 do.	7 do.	760 do.	5 do.
Polished iron ware,	439 rix-dol.		241 rix-dol.			
Steel,	4,232 schip.		2,948 schip.	11 lisp.	2,517 do.	19 do.
Copper, wrought,	925 rix-dol.		61 rix-dol.			
refined or pure,	2,574 schip.	2 Lisp.	3,148 schip.	13 lisp.	1,319 do.	16 do.
in plates or coined,	1,109 do.	9 do.	1,730 do.	5 do.	108 do.	6 do.
in sheets,	248 do.	11 do.	833 do.	16 do.		
Brass,	3,311 do.	14 do.	2,762 do.	6 do.	96 do.	2 do.
Alum,	1,876 do.	5 do.	888 do.	14 do.	1,556 do.	7 do.
Vitriol and copperas,	621 do.	6 do.	187 do.	8 do.	419 do.	
Salt,	40,241 tons				5,713 do.	
Beer,	232 barrels		169 barrels			
Herrings and sardines,	5,013 tons		5,068 tons		2,211 tons	
Herring oil,					86 do.	
Pitch,	12,924 do.		11,140 do.		13,738 do.	
Tar,	75,661 do.		95,464 do.		59,479 do.	
Red ochre,	1,039 schip.		1,800 schip.		613 schip.	17 lisp.
Deals, less than 1½ inch thick,						
of 1½ inch,						
less than 2 inches thick,						
from 2 to 2½ do.	26,700 deals		2,085 dozen		21,113 deals	
3 inches do.	348,744 do.					
Square timber and spars,	1,202 pieces		6,172 do.			
Capstan bars,	303 dozen		386 pieces		1,021 pieces	
Book and globes, to the value of	1,540 rix-dol.		136 dozen			
Furniture, do.	1,902 do.		603 rix-dol.			
Wrought silver, do.	717 do.		3,225 do.			
Morocco leather and skins, do.	14,011 do.		1,210 do.			
Watches and clocks, do.	1,045 do.		8,907 do.			
Divers clothes, do.	2,272 do.					
Flags and sails, do.			973 rix-dol.			
Oats,	174 tons					
Tea,	1,367 cases					
Linen,			1,305 pieces.			
Gunpowder,					511 barrels.	
Various merchandise, to the value of	9,315 rix-dol.		3,600 rix-dol.			

A Table of the Imports into Stockholm in the Years 1786, 1790, and 1792.

				1786.	1790.	1792.
			tons	5,176	5,411	318
			do.	47,437	11,434	23,947
			do.	72,983	64,768	32,733
			do.	31,106	41,716	43,133
			do.	192,330	123,930	59,689
			do.	1,836	11,349	2,001
			do.	316	258	114
			lisp.	2,326	34	47
			tons	5	34	294
			awms	35	63	127
				397	318	337
			schip.	897	1,308	444
			lbs.	7,291	969	1,896
			rix-dol.	58	149	218
			lbs.	143,181	163,159	195,321
			awms	86	4,614	351
			ells	11,528	16,255	43,282
				2,000	1,554	750
			tons	37	67	19
			schip.	4,942	4,127	1,503
			do.	43	39	7
			do.	822	1,012	745
			tons	2,111	2,216	4,899
			do.	20	3	10
			do.	352	338	196
			lbs.	2,449		3,117
			do.	140	44	337
			No.	20,140	31,460	24,530
			do.	206,437	342,909	337,662
			do.	20,890	22,593	42,630
			tons	846	521	1,059
			lisp.	94	68	88
			lbs.	99	192	
			do.	3,762	7,982	10,076
			do.	111,396	142,728	120,879
			do.	139,487	74,488	119,159
			do.	2,216	1,811	1,864
			do.	54,057	3,250	5,788
			do.	5,567	26,066	48,738
			do.	7,589	21,637	55,653
			rix-dol.	3,694	3,179	2,325
			lbs.	39,136	25,819	58,549
			do.	57,309	39,909	63,303
			rix-dol.		161	
			lbs.	1,377	773	1,969
			tons	314	525	560
			lbs.	6,041	367	9,950
			rix-dol.	786	651	1,703
			lbs.	2,610	5,594	
			rix-dol.	559	476	941
			lbs.	11,077	3,900	26,446
			do.	771	1,859	4,465
			do.	253	522	774
			do.	609	430	290

Table.....continued.

		1786.	1790.	1793.
Vitriol,	lbs.	57	98	433
Soap,	do.	37,634	60,624	73,666
Plants for extraction of colour,	rix-dol.	269	1,324	645
Colours,	lbs.	24,339	13,532	41,969
Yellow colour,	do.	33,872	13, 76	31,063
Calaminaris,	rix-dol.	3,406	4,923	3,172
White cotton thread	lbs.	551		27,013
Red do.	do.	30,572	15,144	10,440
Horse-hair do.	do.	8,120	5,601	
Coarse thread,	do.	27,343	17,581	31,440
Dutch do.	do.	487	942	1,208
Plaster,	tons	598	45	540
Guinea cloths,	ells	216,215	253,258	59,434
Pearl barley,	lbs.	614	1,935	623
Rice,	do.	84,260	86,098	185,864
Sago,	do.	4,364	3,620	6,548
Hemp,	schip.	6,337	4,655	4,895
Colophanium,	llsp.	587	235	308
Ox hides,	rix-dol.	8,814	5,639	33,625
Flax,	schip.	2,299	1,563	3,889
Hards of hemp, flax, &c.	do.	676	384	244
Linen cloth,	ells	890	752,920	620
Sole leather,	lbs.	118,504	164,462	237,107
Upper leather,	do.	587	516	3,032
Mineral waters in stone bottles, in glass do.		17,274	16,956	21,876
Muslin,	ells	14,202	12,177	16,988
Olive oil,	cans	8,167	7,752	55,215
Hemp oil,	awms	11,426	9,107	23,783
Linseed and turnip oil,	do.	914	116	55
Oil of turpentine,	lbs.	777	536	676
Blue paper,	reams	3,380	6,399	20,970
Brown do.	do.	230	431	564
Grey do.	do.	167	213	156
Writing paper, coarse	do.	341	256	630
grey, finer,	do.	1,334	1,000	2,574
large, white,	do.	36	20	126
Pasteboard,	rix-dol.	76	106	116
Paper vellum,	reams	486	55	212
letter,	do.	339	48	70
royal,	do.	1,268	1,115	1,604
common writing,	do.	24	45	121
printing,	do.	3,376	3,448	4,902
Furs,	rix-dol.	192	165	600
China ware,	do.	7,095	5,868	8,160
Quicksilver,	lbs.	596	789	2,255
Salt,	tons	915	3,850	1,908
Silk gauzes,	ells	114,554	107,713	158,646
Silks,	rix-dol.	15,909	651	25,072
Silk, Bologna,	do.	34,092	963	777
flowered,	lbs.	20,385	13,909	24,554
spun,	do.	714	735	541
Coin,	rix-dol.	13,440	3,703	9,028
Anise,	do.	20,971	20,000	9,616
Anchovies,	lbs.	28,105	17,057	27,192
Borax,	do.	4,116	3,063	5,358
		1,122	467	869

Table.....continued.

			1786.	1790.	1792.
433	French plums.	lbs.	4,322	3,586	1,586
75,666	Camphor,	do.	1,120	1,774	1,923
645	Millet,	do.	8,031	7,108	12,328
41,969	Cinnamon,	do.	2	3	66
31,063	Cocoa,	do.	8,536	8,702	988
3,172	Coffee,	do.	1,260,298	1,044,426	927,926
37,013	Capers,	do.	2,012	1,373	2,304
10,446	Cardamom,	do.	432	288	457
31,446	Prunes,	do.	26,591	13,006	27,052
1,208	Chocolate,	do.	427	248	450
546	Lemon juice,	cans	2,658	5,507	3,931
59,434	Citron, candied,	lbs.	636		549
623	Currants,	do.	15,283	25,402	8,333
85,864	Fennel,	do.	16,859	2,928	12,045
6,348	Figs,	do.	130,967	193,919	146,983
4,895	Ginger,	do.	31,775	32,412	20,467
308	Laurel berries,	do.	5,150	811	2,786
33,625	leaves,	do.	3,502	2,733	1,690
2,889	Liquorice,	do.	33,228	41,448	80,084
244	Scented waters,	rix-dol.	508	836	1,353
620	Almonds,	lbs.	83,472	65,756	94,159
37,107	Nutmegs,	do.	896	459	474
3,052	Mace,	do.	527	346	196
21,876	Cloves,	do.	429	210	339
16,988	Sattin,	ells			117,443
55,215	Olives,	cans	763	527	811
23,783	Pepper,	lbs.	28,502	18,608	22,848
55	Orange peel,	do.	32,967	64,518	65,310
676	Raisons,	do.	503,072	687,063	217,731
20,970	Saffron,	do.	195	306	331
354	Mustard,	tons	72	79	74
156	Senna,	lbs.	1,402	1,584	929
630	Plums,	do.	373,606	388,960	471,174
2,374	Turpentine,	do.	20,291	8,800	7,343
126	Glasses,	rix-dol.	347	236	510
116	Looking-glasses,	do.	3,074	844	7,386
212	Tin-leaf for glasses,	lbs.	802	377	873
70	Spirits of wine,	awms	486	24	10
1,604	Charcoal,	tons	14,227	6,020	22,174
121	Fiddle strings,	rix-dol.	90	107	532
4,902	Sugar, raw,	lbs.	1,114,587	1,406,703	1,665,774
600	clayed,	do.	1,210,931	938,367	1,123,110
8,160	Bristles,	lisp.	1,948	1,593	2,849
2,253	Tin,	schip.	154	136	161
1,908	Tobacco leaf,	lbs.	331,626	354,501	403,041
8,646	manufactured,	do.	2,208	548	1,768
5,072	Dutch,	do.	392	668	469
777	Wool,	lisp.	16,938	22,647	13,796
4,554	Spanish,	do.	1,426	260	2,079
541	Bacon (flask)	schip.	131	4,650	437
9,028	Salted meat (kyott)	tons	255	810½	367
9,616	Butter,	schip.	18	473	107
7,193	Cheese,	do.	222½	3,188½	3,275
5,358	Tallow,	do.	1,100	714½	1,563
869	Wax,	lbs.	21,847	2,728	1,144
	Wax lights,	do.	10,592	16,776	26,159

Table.....continued.				
		1786.	1790	1792.
French wines,	awms	5,130	5,376	5,661
Rhenish and Moselle wines,	do.	194	191	346
Spanish and Portuguese do.	do.	162	230	118
Vinegar,	rix-dol.	179	1,177	55
Drugs,	lbs			1,124
Books,	rix-dol.		1,909	6,863
Portes,	cans		3,302	5,433
Lemon peel,	lbs.		1,886	
Flints,	pieces		232,000	209,000
Distilled oils,	lbs.		292	
Sugar in loaves,	do.		186,051	202,113
Antimony,	do.			4,400
Oil of vitriol,	do.			9,131

CHAPTER XX.

Trade in Iron, Steel, Copper, Brass, &c..... Money, Weights, and Measures of Sweden.

IRON is the most important branch of Swedish commerce, its exports thereof amounting to three hundred thousand schippunds, at the smallest computation, being about three-fourths of the annual production of the mines.

The iron warehouse at Stockholm is situated near the southern flood-gates, where the communication takes place between the lake Mæler and the sea; it is an immense building, as may readily be imagined when remembered, that all the iron embarked at Stockholm is deposited there. Persons finding themselves pressed for money, can borrow of the bank upon their iron; the bars pledged are, on such occasions, tied together with a string, which is sealed, and cannot be removed until disengaged by repayment.

Statement of such forges as work fifteen hundred schippunds of iron and upwards.				
Places or names of the forges.	Quantity worked in schippunds.	Quality.	No. of hammers.	Proprietors.
Axmar in Gestricia,	1,500	good,	2	Beppen and Schinkell.
Malengabo in Dalecarlia,	1,500	do.	2	Madame Ehrenhielm.
Bakhammar in Westmania,	1,750	good and inferior,	2	Jacob Romfell,
Boggo in Westmania,	2,127	inferior,	3	Madame Byuggren.
Forsbacka in Gestricia,	1,600	do.	2	M. Nordin.
Wellensberg in Nericia,	1,800	good,	2	M. E. Hoffsten.
Watolma in Upland,	2,000	do.	3	Count Brahe.
Byorkborn } and } in Vermeland, Bæufers,	2,070	inferior, breaks when hot	5	M. Robsamson.
Lasena, Nericia,	1,748	good,	2	M. Hausloff.
Gammelbo in Westmania,	2,875	inferior,	4	Heiknschœvlds.
Wirsbo, idem,	1,725	good,	2	Baron Silverschœvld.
Larsbo in Dalecarlia,	2,200	inferior,	4	Tersmeden.
Engelsberg in Westmania,	1,539	good,	3	Sœuderhielm.
Forsmark in Upland,	2,875	do.	4	Uggla.
Maroker in Helsingia,	2,475	breaks when hot,	3	Werenberg.

Table.....continued.

Places or names of the forges.	Quantity worked in schippunds.	Quality.	No. of hammers.	Proprietors.
Graninge in Angermania,	2,000	inferior, breaks when hot	1	Classons.
Gimo, } Upland,	2,875	good and very good,	7	Lefebvre.
Romæus, } Robersfors, }	1,043	good,	3	The family of Persen.
Finoker in Westmania,	2,000	inferior,	3	M. Setona.
Kihlators, Helsingia,	2,430		4	The family of Graves.
Gravendahl, Dalecarlia,	9 to 10,000	good,	6	Charles de Geer.
Lecita, Upland,	1,723	good, very good,	2	Senior Falkenberg.
Hasslefors in Nericia,	5 to 6,000	inferior,	4	Grill.
Qeusterby, Upland,	1,323	do.	2	M. Kraps.
Lægdæu and Logfors, Med.	2,000	do.	3	Pauli and Smaræus.
Olofsfors, Angermania,	1,500	good,	2	Hasselgrenar.
Koskis, Finland,	2,000	inferior,	3	Ch. de Geer.
Okerby, Upland,	2,400	good,	4	Peklius.
Paulstrum, Smaland,	2,023	breaks when hot,	3	Sæuderhielm.
Romæus, Westmania,	1,950	inferior,	2	Julin Schœulds.
Bernahammar, do.	1,600	good,	2	Stokenstræum.
Longwind, Helsingia,	2,275	inferior,	3	Arvedson.
Schebo, Upland,	1,600	good,	2	Ch. Cederstræum.
Neksicæu, Gestricia,	3,100	do.	4	Ch. de Geer.
Stromberg and Ulfors, Upl.	1,623	inferior,	2	Hyertas.
Hœugbo, Gestricia,	1,900	good,	3	Muller.
Woxna, Helsingia,	1,500	do.	2	Falcker.
Krakfors, Nericia,	1,840	very good,	5	Grill.
Suderfors, Upland,	1,800	good,	2	Wittfohls.
Gysinge, Gestricia,	2,400	inferior,	4	Rumsell.
Ferna, Westmania,	1,800	good,	2	Sæuderhielm.
Tolfors, Gestricia,	1,810	inferior,	4	J. J. de Geer.
Finaping, Ostrogothia,	2,400	do.	3	Cedererantz.
Lædvicka, Dalecarlia,	3,400	good,	2	Baron Oxenstiern.
Hargs, Upland,				

There are altogether two hundred and ninety-nine large forges, which furnish	227,507 schippunds,
Besides ninety-two smaller ones, belonging to societies of peasants, which furnish	18,236 do.
Making a total of	245,743 do.

These establishments keep three hundred and seventy-three hammers at work ; in addition to these are twelve others of no great consequence, the hammers in which or produce are not marked.

It is to be observed, that this statement accounts for no more than such iron as is brought for shipment to Stockholm ; to this amount, therefore, will be to be added that of the shipments from other ports, as Gefle, Gottenburg, &c. and that of the following tables.

Note. The quantity of iron designated is that which is allowed to be forged, the proprietors, owing to a scarcity of wood and coal, not being allowed to exceed the limited quantity. With respect to steel there are not the same prescriptions, wherefore the quantity wrought will not be constantly the same as that inserted in the table.

<i>Forges for Steel.</i>		<i>Hundreds of packages and cases.</i>	<i>Proprietors' names.</i>
Nyquarn in Sudermania,	-	1,000 to 1,200	Baron Leyonhufvied.
Rocksholm, Westmania,	-	5 to 600	Holmgren.
Ferna, do.	-	1,000 to 1,200	Rumsell.
Carl gustafstadt, Sudermania,	-	1,500 to 2,000	Rothofs.
Skippssta, do.	-	4 to 500	Vahrendorf.
Wijk and Wilmanshytta, Dalecarlia,	-	-	Greiff.
Graninge, Angermania,	-	-	Classons.
Wirsboda, Nericia,	-	-	Robsam.
Hellefors, Westmania,	-	-	Heikenschœulds.
Remmens, Vermeland,	-	-	Mynnän.
Schischyttan, Westmania,	-	-	Ornschœuld.
Gravendahl, Dalecarlia,	-	-	The family of Graves.
Brenninge, Sudermania,	-	-	Post.
Okerby, Upland,	-	-	Chevalier de Geer.
Öeusterby, do.	-	-	Grill.
Doringsæu, Dalecarlia,	-	-	Vahrendorf.
Wedevog, Westmania,	-	-	Hollencreutz.
<i>Forges of iron plates.</i>		<i>Schiffpunds.</i>	<i>Proprietors' names.</i>
Rackhammar, Westmania,	-	from 4 to 500	Schulzenham.
Roskesholm, do.	-	250 to 300	Holmgren.
Wedevog, do.	-	3 to 400	Hallencreutz.
Ferna, do.	-	250 to 300	Ramsell.
Carlholm, Upland,	-	3 to 400	Chevalier de Geer.
Mariefors, Westrogothia,	-	100 to 150	Beckman.
Sathers, Dalecarlia,	-	3 to 400	Malmsten.
Skinskatteberg, Westmania,	-	4 to 500	Hisinga.
Garphyttan, Nericia,	-	250 to 300	Ugglä.
Gravendahl, Dalecarlia,	-	2 to 300	Family of Graves.
Hellefors, Westmania,	-	2 to 300	Heikenschœulds.
Clunefors, Nericia,	-	2 to 300	Essen.
Kiazillfall, Westrogothia,	-	150 to 200	Count de Hordt.
Frowinedra, Westmania,	-	150 to 200	Dahlman.
Frowi Offra, do.	-	2 to 300	Foek.
Gislarbo Offra, do.	-	150 to 200	Ornschœuld.
Boxholm, Ostrogothia,	-	200 to 300	Baren.
Oloffsfors, Angermania,	-	200 to 300	Paulu and Smareus.
Jaders, Westmania,	-	100 to 150	Mannerstrole.
<i>Brass manufactories.</i>		<i>Schiffpunds.</i>	<i>Proprietors' names.</i>
Skultuna, Westmania,	-	6 to 700	Adlervall.
Biurfors, do.	-	5 to 600	Vahrendorf.
Nykoping, Sudermania,	-	280 to 300	Syæuberg.
Gusum, Ostrogothia,	-	400 to 450	Spalsencreutz.
Aljus, do.	-	400 to 450	Westerberg.
Norkœuping, do.	-	900 to 1,000	Pasch.
<i>Manufactories.</i>		<i>Schiffpunds.</i>	<i>Proprietors' names.</i>
Fagerwick, Nyland,	(sulphur)	-	Hisingers.
Dylta, Nericia,	-	250 to 300	Okerhielm.
Dylta, do.	(vitriol)	5 to 600	Do.
Fahlun, Dalecarlia,	-	5 to 600	Gahn and Hermelin.
Lœufver, Smaland,	(alum)	1,000 to 1,500	Busch.
Kafvelos, Westrogothia,	-	5 to 600	Baron Manercreutz.
Andrarum, Scania,	-	2 to 300	Count Piper.
Helierum, Smaland,	-	4 to 500	Cederbaum.
Garphyttan, Nericia,	-	900 to 1,000	Ugglä.

Duties payable by the buyer at the iron warehouse, per schippund, on the articles before-mentioned ; on

	Schillings.	Roundst.
Iron in bars,	2	7
in lots or packages,	5	1
in thick sheets,	6	1
in common do.	9	3
Breenstohl steel in packages or cases,	10	1
Garf steel, do.	16	9
Nails of 2 inches length,	11	11
3 inches,	10	7
4, 5, 6, do.	9	3
7, and upwards,	7	11
Iron tinned and manufactured,	5	11
Cast iron or lead,	2	11
Iron cannon,	2	5
Copper, red, yellow, or composed metal,	4	8
Sulphur, vitriol, and alum,	2	11
Anchors,	1	6

Swedish Currency.

Gold Money.	Value in the Country.		Purity.	
	Rix dol.	Schil.	Carats	Grs.
The Adolphus,	5	0	23	3
Ducat,	1	16		
Old Ducat,			22	0

Silver Money.		
The Dollar, or silver crown,	1	
Dollar, or copper crown,	3	to the dollar.
Silver mark, Swedish mark,	4	
Copper mark,	12	
Siklar, Slautar, Styfver, }		
Öer Sylber, }	32	
Öer Kypfer, or copper öer, }		
Rundstiick, }	96	
Öerleigs,	128	
Pfenninns,	768	

Other Money.		Value in rundstiicks.	French Deniers.
The double schlanten, styfer,		6	
Silver styfer,		9	
Carolin,		75	8
Dollar Carolin or double Carolin,		150	
Plotte, Bank dollar,		192	
Dollar in specie, rix-dollar,		266½	10
Ducatoon,		300	11

Currency of Swedish Pomerania.

				Value in the Country.
				Rix-dol.
The gold Adolphus,	-	-	-	5
Rix-dollar,	-	-	-	1
Florin of the empire,	-	-	-	1½ to the do. rix-dol.
Florin of Pomerania,	-	-	-	3 to do.
Swedish mark,	-	-	-	6
Groschen,	-	-	-	24
Schelling,	-	-	-	48
Sesling,	-	-	-	96
Altinwiten,	-	-	-	192
Pfennings,	-	-	-	576

Value in French and English Money.

				French Money.			Sterling.		
				Liv.	Sous.		l.	s.	d.
The golden ducat,	-	-	-	11	10		0	9	7
Rix-dollar,	-	-	-	1	15		0	4	9½
Plotte,	-	-	-	1	18½		0	1	7½
Silver dollar,	-	-	-	0	19½		0	0	9½
Schilling,	-	-	-	0	28 den.		0	0	1½

The ton of gold is 100,000 silver dollars, close upon 4000l. ster.: viz. 3993l. 1s. 1½d.

The rix-dollar is worth 3 plottes; 6 silver dollars; 18 copper dollars; 48 schillings, and 192 stivers.

Weight, Value, and Assize of Gold and Silver, according to Ordonnance.

The mark for the assize of gold is divided into 24 carats, the carats into 12 grains.

The mark for the assize of silver is divided into 16 loths, each loth into 18 grains.

Wrought silver should be 13 loths and a quarter fine, but an allowance on assaying is made of one eighth part of a loth.

The mark of gold and silver is moreover composed of 16 loths, 64 quintins, or 4284 asses.

The ordonnance of 1664, which regulated the weight of coins, is still observed; according to this, one mark of gold makes 62 ducats, and of silver, five rix-dollars and one fifth, which is 15 loths 2 grains each; answering, according to Tillet and Cateau, to 3 ounces 5 gross 10 grains French weight. Cantzler quotes ordonnances with respect to coin, as far down as to 1706, beginning with 1594. Within that interval no alteration had been made in the standard for silver coin.

According to Cateau, eight rix dollars are made from one mark of silver, of the standard of 14 loths 1 grain. He states he omitted fractions.

The standard of the ordonnance corresponds with 10 deniers 13 grains French. From authentic experiments made at Paris, the Swedish rix dollar weighs 540 grains, and is of the standard of 10 deniers 10 grains. The ducat weighs 65 grains, and its standard is 23½ carats.

The common money is after the rate of 50 rix-dollars per schippund of 272 pounds. Ever since 1745, copper sheets have not been current as money; this currency has become rare even, and it is now almost impossible to procure collections of it for the cabinets of the curious.

These sheets were made of a very soft and highly malleable copper, in the shape of a long square, and about as thick as three half crowns laid together, and were marked at the four corners with the arms of Sweden; in the middle the value was stamped. Those which were current for a rix-dollar, weighed five pounds and a half.

180 dollars silbermunt, or 540 dollars koppermunt, in sheets of the value of 4 dollars to half a dollar silbermunt, or from 12 dollars koppermunt, were made from a schippund of 320 pounds provision weight. 900 dollars of copper money stamped and rimmed, of from 6 œers to half on œer koppermunt, from one schippund of copper, provision weight.

The standard of the pieces of one œer,	is	2 den.	8 grs.
of those - of four œers,	-	3	18
of those - from 5 to 10,	-	5	8

In 1716, pieces of five and six œers were coined much inferior to the standard of the coins before mentioned.

Impressions.

The golden ducat has the king's head on one side with his name in Latin, and this legend: D. G. Rex SUECIE; on the other a circular shield, the ground azure, with three golden crowns surrounded by the chain of the order of the Seraphim, and this legend: FADERNESLANDET. The date is under the shield, and is divided by the cross of the order which also disjoins these two letters O L distinguished above the date.

The impression on the rix-dollars, plottes, and double plottes, is similar to that on the ducats, except that on the field of the reverse, the value for which they are current is stamped, and on the rim is seen this legend: Ne lædar avaris manibus. The smaller silver pieces have the initial of the sovereign on one side, and within his distinguishing cypher with the single word: Faderneslandet; on the opposite side they have the same shield as the ducats, but without the chain. On the right of the field the value is stamped, and R. O. M. on the left, in a line with the figures.

The copper coins have an argent shield with three bars undulated with azure, a lion crowned, with his throat strongly marked, and an abridged legend composed of the initial of the sovereign with his distinguishing cypher, and S. G. V. R. The three crowns which form the arms of Sweden, are placed one on the dexter side, the other on the sinister, and the third at the bottom of the shield. On the other side are two arrows making a St. Andrew's Cross, with the crown of Sweden, the date and a mark expressive of the value. Late coins have a chain round the rim. The rundstück has three crowns on one side, and above them G. R. S. below is the date; on the other side is a shield with two arrows forming a St. Andrew's cross; on the right of the shield is figure of 1. and the letter K. on the left the two letters O. R. below which M. is placed.

Observations.

The Swedish coins are generally well struck, particularly those of gold and silver. Little specie of the coinage of the country is seen in circulation, but a number of Dutch ducats. They are exchanged at par for those of Sweden, notwithstanding the Dutch ducat be only 23 carats 5 grains fine. Somewhat more of the silver coin is in circulation; they, as well as those of gold are stamped with the greatest nicety, and in consequence are in high estimation; the exportation of them is rigidly prohibited, as well as the copper coinage, which offers a gain of 30 per cent.

There is no fixed relation of value between gold and silver in Sweden. In 1755, the proportion was 1 to 18, which is difficult to believe: in Swedish Pomerania it is

1 to 16. The Swedish rix-dollar, although it have the advantage in purity over that of Holland by one grain as well as that of Hamburg, is yet exchanged with both at par.

There is regularly but one mint in Sweden, which is at Stockholm: although in Dalecarlia there be a copper coinage on which the arms of the province are stamped, and which has currency throughout that country and its neighbourhood.

The accounts of the crown are kept in dollars silbermunt, as are accounts in general in Scania, Halland, Bleking, and Gottenburgh; in these parts most payments are made in paper. Bank notes are considered as cash, and are even frequently taken with greater avidity. The paper of the States, particularly that of Finland recently called in, are at a smaller or greater discount according to circumstances. Merchants keep their accounts in dollars and cers. The schelling or scaling is an imaginary money, 48 of which go to the dollar.

Although the exchange between Sweden and other countries varies according to the balance of trade, by the ordonnance of 1776 the course was fixed as under.

On Amsterdam,	-	45 schillings per rix-dollar current.
Copenhagen,	-	100 rix-dollars specie per 120 rix-dollars current.
Spain,	-	41 schillings per ducat of exchange.
Hamburg,	-	47 schillings per rix-dollar banco.
Lisbon,	-	22 schillings per crusado of 400 rics.
London,	-	4 rix-dollars 15 schillings per pound sterling.
Paris,	-	25 schillings per Ecu de 60 sous Tournois.
Stralsund,	-	100 rix-dollars specie per 132 rix-dollars of Pomerania.

Extract of the Royal Ordonnance relative to Money, of the 27th November, 1776.

No one whatsoever shall be obliged, in payments above the value of a rix-dollar, to receive a larger quantity of small copper coin at one time than half a rix-dollar.

Gold coins being requisite for the convenience of trade, Swedish ducats as well as those of Holland, of full weight, and with a chain round the ridge, shall be received in circulation in concurrence with the rix-dollar at the rate of 94 skillings or 1 rix-dollar 46 skillings; which in currency amounts at the period of the date of this to 35 dollars 8 cers in copper money, or 11 dollars 24 cers silbermunt.

All purchases, sales, and transactions of every description regarding money, and being in writing, shall be stipulated from the commencement of the ensuing year in rix-dollars, and in default of compliance with this ordonnance, shall be deemed illegal.

Weights of Sweden and Stralsund.

The Skolpfund is 1 lb. which is divided into			
32	-	Loths,	
96	-	Quintins,	
132	-	Dragmes,	
and 1848	-	Asses.	
The four weights used in trade contain			Asses.
The weight for provisions. Vigt.			8848
Mark, miner's weight. Bergverksvigt.			7221
Mark, Flat country or Town weight. Lund och Stadts vigt.			7078
Pound, Apothecaries weight,			7416
The Sten,			32 lbs.
Lispund,			20

16 lispunds a staple schippund, 20 lispunds a schippund. The schippund of Stralsund, commercial weight, is 20 lispunds or 280 lbs. the centner, 8 lispunds or 112 lbs. teesteen, 10 lbs. In grocers and other shops, a weight is used $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. lighter than that used in trade, spoken of higher up.

The Swedish as corresponds exactly with the as Troy of Holland.

The pound,* or skolpfund weighs 1 mark 7 ounces 7 grains, 8 grains poid de mare French.

Dry Measures.

	Value in the country.	Cubic French inches.
The Tunna† or ton contains	-	7386
Spanns, -	2	
Half Spanns, -	4	
Fierdings or Viertels, -	8	
Koppars, -	32	231
Kanne, -	56	132
Stoppe, -	112	
Quarter, -	448	
Jungfre ært, -	1792	

Measures for dry goods.

	Value in the Country.	French cubic inches.
The ordinary last,	}	
Last or ton of 1000 herrings,		12 tons.
of foreign beer,		
of tar, pitch, whale oil, ashes, -		13 tons.
of Spanish or French salt, -		18 tons.
Hemp, flax, cordage, hops, tallow,		120 lispunds,
		Kannes.
The barrel of malt, -	66	8771
of salt and lime, -	59	7848
Ton of wheat, rye, barley, oats and peas, -	63	1210

* 100 lbs. Swedish weight is equal to 93 lbs. 7 ounces English. The English pounds consequently contain 9523 asses fere, of Swedish weight, and is heavier than the Swedish in the proportion of 320 to 299.

The staple schippund weighs therefore of Avoirdupois weight English,	299 lbs.
The schippund (of 20 lispunds)	373½ lbs.
The lispund,	18½ lbs.
The skolpfund,	14 oz. 15½ drams.

† Reduction of the table of Measures of capacity to English measure, computing 7386 French inches to the tunna, and the French foot to be to the English as 1068 to 1000.

The tunna will contain 7888 inches English, or	28½ Gallons Winchester Dry measure.
Spann,	14½
Halfspan,	7½
Viertel,	3½
Koppar,	rather more than $\frac{1}{16}$ of a gallon.
Kanne,	rather more than half a gallon.
Stoppe,	a quart.
Quarter,	half a pint.
Jungfre ært,	$\frac{1}{16}$ do.

The last of twelve tons, 347 gallons and upwards, of thirteen, 376 gallons, and of eighteen, 521½ gallons. One ton English Avoirdupois, and 2½ lbs.

At Stralsund.

	Value in the country.	French cubic inches.
The last contains, corn measure, Droemts,	8	
Barils,	32	5892
Scheffels,	96	1964
Fehrts,	384	
Metzers,	1586	

Measures of capacity of Liquids.

	Value in the country	French Inches.	Added by translator. English.	
			Inches.	Winchester Wine Measure.
				Gallons. Dec.
One Freder or Vat contains				220 2
Pipes,	2			110 1
Oxhofts,	5			
Ahms,	6			36 7
Nembares or Eimers,	12	3,960	423,928	18 35
Omkares,	24	1,980	211,964	9 17
Kannes,	360	132	14,098	612
Stoppes,	720	66	7,049	30
Quarters,	2,880			075
Jungfres,	11,520			018
<i>At Stralsund.</i>				
One Stubgen contains	1	196	2,093	906
Pottes,	4	49	5,234	226
The other measures the same as are used at Hamburgh.				

Long Measures, such as are used for Cloths, Carpenter's Work, and Distances.

		French lines.	English.
The foot contains	1	131	6140 5
Inches,	12		
Lines,	144		
The ell, or allen, contains feet,	2	236	2281 0
Fam, or fathom,	6		843 4
Riethe, or perch,	16		

The Swedish mile consists of feet 36,000, French. 32,900, English. 6 miles $4\frac{2}{3}$ ths.
 For carpenter's work, a measure of a foot of 10 inches, or tumbs, in length is used, divided into 10 lines, which are again sub-divided into ten other parts.
 The tuna, a measure used in carpenter's work, is 46,772 square feet.

At Stralsund

The Pomeranian foot is 125 French lines.
 Ell is 258

In Sweden after measuring by the strike an addition is given to the buyer of four kappers, on every measure of wheat, rye, oats, and peas; and six kappers upon each ton of salt, or lime.

CHAPTER XXI.

Route from Stockholm to Upsal, by Gripsholm, Oker, Elskilstuna, Skultuna, and Westeros.

WE left Stockholm by the same road we arrived on coming from Gottenburgh. After crossing the southern suburbs, of a prodigious length and most wretchedly paved we reached Gripsholm by Fitja, Sæudertilje, and Kumla; over a superb road six miles and seven eighths in length. Half a mile beyond Fitja, you have a charming prospect of a lake lying along the left of the road. Half a mile from Sæudertilje, on the left is a handsome chateau, pleasantly situated on the side of the lake, belonging to the president Eyriengranat. Before we arrived at Gripsholm, we crossed one of the extremities of lake Møler, over a bridge at a place called Laystadt. There it is that the iron and cannon from the foundry of Oker, and the neighbouring forges, are embarked for Stockholm. Mr. Vahrendorf had begun building two warehouses there.

Gripsholm is an ancient royal chateau, to which the court formerly went very frequently; it has not been thither since 1784. The first court is absolutely irregular; the building of brick; a large tower at the bottom of the court. There are four of them of unequal size, and irregularly disposed. In the first court are two calverins in bronze, fifteen and seventeen feet in length, the caliber seven inches; we esteemed them forty-eight pounders. They each weigh eighty-five schippunds, and were taken from the Russians in 1581, at the siege of Iwanogorod, by baron Pontus de la Gardie: several times has it been in contemplation to found them. The inscriptions upon them are in Russian characters, and state them to have been cast in 7085, and 7087 (1577, and 1579) by the Czar Iwan Basilowitz; some marks of shot which have struck it are visible on the smaller piece. Thence a vault leads into a very small court. The interior of the chateau presents nothing worthy of notice. In the king's apartments are twenty-seven portraits of Turkish emperors, from Osman I, who died in 1326, to Abdulhamid, the last emperor deceased. In the bed-chamber is an iron chair, used by Gustavus Vasa. Above in a tower, is a pretty divan; the walls of it are nine feet thick; it is very handsomely furnished, and commands a charming view of the lake. In another tower is an apartment in which Eric XIV, was confined for two years; it is of an irregular figure, and seventeen feet long at its greatest length; it is lighted by three small windows with iron bars. The theatre is small but very handsome. It is supported by

sixteen fluted columns, which, as well as the rest of the body of the theatre, which forms a demi-circle up to the stage of forty feet in diameter, are gilt. In the apartment of the princess, the late king's sister, is the bust of a woman veiled, composed of three different kinds of marble. In that of the queen is a small copy of the Borghese hermaphrodite. In the reading room, two vases of Russian marble. The most remarkable contents of this chateau are its numerous collection of portraits of the princes and princesses of Europe, since the time of Gustavus Vasa; it is very considerable, yet not complete. In a long gallery, which serves as a dining room, are the portraits of the different sovereigns contemporary with Gustavus Vasa; and in the saloon, which is a large rotunda of more than forty feet in diameter; in the great tower are those of the sovereigns who reigned at the time Gustavus III, ascended the throne. The first, that is to say those of the time of Gustavus Vasa, are Francis I, king of France, taken in 1542, when forty-eight years of age. Sigismund I, king of Poland, who died in 1548, eighty-one years of age. The emperor Maximilian, 1519 (the year of his death;) fifty-nine years old. Charles V, emperor and king of Spain when thirty-years of age, in 1530; he died in his fifty-eighth year. Ferdinand I, king of Hungary and Bohemia, aged twenty-nine years, 1531, he died in 1564. Lewis II, king of Hungary and Bohemia, killed in battle in the year 1525, in his twentieth year. Frederic, duke and elector of Saxony, 1525; he died aged sixty-two. John, duke of Saxony, died in 1532, in his sixty-third year. Joachim, Margrave of Brandenburg, died 1571, sixty-six years old; was painted in 1547. Henry, duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, died in 1578, seventy-nine years old. William, count Palatine of the Rhine, died in 1550, fifty-seven years old. George, duke of Saxony, died in 1539, sixty-eight years old, his likeness taken when fifty-nine. Eric, duke of Brunswick; he died in 1540; seventy years of age, painted when 63. Henry, duke of Saxony, died in 1541, sixty-eight years old, painted when fifty-eight. Henry, duke of Mecklenburgh Schwerin, died in 1572, ninety-three years old, painted in 1534. Albert, duke of Mecklenburgh, died in 1547, sixty years old. Andrew de Greti, doge of Venice, died at the beginning of the 16th century, painted in 1533. Stephen Schlick, count of Bassau. George, de Fronsberg, eques auratus. Philippe, duke of Mecklenburgh Schwerin, died in 1557, at forty-three years, painted when twenty. Christopher, duke of Wirtemberg, died in 1568, painted when eighteen. John II, junior, count Palatine of the Rhine and Deux Ponts, died in 1534, fifty-one years of age. John, senior, count Palatine of the Rhine and Deux Ponts, died in 1604, fifty-four years old. Wolfgang, count Palatine of the Rhine, died in France in 1569, forty-three years of age. John, Margrave of Brandenburg and Pomerania, died in 1571, fifty-eight years old, was painted when eighteen. Rene, count de Nassau, prince of Orange, painted when thirteen years old. Ernest, duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, died in 1546, forty nine years old. Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, he died in 1567, aged sixty-three years, painted when thirty. Ulric, duke of Wirtemberg, count de Montbeliard, died in 1550, aged sixty-three years, painted when forty-six. Joachim, Margrave of Brandenburg, duke of Pomerania, died in 1535, aged fifty-one years. John Frederic, duke of Saxony, died in 1534, aged fifty-one years. Henry VIII, king of England, who died in 1547, aged fifty-six years, painted when fifty-one. Gustavus I, taken in 1542. Eric XIV. Those of the grand rotunda, are Gustavus III,; Joseph II,; Catharine, of Russia; George III, king of England; Ferdinand IV, king of Naples; Maria Frances Isabella, queen of Portugal; Christian VII, king of Denmark; Lewis XV, king of France; Charles III, king of Spain; Abdulhamid, the Turkish emperor; Stanislaus Augustus, king of Poland; Frederic II, king of Prussia; Victor Amadius, king of Sardinia; the empress Maria

Theresa; Pius VI, the pope; Ferdinand Lewis, infant of Parma; Maria Amelia, infant of Parma. The difference of the dresses has a very pleasing effect.

It is not exactly known at what period this chateau was built; all that is certain is that the chevalier Harald Torsson, was the first mentioned possessor in 1280. In the succeeding century it belonged to the grand chancellor, Bo Johnson Grips (without any account how it became his;) from whom it received the name of Gripsholm; he was master of it in 1383. In 1396, his son, Knut Boson Grips, sold it for a trifle to queen Margaret. King Eric XIII, of Pomerania, possessed it in 1434. The keeper has a publication in the Swedish language, which gives more ample information respecting the castle. In the immediate vicinity, is the town of Mariefred, very small, not containing more than four hundred inhabitants, and possessing nothing worthy of notice.

Distillery. Near to Gripsholm is the most considerable distillery in the whole kingdom; three-fourths of it belongs to Mr. Vahrendorf, and the remaining fourth to gen. Duwal. It has been granted them by the crown for twenty years; their privilege expires in 1795, when it will belong entirely to the king. The first expences of the building amounted to 80,000 rix-dollars, which, when the establishment is minutely inspected, may readily be believed. It works annually one thousand two hundred Riga lasts of grain, or eighteen thousand tons; one fourth part of which is barley; each ton yield twenty-two kannes of spirit; of these the king receives nearly twelve; so that the proprietors retain for themselves about ten kannes, which they sell at 16 skillings 4 runstiiks per kanne; making, upon eighteen thousand tons, one hundred and eighty thousand kannes, upon the whole produce nearly four hundred thousand. On the establishment are thirteen managers, who receive from 200 to 300 rix-dollars annually, and ninety-six workmen, at from fourteen to sixteen plottes per month. On account of the too great heat of the season at that interval to allow of working, there is a cessation of the distillery from the middle of July to the middle of September. For the purpose of raising water, a machine is used of a singular although very simple construction; it is an upright cylinder with cogs, which acts upon six pumps, three on one side and three on the other, which supply the first and second story; it is worked by four horses. Below are ninety-six vats of equal size; they are seven feet in diameter, rather wider at the bottom, and four feet deep; in each is put four and a quarter tons of flour (fourteen lispunds vigt. each) 2000 kannes of water, and ten cannes of common yeast. Each vat yields from eighty to eighty-four kannes, and sometimes, according to the grain, ninety kannes. The mixture is stirred at intervals until fermentation takes place. Upon this the vats are covered, luted down with lime, and in four days the wash is ready for the still; if the weather be warm in a shorter time; after it has sufficiently fermented the wash passes twice through the still. There are twenty-six stills, four of which contain four thousand cannes, the others two thousand. The wash takes six or seven hours before it all comes over. There are three malting kilns, two of which will dry two thousand kannes, the other three thousand. The daily consumption is from seventy-five to seventy-seven tons of grain, of fifty kannes each. Each ton requires three-fourths of a measure of wood, or two tons of English coal, which comes nearly to the same expence, the measure of wood costing 6 plottes, and English coal from 32 to 36 skillings. The brandy delivered to the king must be six degrees above proof, equal to 16° of the hydrometer of Reaumur. We advise those who go to Gripswald, to return their horses, as otherwise they may have a long time to wait.

From Gripsholm to Oker is a mile. There is not an inn in the place, and no other accommodation than what the house of Mr. Vahrendorf the proprietor affords, or those of some of the officers belonging to the foundry. So that in case of Mr. Vahrendorf being absent it may not be amiss to be provided with a letter from him : it will be still better to wait until he may himself be there.

This place is very interesting on account of its handsome foundry for cannon.

Cannon foundry. The ore which is made use for founding cannon comes from six different mines : it should be poor or at least mixed so that the aggregate may contain no more than thirty per hundred of metal, and particularly it should contain none of that quality which breaks when hot. The first roasting of the ore is carried on in the same manner as at Fahlun in the open air. There are two furnaces for the fusion, each acted upon by two bellows ; they yield a schippund of iron per hour for cannon : every twenty-four hours one piece of twenty-four pounds and one four pounder are cast, or one thirty-six pounder. These two furnaces require three hundred and twelve tons of wood daily, and the whole, including the other fires, three hundred and eighty. Ten tons cost 16 schillings. The moulds are made of the country clay, and are hooped with iron to render them more firm. Round the shape for the mould hards of tow are put mixed with tallow and clay, over which potter's earth or clay mixed with sand. Five men are occupied in fashioning the earth about the mould when cannon is casting, three knead the clay while two turn the shape ; the clay is put on crosswise : when the mould is completed there are no more than three persons employed in placing the earth about it. It requires two days for the mould to get thoroughly dry ; for this purpose, when the wood is taken from it, coal and small wood are burnt within and coal alone without, which is turned about as the mould dries. The melting furnaces are very large, built of granite, and the stones are supported by masses of iron from eleven to twelve feet long, in shape of beams. The two cannon of twenty-four and four pounds are cast in eight minutes ; in three hours time, notwithstanding the pieces be yet red hot, the sand is removed in which the mould is placed. This is in a wooden vat of eleven feet deep, and eight feet in diameter : conceive but an instant how violent the heat the men must experience at the bottom of this vat, employed so near this burning mass in removing and throwing out the sand : they are consequently very quickly relieved.

In six hours' time the mass has acquired a sufficient consistence to allow of the piece being withdrawn ; but it cannot be bored until after it has laid two or three days in the open air. The first operation then is to cut off the head of the cannon which is at least a foot in length : this is done at first with a round plate of steel more than six lines in thickness ; the head is cut on three sides by turning this round plate, the piece remaining motionless, which operation in a piece of twenty-four pounds takes up six hours. By that time the head holds but a very slender piece on the three sides ; iron wedges are then struck into the part cut by a mallet of a lispund in weight. The more excellent the iron the greater the length of time before the head breaks off ; it has taken up four minutes when we have been present : after this the surplus at the end of the cannon is cut off, and the end polished, which takes up two hours ; then the boring begins at first horizontally, the piece remaining immoveable : one man and a boy only are employed in working the wheel, which forces forward and turns the wedge in the piece ; this wedge or rather this bar is two inches thick, but the mouth of the cannon is seven lines more, owing to the steel end fitted to the bar, which serves as it turns to bore the gun, being one inch and a half. The first hole is drilled, afterwards it is bored perpendicularly, the borer turning and the piece being depressed to

meet it: the arms are of iron and the borer of steel. The borers are of seven different sizes; each instrument has four, the last only six, and one which traverses at the end in order to polish the interior of the cannon. The depression of the piece is after the rate of more than an inch a minute; there are twenty-one minutes of interval between the operation of one borer and another. When requisite to raise the piece, in order to withdraw the borer, two men and one apprentice turn the wheel which raises it in five minutes; it takes four to let it down again. In case of necessity a twenty-four pounder may be bored in seventeen hours, viz. seven hours for the first boring and ten for the second, for which the workmen are payed two plottes: these two works cannot always be done at once on account of their being acted upon by the same head of water, which is not constantly sufficient to work the two hydraulic engines. It takes two hours to drill the touch-hole, which is done by a bow, the drills are of iron of different sizes but equal length: on these three last operations only three workmen are employed; all that remains of the cannon, consisting of rough iron, is sent to different other forges of Mr. Vahrendorf, at which it is made into bars. There are scarcely thirty men employed at the cannon foundry: the workmen earn but little: they have, however, as is the case at all the foundries, their grain afforded them at half price, and may receive at pleasure their wages either in provision or money.

The water proceeds from a lake of sufficient elevation, since there is a fall of forty-eight ells to the great wheels; these wheels work all together five machines: 1, a saw-mill (near the lake;) 2, that which blows the bellows; 3, that which is used for cutting off the heads of the cannon; and 4, and 5, the two machines which bore the cannon. The manufactory is discontinued in December, and re-commences in March.

From four thousand three hundred to four thousand four hundred schippunds is made into cannon annually. The greater part goes to Holland, Naples, and Portugal; to the latter country chiefly thirty-six pounders. They are proved in the presence of an artillery officer belonging to the king, who marks them at the mouth with the arms of Sweden (those of the powers for whom they are designed are engraven on the breech) and likewise with a bomb if he belong to the army, or if to the navy with an anchor. A certificate from the officer is absolutely necessary before the pieces can pass the customs and be shipped. Twelve pounders are proved with from ten to eleven pounds of powder, first with one ball, afterwards with two; the cannon of other caliber in proportion. Their cost, with all expences paid, in board, is 7½ crowns of Hamburgh banco, (equal to from 51 to 54 schillings.) Portugal pays more on account of its taking credit. Ball is sold at 5½ crowns: very little is made at Oker on account of the great quantity of ore required for the other works. Mortars are dearer than cannon, by from 3 to 4 crowns, owing to their frequently bursting on trial, which occasions loss. Bombs cost somewhat more than cannon, and should cost less, as they occasion scarcely any waste. All Swedish ball weighs much more than the stipulation, nearly one fifth part. The ball for Naples and Portugal is 5½ inches in diameter, and the thickness of the gun at the mouth is three inches nine lines. Dutch weight is a little yet but a trifle greater than that of Sweden. The calibre of the Swedish forty-eight pounder is seven inches one line and a half; that of the thirty-six pounder six inches and a half; of the twenty-four pounder five inches eight lines; the eighteen pounder five inches one line; the twelve, four inches four lines and a half; the six, three inches seven lines and a half; the brass six pounders weigh five schippunds, thirteen lispunds, eight marks; the long twelve pounders eleven schippunds, three lispunds; the twenty-four, twenty-four schippunds, thirteen lispunds, thirteen marks: the mark of the foundry stamped on one of the arms. The ship cannon are from sixteen to seventeen calibers in depth; (they are

found to be too short, and recoil too much, they should be twenty calibres;) those for fortresses from twenty-two to twenty-four. A twelve pounder for the navy weighs eight schippunds, and is six and a half feet long: for fortresses twelve schippunds, is nine feet long, and is two inches two lines in thickness at the mouth; a twenty-four pounder for the navy weighs sixteen to seventeen schippunds; for forts twenty-four; a thirty-six pounder for the first weighs from twenty-three to twenty-four schippunds; none of this calibre are made for fortresses: the thickness of a navy twenty-four pounder at the breech is seven inches and a half.

Oker about fifty years ago belonged to the crown, who sold it under an engagement to supply a certain quantity of wood at a very moderate price. Mr. Vahrendorf affords subsistence to nearly eight thousand persons, women and children included, which may readily be conceived when the extent of his possessions are considered; his different mines, forges, and manufactures in Sudermania, Nericia, Dalecarlia, &c. The following is an account of what they annually produce him: from ten to eleven schippunds of iron in bars, of the value of from 6 to 7 rix-dollars; from four thousand three hundred to four thousand four hundred schippunds in cannon, at 7 rix-dollars and a third; two thousand in ball, at 5½; from eight hundred to one thousand schippunds of brass, at 50 rix-dollars; three hundred of copper, at 45 crowns; two to three quintals of steel, at 3½ or 4 rix-dollars: in all at least 180,000 rix-dollars, exclusive of many articles, particularly the brewery before mentioned. This is the instant proper to remark that neither M. Vahrendorf nor other manufacturers of brass sent any to France in 1791, which must have occasioned great inconvenience to the town of Leigh and its neighbourhood, the sole dependance of which rests on its manufacture of pins; and which drew, if not all their brass, yet a very considerable part from this country. M. Vahrendorf has made some very pretty gardens, in spots before uncultivated, by dint of labour, in a very little time, overcoming the natural barrenness of the soil.

From Oker we proceeded to Strengnäs, a small town of a thousand inhabitants; this we left on the right a mile beyond Malmby. The country has a cheerful appearance, and is well cultivated; thence through Ekesog and Tiulstadt we passed on to Eskilstuna. This is a very interesting town on account of its numerous manufacturers of iron of every kind. The traveller will lodge at the post-house; but if it should be kept by the same hostess as in 1791, he is cautioned to bargain with her beforehand, as she makes it a practice to fleece strangers, considering that they visit her but once, and she sees them no more. It will be right to be provided with recommendations to M. Rynmann, who has written a work on iron which is held in high estimation, or to Nourdwal. The first is aged and infirm, but the second is extremely complaisant, and speaks French.

Eskilstuna. This town is divided in two, and is situated precisely at the place of communication of the two lakes Møler and Hielmer. Its situation is very pleasant; it contains altogether about two thousand inhabitants, from six to seven hundred of whom (three hundred of them workmen, including one hundred mastermen) live in that part called the free town, separated from the other by a bridge. Here it is that all those workmen dwell, willing to avail themselves of the privilege granted by the king to such as come thither to settle. Charles X, was the founder of this establishment; and Locksmiths street, built by him, is still called Rademacher, from the name of a German whom the king invited hither, and who was the first director: the whole of the remainder is the work of Gustavus III. Soon as a workman presents himself, he is first examined, and if approved the king gives him a house and an allotment of land of

seventy-five ells in length by fifty. From that instant he becomes a proprietor, and works on what branch he pleases: if desirous of buying a house, it is afforded him at half its value, and he pays on this stipulated price 6 per cent. per annum for twenty years, after which it becomes his in perpetuity.

Mr. Christian Johansin paints different pretty things in a charming manner upon steel, such as, he says, cannot be done in England: this however is doubtful, for we have seen similar in France which did not come from Eskilstuna. His principal employment is damascuing swords for officers, the expence of which is 2 rix-dollars, 8 schillings each. He makes buttons with landscapes on them, which are as high as 16 skillings each; scissors at from 40 skillings to 2 rix-dollars, and other considerable articles. He sells in Sweden alone, and has but one workman. There is here a manufactory of sword blades and sabres for the army. The iron tempered into steel (which must be of the best quality) comes from Graningen in Angermania. The blades of the sabres of the cuirassiers are three feet long, and cost 1 rix-dollar, 6 skillings; of the hussars, are thirty-four inches long, and cost 1 rix-dollar, 16 schillings; of the dragoons, thirty-three inches, nine lines, and cost 1 rix-dollar 16 schillings; of the cuirassiers of prince Charles, thirty-six inches ten lines, at 1 rix-dollar, 16 schillings; of the regiment of cavalry of Ostrogothia, thirty-five inches, at 1 rix-dollar, 16 schillings; the cutlasses for the navy, twenty-six inches, and cost 1 rix-dollar, 8 schillings; for the infantry, twenty-three inches, 20 schillings; for the miners, twenty-five inches, three lines, 1 rix-dollar; for the Savolax regiment of foot, twenty-five inches, ten lines, 1 rix-dollar, 8 schillings; for the dragoons, a straight flat sword, thirty-one inches, eight lines in length, 1 rix-dollar, 8 schillings: all the manufacturers employed in the making these come from Solingen. Three edged swords, 1 rix-dollar, and foils, 16 skillings. These earn most of all the workmen, some even 32 schillings per diem, and more; locksmiths and cutlers earn at least 8 or 10 skillings.

There are seven workshops of two hammers, one of which (very large) for steel, and a smaller for large nails, of which scarcely more than two are made in a minute. (It requires three men to manufacture large nails, only one to make small ones.) The iron employed is brought from Westeros. The whole quantity annually manufactured is two thousand schippunds, half of which in cast articles, and the remainder wrought. The first costs 3 rix-dollars, the other from 6 to 6½. There are four furnaces for steel, at which none but coarse work is wrought. The furnaces are made of French clay; the principal walls are brick: the principal bottom of double sheets of copper. To convert the iron into steel requires ten days fire; and the consumption of fuel during the ten days is forty lasts: each last of twelve tons costs 32 skillings. The quantity of steel yielded is constantly from two to three schippunds more than the weight of iron put into the furnaces, which arises from the phlogisten taken up by the iron in its process of stulification: if the exact quantity put in were yielded, the operation would be deficient (see the work of Mr. Jars.) Fresh fuel is added every six hours. The steel takes twenty days to cool, but less in winter. The length of the furnace, in which the bar iron is placed, intended to be converted into steel, is four feet ten inches. Every ten days eighty schippunds is turned out of each furnace: nevertheless no more is made annually than two thousand schippunds, and frequently less, according to demand. The greatest part is shipped for Lisbon. There are two furnaces, and a large hammer for forging iron bars; of these there are made from seven to eight hundred schippunds, which quantity might be extended to one thousand. Six workmen are kept for the two furnaces, two of which foremen. The foreman receives 12 schillings for each schippund of iron forged; and pays the two workmen himself: they can forge three

schippunds daily; they work in the German fashion; the difference between the German method and the Walloon are, 1, that by the first manner they melt and work at once at both forges: by the second, the one is kept for founding, while they work at the other. 2, The fuel is measured out to the Germans, whereas it is afforded as required to the Walloons without limitation. 3, The first melt the iron by degrees in small lumps, the other insert the whole at once: the Walloons hammer the iron less than the Germans, and consequently make much more, even five schippunds per furnace per diem, whereas the Germans can work but three. From what has been observed, the Walloon plan will be visibly the dearest. There are likewise three workshops, in which there are two grindstones and four wooden wheels for sharpening and polishing cutting instruments. A small hammer also for giving their primitive shape to scythes.

In another part of the town copper is flattened into sheets to the amount of about 700 schippunds, the workmen receive one rix-dollar per schippund for ordinary sheets, and 12 schillings additional for such as are four feet long by one and a half; there are three workmen employed on copper, and the quantity which may be flattened is from one thousand to one thousand two hundred schippunds: there is moreover in the same place, a hammer for fashioning iron bars, another for nails, and different other small establishments the same as in the free town. The annual consumption of coal is six thousand lasts. Here we shall speak of the different qualities of iron, and the mode of distinguishing them. Good iron is difficult to break, and breaks at once; within it is of a dullish white colour; it is lighter than other iron, but among this species the heaviest is preferred, as well as in cast steel. Iron which is gray internally breaks more easily. Iron which breaks when hot is known by groves across it; when they run lengthways the iron is good: that which breaks when cold is of a shining appearance, granulated when broke. This is the best for resisting the weather. The lightest iron is seven and a half times the weight of water, the heaviest from eight to eight and a quarter. There is no dearth of water at Eskilstuna, nor is there any interruption to the works even in the depth of winter.

From Eskilstuna to Kolbeck by Smedby, is three miles and a half. On the first stage some commons and blocks of granite distinguishable on each side the road. At half a mile beyond Smedby we arrived at the brink of the lake Møler, which is crossed on a raft in order to reach the small island Nickel, about a third of a mile in length, belonging to count de Creutz: on the passage you have a delightful view of the lake. Upon leaving the island you pass over a small arm of the lake and land in Westmania. The island is sandy and apparently sterile. Shortly after you cross a third branch, which as well as the two preceding, is very narrow, and the fare of the watermen extremely moderate, it is a projection of the lake, into which the canal of Stromsholm disembogues itself: nothing would be more easy than the construction of bridges over these creeks, at least the two latter,* leaving the first open for the passage of vessels; after passing the last ferry, the ancient royal castle of Stromsholm is seen. Shortly after the road turns along side the stables, consisting of three piles of wooden buildings of the greatest simplicity. Leaving first the castle and afterwards the church to the right we crossed a bridge over the river which, by a canal we shall shortly describe, is connected with the lake. In order to see this canal we were obliged to go from Kolbeck to Skantzén, three quarters of a mile distant; when finished, it will no longer be necessary to travel so far for this purpose, yet will that spot be ever an object of curiosity from the abundance of interesting objects found there, as will be conceived from the detail we are about to

* Posts which are still visible at the last ferry indicate that there has been formerly a bridge there.

make. As there is no post-house at Skantzen, it will be requisite to bargain with the postillion who drives you from Kolbeck, to proceed to Skultuna or Westeros; in case of his refusing, you must of necessity return to take horses at Kolbeck.

The canal of Stromsholm begins at Norberg, in Westmania, and ends at Stromsholm, where it joins lake Møler; it is ten miles in length. In some parts the river was found to be navigable, but in most it was either deepened or new channels cut. The first lock is at Semla, six miles and a half beyond Skantzen, and the last at Stromsholm: there are to be five and twenty. This canal was begun in 1777, and possibly may be completed in 1794 if great exertion be used; throughout the whole length there is six feet depth of water, at the bottom it is sixty feet broad, and at the surface ninety; the largest vessels which the canal will bear are forty-seven feet in length, draw five feet water, and are one hundred and fifty schippunds burthen (about forty-five tons.) When we saw it, vessels proceeded no farther than to the sixteenth lock: twenty-nine passed annually, but this number will be vastly increased when the canal is entirely finished; the passage by it is closed in November and resumed in May. Above the lock number fourteen, there are six hundred fathoms of masonry, on account of the quality of the soil. Three hundred fathoms below this, is lock number fifteen; and a hundred fathoms beyond number sixteen; at a distance thence of one thousand five hundred fathoms are numbers seventeen and eighteen cut out of the rock, after which the canal makes a sharp turning through the natural rock to the left. The original plan was changed in this spot. Five hundred fathoms from number eighteen are the locks nineteen, twenty, and twenty one, which are together. One single lock costs 100,000 dollars koppermunt, 1330l. sterling; the double and triple locks in proportion. Each lock has a fall of nearly sixteen Swedish feet from surface to surface. The total fall of the canal is one hundred and ninety-two fathoms; in less than half an hour's walk you meet with eight locks, that is to say from number fourteen to number twenty-one, from the first to the last the fall of water is sixty-four fathoms; in the neighbourhood of number sixteen is a steel furnace; near to twenty-one a small hammer for iron. The masts of the vessels are fixed so as to lower at pleasure, as on many of the locks there are bridges. Over the sixteenth lock is a very pretty small bridge, with parapets and corner stones of granite, with this inscription in the Swedish language: "This bridge, the first built of Swedish granite, was constructed in the reign of Gustavus III, the granite hewn by order of the senator baron Charles de Sparre. The work was directed by John Ufstrœum, the peasantry hewed the stones in 1787." Employed on this work are about five hundred men, who are paid from 16 to 48 skillings per $\frac{1}{2}$ of a cubic fathom, according to the nature of the ground. Vessels passing along the canal pay 14 schillings 8 rundsticks per schippund, of which 6 schillings 8 rundsticks towards the locks. This canal will be of great utility for transporting at small expence the produce of the mines, which is very abundant in the part where it begins; once arrived at lake Møler, the after expence of transport to Stockholm will be very trivial. It will be necessary the traveller should obtain a letter of address to Mr. Berger, the director of the canal. From Skantzen to Skultuna is two and a quarter miles, on the way you cross the Swartz: there is no inn at Skultuna nor any remedy but in taking up your abode with the proprietor of the manufactory.

Skultuna. Here is a brass manufactory. M. Galen in his work on the art of transforming copper into brass, which makes a part of the arts and trades, has very well described this operation; he took his detail from the manufactory established at Nordkicœping, to which all in Sweden bear resemblance. At that at Skultuna are three large kilns, the chimneys of which, built of brick, rise to a considerable height; in one of these kilns there are five furnaces, four in the second, and three in the third, altoget-

ther twelve: but nine are sufficient. When the copper is broken and reduced into small pieces, by the means of sledge hammers, it is put into crucibles of French clay: the dearth of this article prompted the proprietors to make search for similar in Sweden: It has been found in Scania, and promises shortly to equal that of France, which will therefore become unnecessary. In order to make it into sheets it is run on a table of granite, over which another is suspended; they are thirteen feet in length by five in breadth, and from eight to ten inches thick: they come from St. Malo, and cost 200 plottes the pair: in general it happens that out of every shipment the half of what comes are bad. It appears astonishing that Sweden, which superabounds with granite in every quarter, should be obliged to import it from abroad: that of St. Malo is however preferred on account of the mica and blende being more equally distributed, and in greater abundance. For cutting the sheets intended to be drawn into wire, a similar machine is made use of to that of the English: when the brass has been cut and drawn, it is put into a kiln, where it remains for half an hour: it is drawn five times, and even eight if the wire be required of that fineness. The packages of brass wire are made up to weigh forty pounds; there are twenty wire-drawing moulds of steel; the manufactory is worked by a cylinder with wings, which the water puts in motion; the water is supplied by the Swartz (black river) which empties itself into the lake at Westeros, and which constantly furnishes it in all seasons. In the nine furnaces before mentioned, the metal is melted twice per day, that is every twelve hours; each melting yields two hundred and forty pounds of brass. The whole quantity made in a year scarcely exceeds from six to seven hundred schippunds; it might be extended to one thousand. The sheets of brass are five times roasted, and are as often put into the cylinder which resembles that at Afrustadt. On coming out they are ten ells long by three feet eight inches in breadth: it undergoes no alteration in its dimensions. Copper in its transformation into brass gains nearly twenty-five per cent. the precise quantity depending on the quality of the calamine. Hungary furnishes two sorts of this article, red and white; Poland but one; which is a reddish gray: the Hungarian calamine is considered to be the best; it costs 1 rix-dollar 43 schillings per quintal (three and a half to the schippund.) The cost of Polish calamine is 25 rix-dollars per ton of between five and a half to six schippunds, about 1 rix-dollar 12 schillings per schippund: the annual consumption of this article is one thousand two hundred schippunds of calamine, and three thousand lasts of wood. There is likewise a petty furnace for the running of small utensils, which are afterwards polished. The filings are remitted, but experience a loss of 50 per cent. In all from sixty to sixty-two workmen are employed. The whole of this manufactory was consumed by fire about ten or twelve years ago: the loss was enormous to the proprietor, a Mr. Adlervul, to whom the traveller should have recommendation. At present he has insured the whole, even the wood and charcoal; the insurance for buildings entirely of wood is two per cent. and from one to one and a half for other buildings, according to the quantity of brick and stone contained in them.

From Skultunna we proceeded to Westeros, the distance a mile and a half, the roads full of holes and bad. As a traveller rarely remains more than a few hours at Skultunna, he should keep his horses.

Westeros is a very ancient city which contains nothing worthy of remark. The tomb of Eric XIV, in the cathedral is absolutely undeserving notice. The steeple of this church, built on a square tower, is reckoned the highest in Sweden, yet is not very high. At the extremity of a long jetty lined with warehouses, is the port at which great quantities of iron are shipped for Stockholm. The left side of this jetty is a marsh; before you arrive hither, you see the government house, which is a handsome building. Westeros is the capital of the province of Westmania, one of the finest in

Sweden, possessing meadows, arable lands, and mines of all descriptions. Its position with respect to lake Møler affords great facility to the transport of its production, principally iron, of which it exports a considerable quantity. Two famous diets have been held at Westeros, the one in 1527, the other in 1544; the first deprived the clergy of its possessions, and the second secured the throne, before elective to the descendants of Gustavus Vasa.

From Westeros to Upsal by Niqwarn, Enköpung (a town) Listena, and Scfva, is altogether seven miles and one eighth: after the first stage you cross the Serva or Sagan, the same river as flows by Sahla over a bridge, which passed, you are in Upland. This is a fine road; the bridge which separates the two provinces is built sharp of ascent, on account of being liable to be covered by the water at the melting of the winter's snow. Enköpung is a city, which elsewhere would be looked upon only as a considerable village; its situation is advantageous at the bottom of a creek of lake Møler.

CHAPTER XXII.

Route from Upsal to Abo, by Dannemora, Æusterby, Læsta, Forsmarck, Griselham, and the isle of Åland.

AS we have already spoken of the city of Upsal, we shall proceed directly to the description of those objects which we noticed on our passage to Abo in Finland; this trip is very interesting on account of its affording a sight of the richest mine and the most capital forges in Sweden.

From Upsal to Husby one mile and a half; thence to Anderby is two and a quarter; the road never bad, but frequently extremely narrow. Half a mile from Husby we came to Natholma, an excellent forge belonging to count Brahe; and a little beyond this to his seat, which has a handsome appearance.* In the two last stages we passed over several plains. From Andersby to Dannemora is three quarters of a mile, thence to Æusterby the same distance, although there is a nearer road. The road to Æusterby turns to the right, that to the mine to the left, you pass under the machinery of the pumps, which is so low as to enforce your attention in case your carriage be any ways elevated.

Dannemora. This is the mine which may justly be called the Peru of Sweden: it produces the best iron, and of that at least a tenth part of the production of the whole kingdom; it is situated in the hamlet of Æusterby. It is far from curious in itself as a mine, since it has no galleries, no vaults, nor interior works; but merely a quarry open at the top. We speak of the great hole into which the curious are wont to descend, and which alone yields twenty thousand schippunds, thus divided: two fifths to Læsta, two fifths to Æusterby, and one fifth to Gimo. It is the best iron of this mine, wholly monopolized by the English, of which they make their steel; it costs nearly a rix-dollar more than other iron. M. de Vergennes, during his embassy to Sweden, contrived to send some of it to France for steel manufactures, but the importation was not continued. From the first works to the last, there is a distance of a thousand ells in one direction. Seventy-three openings have been made, but great part of them are closed, either on account of their not yielding ore, or the works being overflowed.

This mine was worked for the first time in the thirteenth century; but the most authentic monuments respecting it, are of the date of the fifteenth; its greatest

* He has another seat between Upsal and Stockholm, where are many manuscripts, particularly in the Polish language.

depth is eighty Swedish fathoms; it supplies seventeen forges with iron, and belongs to thirteen proprietors; each of the seventeen great forges among which the ore is distributed keep a man at the spot to look to the fair distribution of the produce. The mine is capable of yielding sixty thousand schippunds of ore, but no more than from forty to forty-two schippunds is extracted. The ore yields from sixty to seventy-two per cent. the work in the mine is extremely easy, being nothing but a block of metal; it was inundated in 1693, and twenty years were employed before it could be emptied, and its works be resumed. A very considerable work has even become necessary on the side of the lake which acts on the pumps, for the prevention of a similar accident. This undertaking has enabled the miners to begin a new search, in which ore has been found at a very inconsiderable depth. There are in all four hundred workmen, if the women and children be included, who are very numerous in the large hole. Wood was formerly used for heating the ore, which caused a very great consumption; at present they use powder alone, as has been the case for seven and twenty years; from two hundred and ten to two hundred and fifteen quintals are thus annually expended at a cost of from 10 to 11 rix-dollars per quintal. The tribute paid to the crown is a tenth of the rough iron; the ore is blown up every day at a fixed period, to wit, noon. The great hole is constantly full of smoke, unless when expelled by a violent wind, when alone the bottom can be discerned from the summit. There is a staircase but dangerous, and consequently not used; the only mode of descent in practice is by buckets; we were five minutes and forty seconds in going down; the depth is seventy-eight toises, there is day light in every part; even in July we met with ice here and found it cold. In one corner is a forge for the tools of the workmen; no horses are employed within the mine, but eighty without for daily work: all the buckets are acted upon by horses; the wheel that works the pumps is twenty-four ells in diameter; it is the largest in Sweden, and is worked by a very trifling head of water.

Few years pass over without some accident from the falling of stones; but the rope was never known to break; it is related that a girl being in the bucket, the bucket striking against a projecting rock was overset, but the girl's petticoats fortunately catching the rock, she hung by them till such time another bucket was let down to her relief; what was however equally extraordinary, the girl had the courage to go down again the same day as if nothing had happened. Since the use of gunpowder in the mine the workmen have earned more, as being enabled to do more labour; some have even made money and built themselves small houses. Corn being dear in 1791, the labourers of the mine insisted upon paying no more than the fourth, instead of half of the market price as usual, but the proprietors who had a year's stock of ore on hand, refusing to employ them on such conditions they desisted from their demand.

The following minerals may be obtained at this mine; black and bluish granulated iron ore, sometimes naturally polished on the surface; many varieties of amianthus; mountain leather and mountain cork; crystals of calcareous spar, pyramidal and hexagonal in druses; pale amethysts; cloudy topazes; crystals of white quartz in druses, mostly without prisms; rock garnets, sometimes crystallised; rock pebbles, of various colours, sometimes in layers; mineral pitch; and martial pyrites in cubes. The iron of this mine, the dearest in Sweden, is shipped at Stockholm, and not at Oregrund, where formerly it used to be shipped, and the name of which place it has preserved in foreign countries. By the side of the mine are the mineral springs of Harvick, the flavour and properties of which bear great analogy to the waters of Balaruc.

Österby is a quarter of a league from Dannemora; here you may have accommodation at the inn, which is tolerable, and moderate of charge. This estate belongs to

Messrs. Grill and Pyhl; it did belong to Gustavus Adolphus, who dwelt here, but with several others was given to the family of Geer, who had rendered the king great service: the present possessors bought it for 140,000 rix-dollars, but according to the increase of the value of coin, its worth is about 300,000 rix-dollars; the chateau is handsome and well built, of brick and stone (notwithstanding the Dutch traveller reports it of wood;) within it has little to recommend it; its neighbourhood is pleasant, particularly for a country so much towards the north. The traveller will do well to visit this forge, as all the different works are carried on at it, whereas at Lœsta and Forsmarek no pig iron is run. This forge has three hammers, without including one for steel and another for iron; each hammer is capable of working from forty to fifty schippunds weekly; what is highly singular, one of these continually works more than the other two by from six to seven schippunds, and notwithstanding the workmen have been changed, the result, without their being able to account for it, has yet been constantly the same. The Walloon method of working is followed here, because more work is completed by that method, and the iron less hammered; this practice is requisite at this forge as well as that of Lœsta and Gimo, as all the iron is manufactured at these three different places, of which the English make their steel. Here five thousand schippunds are forged; some years they have, from want of water, been able to forge no more than three thousand; sometimes there is also a dearth of charcoal; what is bought costs 32 schillings, if brought by the peasant it costs from 6 to 7 dollars. For iron in bars, 4 lasts per schippund is required, of which two for the rough iron of the first casting. The charcoal for the kilns is much more burnt than that for melting. The steel is worked with sea-coal, after the English manner, with artificial bellows. Samples of it have been sent to France, but they could not vie with the English. The price of nails is, if under five inches long, from one to six dollars the thousand. Large nails are sold by the schippund, at from 10 to 15 rix-dollars, according as the heads are more or less wrought.

The water comes from a lake, three-fourths of a mile in length, which formerly was a marsh. Channels were cut in the neighbouring forests connected with it, in order to gather in one place all the rain-water; in dry years there is but little, as was the case particularly in 1790. It frequently raises higher than the ground in its neighbourhood, which has necessitated the construction of a strong dam; should this give way, not only the forge but the plain as far as Upsal, and a part of the town even, would be overflowed. In 1751 or 52, only four inches were wanting of its reaching the summit of the dam. The governor of Upsal perceiving the waters suddenly rise, came in person to Cœsterby, to see if the dam had not given way. By the side of the lake is another reservoir, and two more below this. From the first to the last there is a fall of from twelve to thirteen ells. The same water supplies Lœsta in great measure.

All workmen requisite to a colony are found here: the village is composed of seventy houses, disposed in four streets after the manner of the Dutch; each house contains two families, and has a little garden; there are one hundred and fifty workmen, and altogether seven hundred inhabitants. The Walloon colony at Cœsterby has preserved a considerable portion of its ancient manners: the people composing it intermarrying only among themselves, and holding the peasantry around in sovereign contempt. In 1790 they attempted to imitate the people from Liège, but this kind of revolt had no consequences. In their contract there is a stipulation for wine, and they are paid in silver. Their support requires six or seven thousand tons of corn annually, and as the estate produces no more than from nine hundred to a thousand, the rest is purchased, which occasions a considerable expence. In this forge labour ceases from eight in the morning of Saturday, until four on Sunday evening. The director's salary is from five

to 600 rix-dollars, he has moreover a dwelling, and like the workmen is furnished with charcoal and grain at half price. Iron is extracted from the dross the same as at Sudersfors, and as well as at Sudersfors they here make bricks of it for building. Their grain is dried by a flue, through which the fumes from the furnace are conducted beneath sheets imperceptibly bored and inclined the same as the roof of a house; flues for this purpose proceed from the two furnaces belonging to the hammer on the side. There are two chambers of this description, each of which dries twenty tons every twenty-four hours. They are a contrivance of Mr. Vestrœum, and have been very generally adopted.

From Æusterby to Bru is half a mile (it will be necessary to pre-advise one of the clerks belonging to the forge of the time at which you wish to depart, as there are no horses at Æusterby.) To Hokansbo one mile and a half. This post-house is some distance out of the great road, on the right; at a quarter of the distance of this last stage, there is another road to the right which leads to Forsmarck, a similar distance. To Lœufsta three quarters of a mile; from the instant of leaving the road to Forsmarck you have nothing but forest, and will decide which of these two forges you will visit first, according to your course afterwards being either northward to Gefle, or southward on return to Stockholm, or to regain the high road to Finland.

Lœufsta. The inn is at the extremity of a long street planted with trees; on one side are the houses of the work people and persons employed, on the other, of the dependants on the castle, which is of one story and pretty enough, but not equally so, in our esteem, with that of Æusterby; as you enter the court on the right hand you find two small apartments; upon the gardens are five apartments in succession, among which are the saloon and dining-room; the furniture is of a common description; there are some family pictures, and paintings of Italian monuments. A Cleopatra in tapestry, much extolled, which had no charms for us, and which is valuable but on account of the person from whom it was received by the possessor. Among the portraits, that of Charles de Geer is distinguishable; the first who came from Holland to Sweden in 1652. He was proprietor of the estates of Finspongs, Lœufsta, Gimo, Æusterby, Godegord, and Skilberg. On the first story are some very plain apartments. The gardens are handsome, particularly when considered they are north of 60° of lat. The library is without the castle; it does not contain more than seven thousand volumes, among which nothing peculiarly valuable, except a folio volume of insects and birds, extremely well painted in colours. It is a description of the cabinet presented by Charles de Geer, marshal of the court, to the academy of sciences, where it still is under the direction of M. Sparrman. A manuscript of memoirs to serve to give light to the history of the age in which he lived, written by Charles de Geer, with a number of drawings by himself, also a very beautiful work. Round the castle are several pavillions serving for stables for sixty-four horses, kitchens, and other offices. A volery, two hot houses containing orange trees, aloes, coffee trees, &c. A magazine of fowling-pieces, containing at least a hundred, with a number of pistols, several Runic sticks, and Lapland furniture. In a very small apartment is a cabinet of natural history.

The forge is very considerable, it employs four hammers, each of which capable of working fifty schippunds weekly, when in full play; in the whole they turn out from eight to nine thousand schippunds at the most. The pigs are run in other forges in the neighbourhood belonging likewise to the baron de Geer. This is done for the sake of saving charcoal which is rare at Lœufsta. Nothing is made here but bars; their manner of working, the Walloon. The hammers are at a stand from eight in the morning of

Saturday until Sunday at midnight. Grain is dried here in the same manner as at *Æusterby*. This village also like that forms a colony of itself.

In case of stopping but for a few hours at *Læufta*, the traveller will do well to retain the horses he brings with him, to take him to the first post town, seeing there are none at *Læufta*, and that he will otherwise have to wait. From *Læufta* to *Rethibo* three quarters of a mile; thence to *Forsmarck* one mile and a quarter; although the real distance be altogether no more than seven quarters, it is yet the custom, upon what account is not known, to exact a quarter of a mile more. On the first stage the road begins to be very narrow, and you pass through nothing but forests. There is accommodation for the traveller at the inn at *Forsmark*, where he may lodge.

Forsmarck. The mansion-house at *Forsmarck* has a more imposing appearance than either of the two preceding; it is two stories high; eleven windows by six; a handsome court and agreeable gardens, which are the more striking from the wildness of the road to *Forsmarck*, from which nothing is to be seen but rocks and woods. The iron is not run into pigs here on account of the scarcity of charcoal; the establishment has two hammers, and forges about three thousand schippunds. The ore comes from *Dannemora*; the pig iron from the neighbouring forges and from one in *Finland*, belonging to *Mr. Ugglä*. There is here a very small furnace of the same shape as those in which the pigs are run; the dross is founded here which falls from the pigs when under the hammer; when in train there are eight meltings per week, each yielding from three to four lispunds of iron. The *Walloon* method is followed here, where there still remains a number of *Walloons*. All trades requisite to a colony are followed here as well as at the other forges, there is likewise a school for children. The work at the forges finishes on Saturday at night, and is resumed on Sunday night. They have here a machine for drying grain similar to those at *Æusterby* and *Læufta*: the warehouses are handsome and well built. The estate of *Forsmarck* was sold by *Mr. Jennings* to *Mr. Ugglä* twelve years ago, for 100,000 rix-dollars, it is now worth upwards of 200,000. The mother of *Gustavus Adolphus* is said to have dwelt here. *Johannefors* is three-eighths of a mile distant, where there is a small hammer for steel-works and one for nails; here also axles are made and springs for carriages. Tire for wheels is made at *Forsmarck*. To make the steel they use *English* coal which costs one rix-dollar the ton. Here it is that the ore which *Mr. Ugglä* sends to *Finland* to be melted is embarked on a canal, and the pig iron returned thence is unloaded; it is very near the sea, which here forms a small bay and looks most like a lake. There are here saw and corn-mills, over the corn-mills is a small belvidere, whence the sea is discovered, and where the visitor inscribes his name in a register kept for the purpose.

From *Forsmarck* to *Norrsicdicka* is one mile and a quarter (really one and a half) near the first mile post there is a road to the left which leads to *Æuregrund*, a small town and sea-port. To *Marka* is one mile farther, the road sandy, the country well wooded; on the left is distinguished the little town of *Osthammer*, and shortly after by the side of a church you leave the road to *Upsal* on the left. Before you arrive at the post-house you keep for some short distance along the banks of a lake. To *Sanda* one mile and a half, nothing but woods and sand, and rocks. Half a mile from this place by the side of the church is a monument erected by *baron Oxenstiern*, in memory of his wife, who died in 1786, it consists of a small iron column surmounted by an urn with an inscription; beyond is the village composed of one street, with the houses built only on one side; it is small but very well built; on the left you distinguish the seat of *baron Oxenstiern*, in a charming scite near the sea; this estate, called *Hargs*,

has a considerable forge which employs two hammers. To Harmaby, one mile and a half, sands and woods and rocks. To Trosta, one and a half mile; at the beginning of this stage you meet the road from Stockholm to Grisleham, and at length enter a more direct road: this stage is a bad one, has a number of risings and descents in it, and affords prospects of nothing but sands and woods and rocks. To Grisleham three quarters of a mile; upon leaving the post-house you cross a very narrow arm of the sea which stretches deep in shore, in a boat (the charge exceedingly small.) Grisleham is badly placed on the map of the roads, it ought to be more towards the north.

Here it is that passengers embark for the island of Aland; the boatmen employed for the occasion are registered marines; but as they live at their own homes, frequently at great distances from the shore, you have to send before to give them several hours notice unless you prefer waiting. On embarkation you pay a duty of four schillings each person. The passage over to Ekereu, in the island of Aland, is said to be seven miles, for our part we do not think it six: we were five hours within ten minutes in crossing: we have been assured that the passage has been made in two hours, but such an event must be very uncommon; the boats have no decks; if a small boat be taken the charge is two rix-dollars, if a larger, three (we advise the latter.) In the winter time, that is to say from October 14, to April 14, the charge is double. Half a rix-dollar is given to the men to drink. Provided you embark with the courier on Wednesday or Saturday morning, you cross for a trifle; the stipulated fare being hung up in the post-house you cannot be mistaken as to what you have to pay. The worst periods to pass are the beginning of autumn and spring, but particularly the latter. The island of Aland as well as those before met with, are dependencies of the government of Finland. In these Fadenhielm notes are current (so called from the person by whom they are signed;) these notes were issued during the war of 1788; they are current in Finland alone, where they are obligatory; there was a discount upon them when exchanged against those of Rikens, of from twelve to thirteen per cent. and consequently a loss of twenty-five per cent. or thereabouts, when exchanged against bank notes: but, as is just, these notes are received by the collectors of the taxes, and are consequently used by the Fins for payment of their imposts. It has been in contemplation to annihilate them entirely, an object much to be desired.*

From Ekereu to Marby is seven eighths of a mile. Here you leave your horses and cross an arm of the sea in an oared boat; the sea here is about a quarter of a mile over; provided you take with you a very light carriage such as are generally used in the country the wheels are not taken off, if not it will be necessary to take them off, and even to have two boats should it be heavy and carry much luggage; you are from twenty to twenty-five minutes in crossing. If on foot, on horseback, or with a light carriage, you pay three dollars; four for a carriage with four wheels, and eight for two boats. The little island of Ekereu is very sandy; has a quantity of forest and rocky ground, some few corn-fields, and appeared to us tolerably well peopled. The island of Alanda, upon which we landed is about three miles in breadth, from east to west, and somewhat more in length. It is pretty well peopled although it has no towns; is very woody, has abundance of rock, but less sand than the preceding. In it blocks of red granite, are seen on every side: it is indented by many arms of the sea which form numerous gulfs, and must necessarily render a direct communication difficult at certain seasons of

* In 1793, the regent ordered them to be paid. Count M. had issued a number of forged ones; but his property was sequestrated for the payment of them, himself degraded from his rank, and banished the kingdom.

the year. Landing on the island of Aland you find the post-house of Frebenby : thence to Enkarby is one mile and a quarter ; to Haraldby one and a quarter ; almost towards the end of this stage you cross a small arm of the sea in a flat boat, the charge is one schilling per each horse, the carriage is not dismounted. To Bomarsund three eighths of a mile ; at the first eighth after passing a wooden bridge you distinguish on the right the ruined castle of Castelholm, in which the unfortunate Eric XIV, was confined in 1751. By the side of it is a small building which serves as a prison. At Bomarsund you embark for Finland ; if the wind be good it will be advisable to take boat direct for Abo, thus avoiding the inconvenience and loss of time arising from repeated embarkations and disembarkations. In this case, as you travel through the village of Finby, half a mile before you reach Bomarsund, you must treat with a boat master in order not to have to wait : a boat to Abo costs five, or at most six rix-dollars ; the distance nearly sixteen miles and a half. We crossed in fifteen hours, and had not the wind changed towards the latter part of our course, should have completed the passage in less than eleven, as we had already got fourteen miles on our way in eight hours : with the exception of the passage called Delet nearly three miles broad, you are constantly surrounded by islands, and at hand to take refuge in case of contrary winds. Of these islands, some are nothing but rocks, others are covered with wood and inhabited. Some are more than a league and a half in breadth, such as Vardo, Kunlinge, and several others as you approach the coast of Finland. This incessantly varying scene affords a singular prospect, before you reach Abo, you perceive the little town of Nodendahl. If the traveller prefer following the customary road he may consult the book of post roads ; he will however do much better in taking our advice, so saving both money and time.

Abo, the capital of Finland, is situated on a small river about half a mile from the sea ; it has a number of stone houses, and contains ten thousand inhabitants. It is imagined that the last war may possibly have somewhat diminished this number. At the entrance of the channel or river of Abo, on the left, is the old castle in which the unfortunate Eric XIV, was for some time imprisoned, as well as John III, in 1563. In 1791, this castle was repaired for quarters for troops ; a plan was resolved upon for establishing there a third flotilla composed of a dozen of bomb ketches and about three score gun boats. They are to be under shelter ; when the castle is finished it will afford quarters for one hundred and eighty marines.

The cathedral is a tolerably large building of great antiquity : it contains the monuments of a number of noble families buried there ; that among others of Catharine Mansdotter, queen of Sweden, married to Eric XIV, who died in Finland in 1612. In the same chapel that of count de Tott her son-in-law, and her daughter Sigrida. The organ is the present of a citizen of Abo, who thought he had a right to transmit his likeness to posterity, and for that purpose caused himself to be painted at length in the middle of the front.

The university was founded in 1640, during the minority of Christina : it contained in 1791 three hundred and fifty students : it is regulated in the same manner as the university at Upsal. The library contains ten thousand volumes ; its revenue is no more than 120 rix-dollars ; it was founded by count Brahe at the same time as the university : this library contains nothing particularly curious ; we were shewn a manuscript in folio of one thousand three hundred and forty-one pages, entitled, minutes of a commission nominated in 1676, and of the sentence pronounced on certain malefactors and magicians, written in the Swedish language by Andrew Engman, the notary of the said commission : it wants some leaves at the beginning. Missale Abense, Lubeck, 1588,

with wooden cuts; only two copies are in existence; the other is in the library at Upsal, and is not complete. *Dialogus creaturarum moralizatus*. The history of the library has been written by Henry Gabriel Porthun, professor of Rhetoric.

CHAPTER XXIII.

From Abo to Petersburgh by Helsingfors, Frederichsberg, and Wyburgh.

FROM Abo to Pikie, commons, heaths, some hills, and some meadows, but of no great extent. To Vista the same country, a number of wind-mills. To Handelø, an intersected country, sandy roads, ascents and descents frequent, woods. The post-house is on the left, on an eminence out of the high road. To Hakemaro no change of scene, many hills, the descent of some of which bad. Haala, the first mile sands, woods, and rocks, ascents and descents in very quick succession, the rest of the road not so bad, present some valleys and meadows. To Swandby (on this stage you pay for a quarter of a mile more than the real distance) sands, rocks, and hills; a quantity of forest both before and after you pass a bridge: in the middle of the stage you meet with two roads which are the same; houses extremely rare. To Biersby, sands, rocks, woods, the road hilly: at about three quarters of a mile on this stage you leave to the right a road leading to a newly constructed fort, and take that through the wood. To Miollbolstadt the same sort of road, many prospects of the sea, and of a seat on the right belonging to Mr. Aminoff: the road by the side of a river on which are several hammers for iron; the banks of it are well peopled, at length you cross it, and after passing the bridge leave the road to Ekenæs on the right. To Kockis, sands and almost uninterrupted forests; this stage is exceedingly rugged: the post-house is on the right out of the high road. To Bolstadt the road better, the country well peopled, and cultivated; the post-house away from the road. To Quis, a far less agreeable stage, frequently stony, woody, and full of hillocks. To Bombœule, hills, sands, the country well populated and in good cultivation. To Helsingfors, sands and mountains. Provided the traveller be not inclined to go to Helsingfors, which is to the right out of the great road, he will proceed from Bombœule to Hacksbœule. At almost all the post-houses from Abo there are accommodations for sleeping, either good or bad: at Helsingfors there are a number of inns, the best is kept by a German.

Helsingfors. Notwithstanding this be the residence of the commander in chief of Finland,* it is a town most horridly paved, and contains no more than a thousand inhabitants; we may with perfect truth affirm that we saw as many cows in the streets as passengers; but for the fortress of Sweabourg it is totally unworthy of being visited: this fortress is more than half a mile from the shore, and is deserving the minute attention of the curious traveller. For this purpose an order from the minister or the governor of Finland is indispensibly necessary.

On one side of the town is a magazine for the field artillery, which is to consist of one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, many of which are now casting, and eight thousand musquets. There are other magazines in Finland. The officer who conducted us, informed us that there were nearly four hundred pieces of cannon employed in the last war, which, when to one acquainted with the roads and the country, must appear extraordinary indeed. Twenty-four horses are required for a twenty-four pounder, six for a six pounder, and for cannon of other dimensions in proportion.

* The house occupied in 1791 by general Klinasporre, is the very same in which the lodge of freemasons was held of which we spoke in our account of the conspiracy against Gustavus III.; at that period it was inhabited by general Possa.

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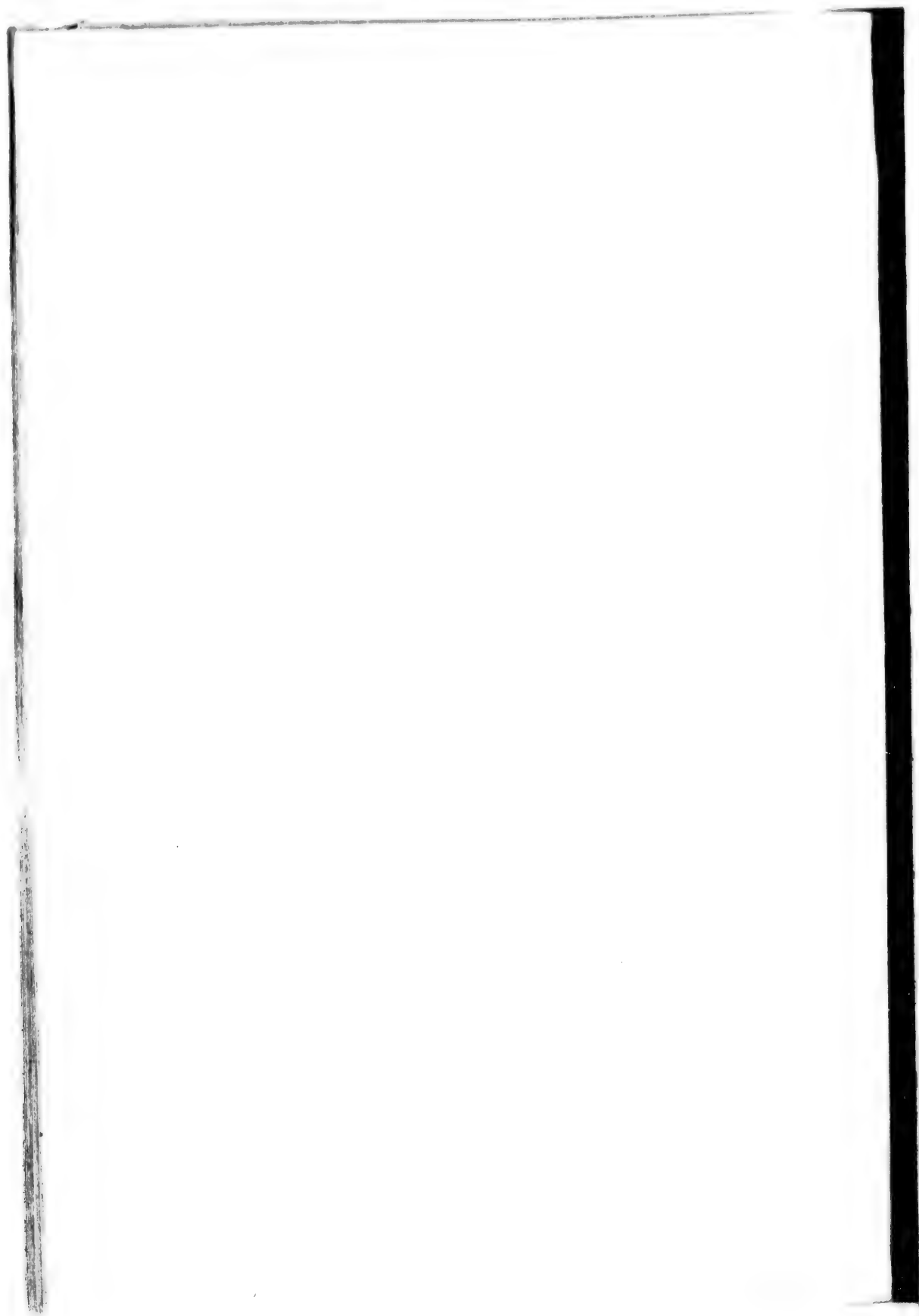
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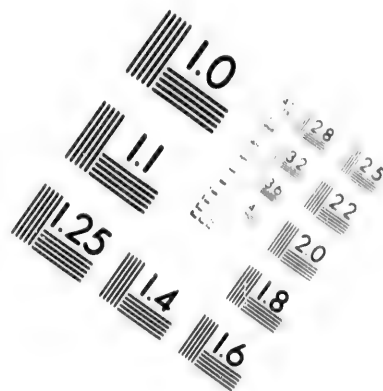
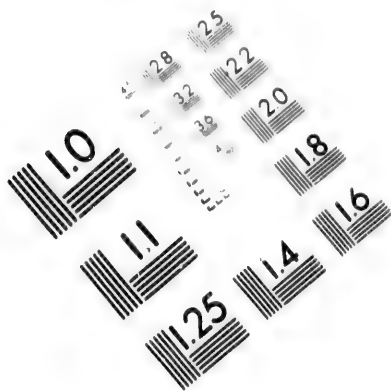
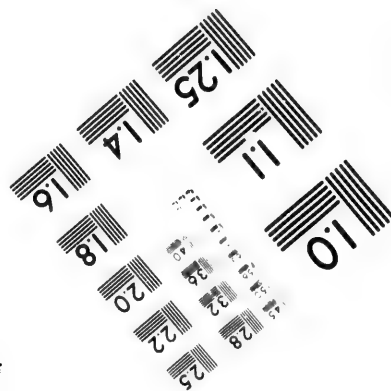
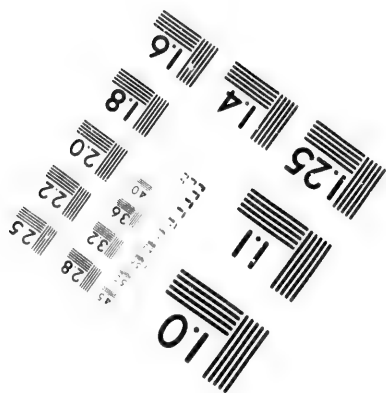
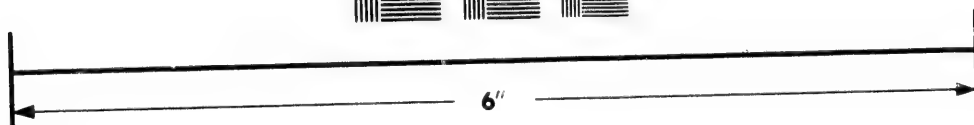
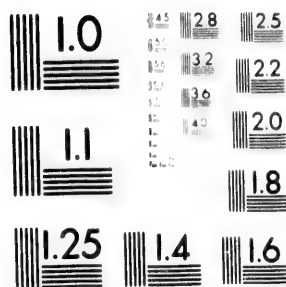


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Sweabourg. This fortress is composed of seven small islands or rather rocks, three of which are joined to each other by bridges. It requires half an hour to pass from Helsingfors over to the principal island (Gustafholm) on which the governor's house is situated. No communication between the fortress and the town is practicable during the prevalence of a strong south-west wind. The construction of this place was begun in 1748, and although it be not yet complete, it is in a perfectly defensible condition, but would for that purpose require a garrison of six thousand men. The garrison in July 1791, consisted of three battalions of infantry (levies) and two of marines, making together two thousand men. There was besides a company of artillery, but that was in another island, where also is the arsenal, and magazine for the land forces only. On coming from Helsingfors, you leave this island on the left. Independent of the garrison, there are other inhabitants, which, with the wives and children of the soldiers, may make the whole population amount to four thousand. It has neither spring nor well, but an immense reservoir for preserving rain water. The buildings are extensive and well finished; casemates are fashioned for five or six thousand men, with several powder magazines, three of which alone are built of brick. (The powder costs his majesty 10 rix-dollars the quintal.) There is a complete staff here, and all descriptions of workmen requisite to a colony. There are besides common prisons in the citadel. The harbour is excellent, being capable of containing sixty sail of the line: large vessels cannot enter but by an extremely narrow channel, commanded by the guns of the fortress; we saw, exclusive of mortars, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, which point upon this passage, and nearly a thousand pieces altogether, including the land batteries in the different forts. Many of the works are cut out of the rock. A very handsome dock is now making, which when finished, will be able to hold fifteen vessels under cover, twelve of which for the sake of preservation, and three at the extremity of the dock for repairs, between two sluices. This dock is three hundred and seventy-two Swedish feet in length, by one hundred and fifty in breadth. Another new one is constructing, which will soon be finished, and be capable of containing the largest ships of the line.

This is the first station of the flotilla. Here are xebecs, frigates, praams, floating batteries, gun boats and yawls in dry dock under cover, but no galleys. The number of these vessels is very considerable, many of them frigates of thirty-six guns, and ships called *Tourma*, which carry twenty-four thirty-six pounders, and are the more tremendous, from their ports being no more than four feet from the water. These contributed greatly towards the victory obtained at *Svenksund*. We saw some vessels, which looked like xebecs, carrying ten guns placed in the middle, and which can be turned in any direction. On board the galleys the supply is one hundred broadsides, the same for the yawls and gun boats; these latter carry from sixty to sixty-four men, in which case fifty soldiers, eight sailors and six gunners. The complement of the yawls is eighteen men, commanded by a petty officer; they carry one gun of from eighteen to twenty-four pounds, fixed in such a manner, that the boat recoils upon its being fired and not the piece itself; in front is a sort of projection, with a platform, from which the gun is loaded, after which the man re-enters the boat. A division is generally composed of ten gun boats and six yawls, sometimes more. Colonel Kiercher, commandant at Sweabourg (of whose civilities we cannot speak too highly) has contrived a kind of bomb ketch, which has not yet been put in service. It consists of a very large vessel, the mast of which is made to lower at pleasure; the mortar is stationed near the main-mast, in the middle of the vessel; it is couched on a frame of strong planks, under which is a heap of birch bark of great depth, for the purpose of diminishing, by the elasticity of the bark, the violence of the recoil. The mortar is calculated to throw a

bomb of eighty-eight pounds, besides at the same time one of forty pounds.* M. de Kiercher is employed on the map of Finland.

Distributed among the three stations of the fleet at Sweabourg, Stockholm, and Abo, there are one hundred and thirty-three gun boats, sixty-three yawls, forty galleys and demi-galleys, about forty square built ships, such as frigates, xebecs, cutters, &c. At Landscrona, a fourth station is to be formed, on the plan of that of Abo. For manning this fleet there are one thousand two hundred and seventy-five men registered, that is to say, eight hundred and twenty-five in Finland, and four hundred and fifty in Sweden: the eight hundred and twenty-five are divided into fourteen companies, two of which, of one hundred men each, for the two colonels at Sweabourg and Abo; three of seventy-five, for the lieutenant-colonel and the two majors at Sweabourg; and eight of fifty, commanded by captains. The four hundred and fifty in Sweden form seven companies, four of which of seventy-five men each, and three of fifty. The companies remain the same in time of war: they are engaged for six years, receive 5 plottes per month, and two pounds of bread per diem. Every three years they have furnished them a jacket, waistcoat, and three pair of breeches of blue cloth,† which costs 36 schillings an ell; two coats and two pair of breeches of coarse gray cloth, and two waistcoats of coarse unbleached cloth; three pair of long pantaloons, and three aprons of sail-cloth, which cost from 5 to 8 schillings per ell; three pair of shoes (1 rix-dollar eight schillings) and three pair of soles; four shirts and four pair of woollen stockings (one with another from 16 to 20 skillings;); two pair of long rolled up hose, which cover the thigh; two pair of leathern overalls; a hat (untrimmed 32 skillings, with the band and hoop, &c. 24—1 rix-dollar 8 schillings;) and a hair stiffener for the neck (16 schillings.) The cloak is given only once in nine years, the knapsack once in six years, and the musket and bayonet the same (6 rix-dollars.)

At Sweabourg we saw some six pounders, which had as many as forty calibers. Experiments have been made of cannon to move on a pivot, but without success. We had some Russian pieces shewn us almost as long as cannon, the mouths of which were ten inches in diameter, and from which they fire thirty-three pounders at a time; they will carry from five to six hundred fathoms; the Russians place two of them on the poop of their ships.

There is an eighth island, perfectly contiguous to that in which the fortress is situated, whence, in case of the enemy getting a station, it might be successfully attacked. It is in contemplation to fortify it, which is highly necessary, for it would be an easy matter to bombard thence, under cover of the rocks, not only the fortress but the flottilla in the harbour also. If the engagement of the 9th of July had had a different result, it was intended that Sweabourg should have been attacked, and from this island was it they meant it should be bombarded. The Russians are in possession of very exact plans of this fortress, given them by the traitor Springporten.‡

The principal court of the fortress is regular and handsome: at the bottom is the governor's house, well furnished, nay much better than could be looked for on a rock in the middle of the sea. In the court is a tomb elevated some few steps; it is that of Mr. Ehrensward, the governor of the place, who formed the plan of the fortress. In

* At the map and chart office at Stockholm, some very handsome charts of the Baltic and the Gulf of Finland, by vice-admiral Nordenanker, may be procured. There were seven published in 1791, which number is to be made up ten: they are reported to be minutely correct, and cost but 24 skillings each. There are also three charts of lake Wener.

† Of hemp or flax.

‡ We have been assured even at Petersburg that the Russians had friends in the fortress, upon whom they could depend; but this we are unwilling to believe.

the governor's house, which formerly was the hospital, he is painted extremely well in crayons, on cloth. The picture of him was taken by Mr. Sjöenstierne, a Swedish officer, wounded at the battle of Hogland; this officer served in France during the American war. (At that time we had nearly fifty in our navy; twenty-eight of whom returned to their own country, all of them remunerated with the order of merit.) This fortress, of the greatest consequence, deserves the full attention of the traveller.

From Helsingfors to Hacksbœule the roads are tolerably good, few mountains, some sands. On leaving the town, you cross two small arms of the sea over bridges. At the middle of the stage you leave on the left the great road, quitted on the way to Helsingfors. This same road leads to Tavastehus, and into the Savolax. On the left you discern a large plain; frequently rocks and some woods. At Sibbo, a tolerably handsome post-house, an abundance of wood; the country constantly full of rocks, but pretty well cultivated; some few sands. Half a mile from the post-house, on the right hand, on the road, is a small glass-house; it employs but five hands, and has but one furnace with five openings: the first earth is brought from Stralsund, and costs 12 schillings per nine pounds Swedish weight: here glasses of all descriptions are made, and plate glass; the largest plates are forty-six French inches by twenty-four to twenty-five. We did not consider them of very good colour. This glass-house is called Mariendahl: there are three others in Finland, one at Biorneborg, one at Uleaborg, and the third at Tavastehus; the last is the most considerable. The post-house at Sibbo is on the left out of the road; here you may sleep. To Vokoski, some short but very rapid ascents, woods, and rocks. On leaving the post-house, you pass a road on the left, which leads to St. Michael. The post-house of Vokoski is on the left, out of the road. Before you reach it, you cross a bridge over a small river. To Borgo, the road hilly, the country covered with wood. At the entrance of Borgo, you cross the river over a bridge. This town is very badly paved, and very dirty. Here it was that, for the first time, we were asked for our passport, the judge of its value an innkeeper. At Louisa, upon our leaving the town, it was enquired for again. To Ilbi, this stage is similar to the two preceding. To Perno, the road still very mountainous; rocks and forest on either side. Between Forbi and Perno is a very high causeway, in a wood, between two precipices: in case of travelling this way by night, the greatest care will be requisite. To Forsby; here is a furnace and two hammers. To Louisa; on this stage you discern blocks of granite on each side throughout the whole distance.

Louisa has no gates; it is a frightful town, situated in a small place between the mountains and the sea; its garrison consisted of one battalion of infantry, of the regiment of Stakelberg, and one company of artillery. The best thing about the town is, it is not paved; you consequently may traverse it without being jolted to death: there is a little fort a mile out at sea; it is not of great consequence, yet should we have visited it but for the incivility of general Stakelberg, governor of Louisa, to whom we notwithstanding carried a letter of recommendation: fortunately the only instance of rudeness we noticed in Sweden from persons in office was at our leaving the kingdom. To Tesjeau; a similar stage to the preceding one, rocks, woods, and blocks of granite. To Pyttis; at half a mile on this stage is the Swedish custom-house; afterwards a corps de garde, consisting of an officer and thirty men, who are relieved every four months: here you shew your passport; beyond is a bridge over an arm of the Kymen, and a little farther a post on the left, which indicates you are fifty wersts from Frederichshamm. This is the boundary of the two states. A little before you come hither is a small passage over a rock, very short, it is true, but very bad. Before the end of the stage, at the extremity of a bridge, is a chevaux de frise; there is the Russian custom-house: you yet shew your Swedish passport; by giving a 12 skilling note you avoid being rummaged,

provided your luggage be not very considerable ; in case, however, of appearing loaded, the examination is sometimes rigorous ; the road resembles that of the preceding stage.

The distances hence are measured by wersts ; the charge is two kopees per horse per werst ; the wersts are marked on posts, describing the distance passed and that to go ; you pay before hand, and need give nothing to the postillion. Provided you choose to be thus liberal, give what you mean to the man himself, and not the under officer of the post-house in reckoning with him, for in such case the postillion would get nothing. A piece of 5 kopees perfectly contents him. To Suttola, in the middle of the stage, is a wretched wooden bridge, and two others towards the end. To Fredericshamm ; at the fourth werst is a bridge over the Kymen, where is a fine cascade, which is worth stopping to see. The most favourable prospect of it is from the road itself, about two or three hundred paces beyond the bridge. The two last stages are extremely fatiguing ; the road crooked, almost continually over rocks, with many ascents and descents ; woods and blocks of granite on each side the road.* After leaving Suttola we passed through two regiments encamped. The prince of Nassau inhabited a house nearly upon the high road. Part of the fleet was at Svenksund, for the protection of the works begun there.

Fredericshamm, a small unpaved town, regular enough, but thinly peopled ; its fortifications towards the land are very insignificant, nor has it any thing whatever deserving notice : you will lodge at the Swedish widows, but must bargain before hand, or expect to be handsomely fleeced. Your passport will be required as well on entering as leaving the town ; and here you may begin to shew, in lieu of the Swedish passport, that with which you are provided from the Russian minister in Stockholm.

From Fredericshamm to Wyburgh is one hundred and ten wersts. To Kokena, rocky and woody. To Peterlax, Hurpolava, Wilajok, Serviok, roads of the same description, except on the last stage, which is sandy and bad. To Wyburg, bad enough : in order to avoid a number of gulfs, you are obliged to make a long circuit to reach Wyburgh : a little before you arrive thither, you pass two arms of the sea, over two long and exceedingly tiresome bridges ; they are made of trunks of trees, both round and square, ranged alongside of each other without any nicety : very near the city you cross a third bridge, afterwards an exceedingly long jetty, which terminates the third enclosure.

Wybourg, the capital of the government which comprehends all that part of Finland belonging to Russia, was burnt in 1793. There were then a number of brick houses whitened over : trade is somewhat brisk, a number of deals being shipped hence ; its fortifications are in a good state ; by asking permission of the governor, you may be permitted to visit them with an officer : there is here constantly a very respectable garrison. We were subject to much formality before we reached our inn : our passport was inquired for as well on our entrance as our departure.

From Wyburgh to Petersburg is one hundred and forty wersts. To Kamarie few ascents, but only rocks, and the roads made by trees laid across. To Rosvoja much sand : the road appears not to be finished ; almost all the wersts on this road have been taken away. To Pampola a very stony road ; at five wersts is a village, after passing through

* We noticed that the blocks of granite in Finland were much less hard and more friable than those in the interior of Sweden ; arising, according to several naturalists, from their being two different descriptions of granite. May it not likewise proceed from the shores of the Baltic having been left by the water at a later period than the interior, whence the blocks have necessarily become more hard and more perfectly formed ? An opinion adopted by a number of Swedish authors, who affirm that the Baltic diminishes in height forty-five inches nearly in every century.

After passing Wyburg the country is much better cultivated than that which is traversed to reach it. Between Fredericksham and Wyburg you meet with a number of redoubts, constructed during the last war: from before you reach Borgo, you pass over a part of the theatre of the war. The country is but little wasted, much less in Russia than in Sweden, owing to the different manner in which the two nations make war. Soon as you enter Russian Finland you perceive a visible change: the country is less peopled, worse cultivated; the villages become exceedingly rare, and nothing but misery is seen: if Fredericksham and Wyburg be excepted, not a post-house is there to be found which has the slightest accommodation, no bed, no furniture, and absolutely nothing whatever to eat; frequently even there is nothing but a stable, which scarcely shelters the horses from the weather. In many houses we saw nothing but a naked bedstead, the same as that at a corps de garde, a table, and some wretched chairs. The inhabitants appeared in an absolute state of destitution, the peasants clothed in rags; in such a picture do we see the effects of a government so different to that of Sweden.

From Helsinburg to Carlscroon.

VOL. VI.

Route from Carlscroon to Gottenburg.

		Stages.	Swedish miles.			Stages.	Swedish miles.
Smaland. Blekingen.	{	To Skillinguen,	1½	Smaland.	{	Brought forward,	6½
		Runneby,	1½			To Vernumo,	1
		Skieurgén,	1½			Brearud,	2½
		Diuramola,	1½			Olmeštadt,	1
		Quarnamola,	1½			Gislaved,	1½
		Urosa,	1½			Gronhault,	1½
		Inguelštadt,	1½			Tosstorp,	1½
Smaland.	{	Vixiæu,* a city,	1½	Westgothia.	{	Svenliounga,	1½
			11			Hounarud,	1½
		Œurs,	1½			Skone,	1½
		Hæsiæu,	1			Bicæurlanda,	1½
Smaland.	{	Torp or Nedeslet,	1½	Westgothia.	{	Landwetter,	2½
		Bor,	2			Gottenburg,† a city,	1½
		Carried forward,	6½				25½

From Gottenburg to Stockholm.

Westrogothia.	{	To Kungshelf (at the post-house)	1½	Nericia.	{	Brought forward,	15
		Kiufhill,	1½			To Bodarne,	2½
		Marstrand (by sea, a city, at Fryber's)	1½			Werstorp,	2
		Kiufhill (by sea)	1½			Blackstaddt,	2
		Kungshelf,	1½			Moscs,	1
		He,	1½			Œurebro (a city)	1
		Beck,	1			Glandsham,	1½
		Holm,	1½			Fellingsbro,	1½
		Salm,	1½	Westm.	{	Arboga,	1½
		Strœum,	1½			Kendsœur,	1½
Skaraborg.	{	Wenersburg) a city, at the post-house)	1½			Smedbu,	1½
			13½			Lund,	1½
		Borsted,	1½			Ticelstaddt,	1
		Grestorp,	1½			Ekesog,	1
		Tang,	1½			Malmby,	1½
		Melbu,	1½			Lagatrock,	1½
		Halangen,	2½	Gov. of Stockholm.	{	Kumla,	1½
		Embaka,	1½			Sœurdertelje,	1½
		Bicœursetter,	1½			Fitia,	2
		Hassletœœur,	2			Stockholm,	1½
		Hofva,	2½				43½
		Carried forward,	15				

* At the post-house; but as it is kept by three masters, who each take their week, if it happen to be that of Mr. Grœme, care should be taken not to become his dupe.

† At the post-house you will meet with indifferent accommodation; much better but dearer at the Miss Mullers.

ish miles.

	15
.	24
.	2
-	2
.	1
-	1
-	14
.	14
-	14
-	14
.	14
-	14
.	1
-	1
-	1
-	14
-	14
-	2
-	14
	43

Return from Fahlun to Stockholm by Gefle, Sudersfors.

Dalecarl.	{	To Strand,	-	2½	Upland.	{	To Yfre,	-	2½
		Upbo,	-	1½			Lobu,	-	2
		Smedbu,	-	1			Hogsta,	-	1½
		Rorshyttan,	-	1½			Upsal city (at Hodbergs)	-	1½
		Sarstad, at the post-house,	-	2½					
Gestricia.	{	Asen,	-	1½	Upland.	{	Malma,	-	1½
		Hogbo,	-	1½			Osbo,	-	1½
		Beck,	-	1½			Hausbu,	-	1½
		Gefle (city) at a merchant's	-	½			Rolebro,	-	1½
		in the church square, }	-	½			Stockholm,	-	2
				12½					
Upland.	{	Elscarleby,	-	2½					7½
		Mehede,	-	1½					
		Sudersfors,	-	1½					
				5½					

<i>From Stockholm to Upsal by Gripsholm, Eskilstuna, and Westeros.</i>			
Stages.	Swedish miles.	Stages.	Swedish miles.
Sudermania.	To Fitia, -	Brought forward, 12½	
	Sæudertelje (city) -	To Smedbu, -	1½
	Kumla, -	Kolbeck, -	2
	Gripsholm, -	Skantzen, -	½
	Oker (no inn) -	Skultuna, -	2½
	Malmby, -	Westeros, -	1½
	Ekesog, -	Niquarn, -	2½
	Tiulstadt, -	Enköping, -	1
	Eskilstuna, (a city) at the } post-house, }	Lissena, -	1
		Sefva, -	1½
	Carried forward, 12½	Upsal, -	1½
			27½

<i>From Upsal to Abo by Dannemora, Læfta, Forsmarck, and the isle of Åland.</i>			
Stages.	Swedish miles.	Stages.	Swedish miles.
Upland.	To Husby, -	Brought forward, 16	
	Andersbu, -	To Ekeröu (by sea it is not } six) }	7
	Dannemora, }	Marbu, -	½
	Osterbu, }	Fredenbu, by sea, -	1½
	Bru, -	Enkarbu, -	1½
	Hokansbo, -	Haraldsba, -	1½
	Læfta, -	Bomarsund, -	1½
	Retnibo, -	Abo (by sea) near the } great square, }	16½
	Forsmarck, -		
	Norsiodicka (it is 1½ miles) -		
	Marka, -		
	Sanda, -		
	Harmasbu, -		
	Irosta, -		
	Grislehamm, -		
	Carried forward, 16		45½

<i>From Abo to the frontiers of Sweden.</i>			
Stages.	Swedish miles.	Stages.	Swedish miles.
Swedish Finland.	To Pikie, -	Brought forward, 22½	
	Vesta, -	To Haesbœule, -	1½
	Handela, -	Sibbo, -	1½
	Hakestaro, -	Vokoski, -	1½
	Harla, -	Borgo (town) -	1½
	Svandby, -	Isbu, -	1
	Biorsbu, -	Forsbu, -	1½
	Miolbolstadt, -	Perno, -	1
	Kackis, -	Louis (a town) -	1½
	Bolstadt, -	Jessioeu, -	1
	Quis, -	Pyttis, -	1½
	Bombœule, -		
	Helsingfors (a city) at the } German inn, }		
	Carried forward, 22½		34½

From Abo to the frontiers of Sweden, continued.

Stages.	Wersts.	Stages.	Wersts.
To Suttola, -	22	Brought forward, -	197
Frederichshamm, at a Swedish } widow's, -	23	To Pampola, -	19
Kokena, -	16	Lindova, -	20
Peterlax, -	18	Bellostrow, -	18
Hurpolava, -	16	Dranitzuikoski, -	16
Vilajok, -	13	Petersburgh, at the London } hotel near the admiralty, and also the Spanish } hotel.	25
Serviok, -	27		
Wyburgh (at a Pole's) -	20		
Kumarc, -	22		
Rosvoia, -	20		295
Carried forward, -	197		

Observations.

Helsinburgh contains at most but one thousand two hundred inhabitants ; in any other country it would be considered merely a village : it has neither fortifications nor port : its jetty of stone, but bad ; on leaving it you ascend a steep mountain. The roads excellent as far as Christianstadt. Before you arrive at this city you cross the river Helgea over a number of bridges. Christianstadt is built pretty regularly of wood, is badly paved, of inconsiderable size, but fortified : since the revolution of 1772 it has been famous. The king's regiment is here in garrison. Is celebrated for its skin gloves. Between Gœudderid and Norye you leave Scania to enter Blekingen. Between Norye and Carlsham is a small but very pretty cascade. Carlsham is a small town badly paved ; its streets are large and regular, its houses of wood. In the very village itself of Runneby there is a cascade, and one, more considerable, half a mile further.

Carlsroon is a city which comprised fifteen thousand inhabitants before the fire of 1790 : this destroyed more than three-fourths of it. Great dispatch is used in its re-edification : a considerable part is founded on the rock ; the royal marine establishment being divided from the city by a very thick wall suffered no injury. The traveller should see the new dock, it is an admirable work ; but we may safely affirm, from contemplation of the finances of Sweden, and the little value of the undertaking, that it will never be completed. The port is well defended : the fortifications on the land side are of no value ; but the nature of the position, surrounded almost on every side by the sea, makes it difficult of approach.

You return from Carlsroon by the same road you came, as far as Runneby ; half a mile beyond which village you take the right hand road. There is another way by Killerid, but it is longer and not so pleasant. Between Skœurgue and Diuramola you leave Blekingen and enter Smaland, a wild and mountainous province ; lakes, firs : the road excellent.

At Quarnamola you may bargain with the postillions to take you across the country to Vexiœu. By this means you save two stages, and a good length of time. If you prefer continuing with the same horses, the postillion from Ursa will take you to Vexiœu, without stopping at Inguelstadt. Vexiœu is the capital of Smaland, and the only city between Carlsroon and Gottenburgh : notwithstanding the residence of the governor and bishop, it is but an insignificant place. It is situated near a lake ; one

street is lined with trees, but all are not, as reported by some travellers, no doubt from hearsay.

Beyond Vexiœu, a continuation of woods and mountains. At Cœurs you may take the road to Jonkœuping; although somewhat longer it is better, and goes through some towns. After passing Hœusœu there are a number of slopes dangerous for a heavy carriage. The post-house at Bor is out of the high road: this is very often the case. As you leave Vernumo you pass over a bridge, at which you pay 2 sous per wheel; afterwards cross the high road from Helsinburgh to Stockholm. On this stage nothing but heath and sands. The fair of Vername is famous in the country; the stalls are kept continually standing according to the usage of the Swedes. Beyond Gronhult extensive forests. As you leave Svenliourga you must take the left hand road; that on the right leads to Boros: little or no cultivation. The four last stages are the worst on the whole road; on the last a steep hill: the road is cut through the rock; the wheels will frequently want locking. We travelled over the whole of this road, between the 25th and 30th of December, on our wheels, and a very heavy and greatly loaded carriage; but we advise nobody to follow our example, as we consider it a miracle that we were not dashed to pieces from the steep and winding descents we had to go down on, the road and the ground being frozen. Before you reach Landwetter you enter the government of Gottenburgh, or Westrogothia.

Gottenburgh. Previous to arriving at this city you pass a custom-house; but it is easy to prevail on the searchers to visit your luggage at the inn, where the usual fee (from 20 to 24 schillings) will save all trouble. It is a very handsome city, bearing much resemblance to a Dutch town: it contains from fifteen to sixteen thousand families; and is the second city in the kingdom. It carries on a very considerable trade; but few of the houses are of brick. The governor and bishop reside here.

This is not the shortest road, but that we took in order to see Marstrand and the cataracts of Trolhœutta. Before you come to Kunghef you pass the castle of Bohus, very strong from its position on a rock. Near it you pass two arms of the river Gœutha, without unharnessing, and at a very moderate rate. Kunghef was formerly a place of some consideration, of none at present. We left our carriage here and took a sledge, on account of our having to return hither. From Kiufhill we walked over the rocks and stones to the sea shore, where we found a lonely house, at which our passports were examined (this is an absolute requisite upon going to, as well as on returning from Marstrand) each time you give the clerk 8 schillings. Marstrand is remarkable only on account of its herring fishery; it is a free port, but little frequented from its difficult access: there is there a castle which serves as a prison as well as a means of defence. Upon our return by the same road to Kunghef we continued our journey: the cost of a boat to take you to Marstrand, remaining there a day and bringing you back, is from 2 to 3 rix-dollars: you make your bargain beforehand at Kiufhill. At Strom you leave your own carriage and take one peculiar to the country, or a sledge, according to the season to visit the cataracts of Trolhœutta, exceedingly curious, and perhaps the most picturesque in nature. Wenersburgh, on lake Wener, is the largest in Sweden: here it is that a fair is held for the sale of the iron brought from Vermuland, and where it is taxed by a commissary of the crown; after which it is forwarded to Gottenburgh, and thence exported.

Beyond Borsted you enter the province of Skaraborg.

Between Melby and Kalangen you pass through the small city of Lidkœuping (over the great square) by the side of lake Wener. Between Bœursetter and Hœmelrœur the small city of Mariestadt on the same lake. These two cities are not stages. Be-

yond Hofva you enter Nericia: the custom officers not strict. Örebro and Arboga, notwithstanding they be capital towns, are nothing great: before you arrive at the latter you enter Westmania. This route is full of forges and mines, all the way from Mariestadt: near Arboga is a canal across the high road. Kongsöur. At this place, the extremity of lake Mæler, is the king's stud: nothing extraordinary. Torshalla, a small town near Smedby: you do not change horses here. There are here some charming small cascades, visible from the bridge.

At Kumla you enter the government of Stockholm. The whole of this road is beautiful, and extremely curious, provided you turn aside occasionally, as is described with minuteness in the work. Neither the suburbs nor the neighbourhood of Stockholm denote a capital city: you pass through the southern suburbs, extremely long and tiresome. The custom-officers were to us rather strict, refusing to come to examine the trunks at our lodgings.

At Stockholm you must go to see the castle, the arsenal, the port, the exchange, the opera-house, the nobles house, the church of Ridderholm, for which refer to the work. There are no good hotels at Stockholm; the best plan of a traveller is to take furnished lodgings; for 2 or at most 3 rix-dollars per month he will be tolerably accommodated, and in a good quarter of the town.

Half a mile before you arrive at Tible you cross in a very convenient flat bottomed boat, and for a mere trifle, the river which separates the government of Stockholm from that of Upsal; it is broad, and shortly afterwards empties itself into a lake which communicates with lake Mæler. On this stage there are many pleasing prospects. As far as Gran many ascents and descents. Tunland; here you meet with no more waggons with four wheels at the post-houses. Before you come to Vonsiceu you pass the river which separates Upland from Westmania. Some parts of this road did not appear to us so well attended to as usual; but we must observe that when we travelled it thawed: it is not however any ways dangerous, or really bad, nor should we have made the remark in any other country. Sahla, small city: here is a famous silver mine, the works of which are admirable.

The third stage is rather bad; towards the middle of it you enter Dalecarlia. Afvestadt; here you should make a stop to see the refinery of copper, and all its dependant operations. In its neighbourhood is the brass manufactory of Biurfors. Upon leaving Afvestadt you pass the Dahi on a floating bridge; and again after leaving Grodœu in a flat bottomed boat without unharnessing, and at a very moderate rate. This is the largest river in Sweden.

Søter, a very small town, has a mine of iron in its vicinity. On this stage you pass by the side of the small city of Hedemora. A powder-mill.

At half a mile from Naglarby you cross the Dahl again in a flat bottomed boat with oars; the fare very moderate. A little afterwards on the right you discern the road leading to the house in which Gustavus Vasa was concealed. The last mile before you come to Fahlun is full of hills, many of which very steep.

Fahlun, the capital of Dalecarlia. Here is the famous copper mine with all its appurtenances.

There is a shorter road, but it is not passable unless in the summer, or with a sledge.

On leaving Fahlun you return by the same road; the post-house at Upbo is only half a mile from Søtes, on the other side of the river. On the third stage you pass the Dahl twice on floating bridges. On this road you see a number of forests and forges. Between Roshyttan and Sarstad you enter Gestricia.

Gefle is a small town, the export trade of which is considerable; its situation on the gulf of Bothnia is very advantageous. The cascade of Elfscaleby deserves to be seen. It is three quarters of a mile from the post-house; you must leave your carriage on the high road to walk to the river. Sudersfors is a considerable anchor forge, belonging to Mr. Grill; the traveller will do well to give it attention, of which it is highly deserving. After half a mile you resume the high road which you left to visit Sudersfors. If the cross road be excepted, the whole of this route is by excellent roads. Upsal, a city of no great consequence, which however contains a number of objects deserving the traveller's notice. You must turn out of the high road to visit Morastein, the stone on which anciently the kings of Sweden were crowned, it is a mile from Upsal. Although nothing in itself, as it will lengthen your road by no more than three quarters of a mile, you should not miss the opportunity of seeing this historical monument of the country.

From Stockholm to Upsal, by Gripsholm, Eskilstuna, and Westeros; on leaving Stockholm you pay a dollar (of copper) per horse extraordinary. At Sæurdetelje you join the great road from Helsinburgh through Norkiæuping.

The castle of Gripsholm, and the spirit distillery, deserve to be seen. Oken, a handsome cannon foundry. Near Oken is the small town of Strengnæs, here there is nothing to be seen. Eskilstuna is an agreeably situated town; curious on account of its number of artificers in iron in every line. At the second stage you cross lake Møeler and enter Westmania. You pass by the ancient royal castle of Stromsholm, which possesses nothing curious. At Skautzen you will see the canal of Stromsholm, a handsome work. Skultuna, a brass manufactory. Westeros, an ancient town whence a quantity of iron is shipped for lake Møeler. Enkiæuping, a small and ugly town. The whole of this road is excellent, with the exception of the two stages before Westeros, which are stony and jolting. There are a number of very inconvenient gates.

Dannemora. Here is the richest iron mine in Sweden; it is however but little curious with respect to its works. Cæsterby has a very handsome forge, which in case of hurry will prevent the necessity of examining the works of others, as all the branches of forging are carried on at this. The Cæsta, a very considerable forge: they do not run sows here: the gardens of baron de Geer, considering their position, north of 60° are handsome. Forsmarck, a fine forge, and handsome mansion. The stage from Harmsby is not pleasant, but extremely hilly, a woody, rocky country. Provided you be not disposed to stop at Grislehamn, you must advise the sailors beforehand. The fares are fixed for the boats according to the season of the year. You cross the whole length of the island of Aland, dependant on the government of Finland; although the island have no towns it is yet tolerably well peopled. If you wish to take the customary route you must consult the post road book: if the weather be fine it will be adviseable to proceed directly to Abo.

Abo, the capital of Finland: this city has ten thousand inhabitants; it contains nothing peculiarly interesting: the university is no great matter.

As far as Bolstadt the country is much intersected by woods, rocks, sands, and heaths: the roads are frequently stony and tiresome, before you reach Kackis you catch here and there a glimpse of the sea. At Bolstadt the road begins to mend, the country to be better peopled, and in higher cultivation. The stage from Quis not so pleasant.

Helsingfors is a wretched town, but worth turning aside to visit on account of the fortress of Sweaborg, a short league from shore.

Borgo, a very small and very ugly town.

Louisa, just such another town as the last mentioned; the last in Sweden. It is not paved, nor has it any gates. There is a battalion in garrison here, and some artillery.

Its situation between the mountain and the sea is very disagreeable. Thus far you meet with accommodations at the different stages to sleep, either good or bad. Between Sessieu and Pyttis you leave Sweden and enter the Russian empire; here you have to show your passport. The whole of Finland is stony, and the roads in either a great or smaller degree fatiguing.

In Russia you reckon by wersts; the horses are paid for at the rate of 2 koppes per werst; the postillion makes no claim; the charge of the stage is paid for beforehand. It is absolutely requisite you should take copper money with you, or expect to lose upon ducats, which are the only coin you can take into Russia, at least the only one known by the post-masters.

Fredericshamm is a small town, has nothing worth notice. Wyburg is rather a pretty town, the capital of the government; it is tolerably well fortified, and the garrison is considerable; it is a place of great trade; your passports are examined both on entering the town and leaving it. As far as Wyburg the route is through much forest and rocky country; the country is extremely wretched, and widely different from Swedish Finland; from the very borders we met with nothing but the most distressful indications of misery.

The four last stages are detestable, the roads entirely ruined; you are obliged either to go a foot pace, or run imminent danger. You can sleep no where but at Bellostrow; at all the other stages you find absolutely nothing; we recommend the inquisitive to take a view of some of the dwellings in order themselves to form a judgment of the actual condition of the country.

The last stage you pay double. There is no custom-house at the entrance of Petersburg.

TRAVELS IN RUSSIA :

BY MR. COXE.*

Entrance into Russia....Limits and account of the Province dismembered from Poland.... Cheapness of the Post....Journey to Smolensko....History and description of Smolensko....Divine Service in the Cathedral....Visit to the bishop....Dinner with a Judge.... Journey to Moscow....Peasants....Their dress, Cottages, Food.

AUGUST 20. We entered Russia at the small village of Tolitzin, which in 1772 belonged to Poland; but it is now comprised in the portion of country, ceded by the late partition treaty. The province allotted to Russia comprises Polish Livonia, that part of the palatinate of Polotsk which lies to the east of the Duna, the palatinates of Vitepsk, Micislaw, and two small portions to the north-east and south-east of the palatinate of Minsk; this tract of land (Polish Livonia excepted) is situated in White-Russia, and includes at least one third of Lithuania.

The Russian limits of the new province are formed by the Duna, from its mouth to above Vitepsk; from thence by a straight line running directly south to the source of the Drug near Tolitzin, by the Drug to its junction with the Dnieper, and lastly by the Dnieper to the point where it receives the Sotz. This territory is now divided into the two governments of Polotsk and Mohilef; the population amounts to one million six hundred thousand souls; its productions are chiefly grain, hemp, flax, and pasture; its forests furnish great abundance of masts, planks, also oak for ship building, pitch and tar, which are chiefly sent down the Duna to Riga.

At Tolitzin we were greatly astonished at the cheapness of the post-horses, and when our servant had discharged the first account, which amounted to only two copecs, or about a penny a verst† for each horse, we should have concluded that he had cheated the post master, had we not been well convinced, from the general character of the Russians, that they were not likely to be duped by strangers. Indeed we soon afterwards discovered, that even half of the charge, which we thought so extremely moderate, might have been saved, had we obtained an order from the Russian ambassador at Warsaw.

From Tolitzin, through the new government of Mohilef, the road was excellent, and of considerable breadth, with a double row of trees planted on each side, and ditches to drain off the water. We passed through several wretched villages, ferried at Orsa over the Dnieper, there only a small river, went through Dubroffna, and arrived in the evening at Lady. The country from Tolitzin to Lady is waving and somewhat hilly, abounds with forests, and produces corn, millet, hemp, and flax. In the largest villages we observed schools and other buildings, constructed at the expence of the empress;

* From his Travels in the Northern Countries of Europe. London, 1802, 5 vols. 8 vo.

† Three quarters of a mile-

also churches with domes, intended for the Polish dissidents of the Greek sect, and the Russians who choose to settle in the country.

Lady is situated in the government of Smolensko, and, before the late dismemberment, was a Russian frontier town: we took up our quarters at the post-house, where we procured a comfortable apartment. These post-houses, which frequently occur on the high roads of Russia, are mostly constructed upon the same plan, and extremely convenient for the accommodation of travellers: they are large square wooden buildings, enclosed in a spacious court-yard; in the centre of the front is a range of apartments intended for the reception of travellers, with a gateway on each side leading into the court yard; the remainder of the front is appropriated to the use of the post-master and his servants, the other three sides of the quadrangle are divided into stables and sheds for carriages, and large barns for hay and corn. We were agreeably surprised, even in this remote place, to meet with some English strong beer, and no less pleased to see our supper served in dishes of Wedgwood's ware. The luxury of clean straw for our beds, was no small addition to these comforts.

Calling for our bill in the morning, we found our charges as reasonable as the entertainment was good. The satisfaction we expressed at our reception, perhaps induced the secretary (as the post-master himself was absent) to think us proper subjects of imposition. The distance to the next station was about ten miles, and the secretary demanded three times the sum allowed by the public regulations, under pretence of our not being provided with an order for post-horses. We hinted some surprise at this charge: this intimation, though conveyed in the mildest terms, was answered with expressions of contempt and defiance; he ordered the horses again into the stable, and declared we should not stir from the place until we discharged the full sum. Though we might easily have been prevailed upon by the slightest apology to submit to the imposition, we determined to chastise his insolence. We repaired to the director of the custom-house, and were immediately admitted; to our great satisfaction he spoke German, and after hearing our case, told us that the Russian had demanded treble the sum he was entitled to; he assured us we should receive instant redress, and that the offender should be punished. Having dispatched a messenger, to whom he whispered a private order, he desired us to wait his return, and offered us coffee. While we were drinking it, he gave us much information relative to the Russian posts, added several hints, which afterwards proved singularly useful, and advised us to procure an order for horses from the governor of Smolensko. In the midst of this conversation a carriage drove to the door, which we perceived to be our own, with all things ready for our immediate departure: the post-master's secretary made at the same time his appearance in a submissive attitude; we interceded with the director for his back, and obtained a promise that he should only be reprimanded. After making those acknowledgments to the friendly director, which were due to his politeness, we took our leave and proceeded on our journey.

We were much chagrined at finding that the excellent new road terminated at Lady: it was some satisfaction, however, that the remaining parts from thence to Smolensko proved far superior to those we had encountered in the Lithuanian forests. The villages were an exact counterpart to those we had quitted, and exhibited a repetition of scenes already detailed. The Russians differ widely in their appearance and dress from the Polish peasants. The most striking contrast arises from the method of wearing their hair; the Russians, instead of shaving their heads, let their hair hang over the eye-brows and ears, and cut it short round the neck. The country was undulating and hilly, and more open than usual until we arrived within a few miles of Smolensko; when we

plunged into a thick forest, which continued almost to the gates of the town, without the intervention of a single village, or scarcely of a single cottage.

In 1403, Smolensko, which belonged to the Russians, was besieged and taken by Vitoldus, and, together with the whole province, united to the duchy of Lithuania.* During the inveterate enmity which subsisted between the Russians and Poles, Smolensko was a place of great importance; though only fortified according to the custom of the time, partly with ramparts of earth and ditches, and partly with pallsadoes, and a wooden citadel;† these fortifications were, however, sufficiently strong to resist the desultory attacks of undisciplined troops, and it was at different intervals ineffectually besieged until the beginning of the sixteenth century, Vassili Ivanovitch, great duke of Moscovy, obtained possession by corrupting the garrison. It continued in the hands of the Russians above a century, in the same simple style of defence. At length the importance of its situation near the frontiers of Poland, and the improvements in the art of war, induced Boris Godunof, prime minister and brother-in-law of the Tzar Feodor Ivanovitch, to surround it with a wall; he came in person to Smolensko, and assisted in tracing the site of the fortifications, which he lived to see completed in his own reign,‡ and which still subsist. These additional ramparts, however, did not prevent Sigismund III, king of Poland, from taking the town in 1611; and by the truce of Develina in 1618, the possession was confirmed to Poland. In 1654 it was again reduced by Alexey Michaelovitch; and in 1686 finally ceded to Russia at the peace of Moscow.¶

Smolensko, though by no means the most magnificent, is by far the most singular town I have ever seen. It is situated upon the river Dnieper, and occupies two hills and the intervening valley. It is surrounded by walls thirty feet high and fifteen in thickness; the lower part of stone, and the upper of brick: these walls, which follow the shape of the hills, and enclose a circumference of seven versts,§ have, at every angle, round or square towers of two or three stories, much broader at top than at bottom, and covered with circular roofs of wood. The intervals are studded with smaller turrets; on the outside of the wall is a broad deep ditch, regularly covered way with traverses and glacis, and where the ground is highest, are redoubts in the modern style of fortification. In the middle of the town is an eminence, upon which stands the cathedral; from whence I had a most picturesque view of the town, interspersed within the circuit of the walls, with gardens, groves, copses, fields of pasture, and corn. The buildings are mostly wooden, of one story (many no better than cottages) excepting here and there a gentleman's house, which is called a palace, and several churches constructed of brick and stuccoed. One long broad street which is paved, intersects the whole length of the town in a straight line; the other streets wind in circular directions, and are floored with planks. The walls, stretching over the uneven sides of the hills till they reach the banks of the Dnieper, their ancient style of architecture, and grotesque towers; the spires of churches shooting above the trees, which are so numerous as almost to conceal the buildings from view; the appearance of meadows and arable ground; all these objects blended together exhibit a scene of the most singular and contrasted kind. On the further side of the Dnieper many straggling wooden houses form the suburbs, and are joined to the town by a wooden bridge. As far as I could collect from vague information, Smolensko contains four thousand inhabitants: it has no manufactures, but car-

* Dlugossius, Lib. X. p. 104. et seq.

† Rerum Mosc. Auct. p. 52. Mayerberg Iter. Mosc. p. 74.

‡ S. R. G. vol. v. p. 94. Lengnich, Jus. Pub. v. i. p. 46.

¶ Lengnich, vol. i. p. 47.

§ Four miles and three quarters.

ries on some commerce with the Ukraine, Dantzic, and Riga. The principal articles of trade are flax, hemp, honey, wax, hides, hogs' bristles, masts, planks, and Siberian furs.

The Dnieper rises in the forest of Volkonski, near the source of the Volga, about one hundred miles from Smolensko, passes by Smolensko and Mohilef, separates the Ukraine from Poland, flows by Kiof, and falls into the Black-Sea between Otchakof and Kinburn. By the acquisition of the province of Mohilef, the whole course is now included within the Russian territories. It begins to be navigable at a little distance above Smolensko; but in some seasons of the year is so shallow near the town, that the goods must be transported on rafts and small flat bottomed boats.

Having occasion for a new passport and an order for horses, we called upon the governor, in company with a Russian student, who spoke Latin, for our interpreter. The governor being at church, we repaired to the cathedral, and waited until the conclusion of divine service. The cathedral is a stately building, erected on the spot where formerly stood the palace of the ancient dukes of Smolensko. The inside walls are covered with coarse paintings representing our Saviour, the Virgin, and a variety of Saints, which abound in the Greek calendar. The shrine, or sanctuary, into which only the priests are admitted, is separated from the body of the church by a screen with folding doors, and ornamented with twisted pillars of the Corinthian order, richly carved and gilded.

The worship seemed to consist of innumerable ceremonies: the people crossed themselves without ceasing, bowed towards the shrine and to each other, and even touched the ground with their heads. The bishop of Smolensko performed the service; he was a venerable figure, with white flowing hair and long beard; he was dressed in rich episcopal robes, and had a crown on his head. The folding doors were occasionally opened, and closed with great pomp and solemnity whenever the bishop retired within, or came forth to bless the people. At the conclusion of the service, the doors being thrown open, the bishop advanced with a chandelier in each hand, one containing three, and the other two lighted candles, which he repeatedly crossed over each other in different directions; and then waving them towards the congregation, concluded with a final benediction. These chandeliers, as I am informed, are symbolical; one alludes to the Trinity, and the other to the two natures of Christ.

At the end of the service we presented ourselves to the governor, who, to our surprise, received us with an air of coldness, which made such an impression on our interpreter that he could not utter a single word. At length a gentleman in the governor's train accosted us in French, and inquired our business. Informing him that we were English gentlemen who desired a passport, and an order for horses, he told us with a smile, that the plainness of our dresses had raised a suspicion of our being tradesmen; but he was not ignorant that English gentlemen seldom wore lace or swords on a journey; an intimation which recalled to our recollection the advice of our Polish friend at Minsk. He then whispered the governor, who instantly assumed an appearance of complacency, and testified an intention of complying with our request.

This matter being adjusted, the bishop joined the company; he had laid aside the costly garments in which he performed the service, and was dressed in a long black robe, a round black cap, and veil. He addressed us in Latin, and invited us to his house. He led the way; and we followed with the rest of the company to a commodious wooden building adjoining to the cathedral. On entering the apartment, the governor and Russian gentleman kissed his hand with great marks of respect. After desiring all the company to sit, he distinguished us by particular attention; observing,

with much politeness, that our company gave him greater pleasure, as he had never, since his residence at Smolensko, received a visit from any Englishmen, for whose nation he had the highest respect. During this conversation a servant spread a cloth upon a small table, and placed upon it a plate of bread, some salt, and some flowers; another followed with a salver of small glasses full of a transparent liquor. The bishop blessed the bread and the salver with great solemnity, and then took a glass; we thought it at first a religious ceremony, but were undeceived when the servants offered the bread and salver to us as well as to the rest of the company. Every one being served, the bishop drank all our healths, a compliment which the company returned with a bow, and instantly emptied their glasses: we followed this example, and found the liquor to be a dram of cherry water. This preliminary being settled, we resumed our conversation with the bishop, and asked several questions relative to the ancient state of Smolensko. He answered every inquiry with great readiness; gave us a concise account of the state of the town under its ancient dukes, and informed us that their palace was situated on the spot now occupied by the cathedral, which was built by Feodor Michaelovitch, brother of Peter the Great, and had been lately repaired and beautified. After half an hour's agreeable conversation, we took our leave, greatly pleased with the politeness and affability of the prelate.

Our interpreter then conducted us to the seminary appropriated for the education of the clergy, in which the Latin, Greek, German, and Polish languages are taught: the priest who shewed us the library talked Latin; he introduced us into his chamber, and, according to the hospitable custom of this country, offered us some refreshment, which consisted of cakes and mead.

In the afternoon, the Russian gentleman who so obligingly relieved us from our embarrassment before the governor, kindly paid us a visit, and invited us to dine with him on the following day. We accepted his invitation, and waited upon him at two, the usual hour of dining: he was a judge, and lived in a wooden house provided by the court; the rooms were small, but neatly furnished. The company consisted of the judge, his wife and sister, all of whom talked French: the ladies were dressed in the French fashion, with much rouge; they did not curtsy, but their mode of salute was to bow their heads very low. Before dinner liqueurs were handed about; each lady took a small glass, and recommended the same to us as favourable to digestion. The table was neatly set out, the dinner excellent, and served up in English cream-coloured ware. Besides plain and roast boiled meats, several Russian dishes were introduced; one of these was a sallad composed of mushrooms and onions, and another of grain of green corn, baked and moistened with sweet oil. Before we rose from the table, our host calling for a large glass, filled a bumper of champagne, drank it off to our health, and then handed the glass round. "This is an old custom," he said, "and was meant as an expression of regard: the age is now grown delicate, and the free effusions of hospitality must be suppressed by ceremony; but I am an old-fashioned man, and cannot easily relinquish the habits of my youth."

After dinner we adjourned to another room, and played two or three rubbers of whist. Coffee and tea were brought in, and a plate of sweet-meats was handed round to the company. At six we took leave of our friendly host, and returned to our inn, if it may be called by that honourable appellation. This inn, the only one in the town, was a wooden building, in a ruinous state, formerly painted on the outside. The apartment which we occupied had once been hung with paper, fragments of which here and there covered a small portion of the wainscot, a patch work of old and new planks. The furniture consisted of two benches and as many chairs, one without a bottom, and

the other without a back ; a deal box served the purpose of a table. We were inclined to conjecture that there was a heavy tax upon air and light ; for all the windows were closed with planks, except one, which could not be opened, and could scarcely be seen through, on account of the dirt with which it was incrustated. In the inventory of these valuables I should not omit a couch upon which I slept : it had been so often mended, that, like Sir John Cutler's stocking, immortalized by Martinus Scriblerus, we could not distinguish any part of the original materials. It may perhaps appear surprising, that a town like Smolensko should contain no tolerable inn ; but the surprise will cease when we reflect that few strangers pass this way ; that the Russians carry their provisions, and either continue their journey during the night, or are accommodated in private houses.

August 25. We quitted Smolensko, crossed the Dnieper over a wooden bridge into the suburbs, and pursued our journey through a valley of fine pasture watered by the Dnieper, spotted with underwood, and terminating on each side in gentle eminences clothed with trees. As we advanced, the country became more abrupt, but no where rose into any considerable hill. Near Slovoda, a large straggling village, where we stopped for a few hours during the darkness of the night, we again crossed the Dnieper on a raft formed of trunks of trees tied together with cords, and scarcely large enough to receive the carriage, which sunk it some inches under water : this machine was then pushed from the banks until it met another of the same kind, to which the horses stepped with difficulty ; and the distance of the two rafts from each other was so considerable, that the carriage could scarcely be prevented from slipping between them into the river.

The second post from this primitive ferry was Dogorobush, built upon a rising hill, and exhibiting, like Smolensko, though on a smaller scale, an intermixture of churches, houses, cottages, corn-fields, and meadows ; some of the houses, lately constructed at the empress's expence, were of brick covered with stucco, and had the appearance of palaces when contrasted with the meanness of the surrounding hovels. This place was formerly a strong fortress, and frequently besieged during the wars between Russia and Poland. From the ramparts of the ancient citadel we commanded an extensive view of the adjacent country, consisting of a large plain watered by the winding Dnieper, and bounded by distant hills. From Dogorobush we proceeded twenty-four miles to a small village called Zaratesh, where we thought ourselves fortunate in being housed for the night in a tolerable hut, which afforded a rare instance of accommodation in these parts, a room separated from that used by the family. Our hostess was a true Asiatic figure : she was dressed in a blue garment without sleeves, which descended to the ankles, and was tied round the waist with a red sash ; she wore a white piece of linen wrapped round her head like a turban, ear-rings, and necklace of variegated beads ; her sandals were fastened with blue strings, which were also tied round the ankles, in order to keep up the coarse linen wrappers, that served for stockings.

August 27. Our route the next morning, from Zaratesh to Viasma, lay through a continued forest, occasionally relieved by the intervention of pastures and corn-fields. When we reflected that we were in the 55th degree of northern latitude, we were surprised at the forwardness of the harvest : the wheat and barley were already carried in, and the peasants employed in cutting the oats and millet. Since our departure from Smolensko the weather proved remarkably cold, and the wind had the keenness of a November blast : the peasants were all clothed in their sheep-skins, or winter dresses.

At a small distance from Viasma we passed the rivulet of the same name, navigable only for rafts, which descend its streams into the Dnieper ; we then mounted a small

eminence to the town, which makes a magnificent appearance with the domes and spires of several churches rising above the trees. Viasma spreads over a large extent of ground; the buildings are mostly of wood, a few houses of brick excepted, lately erected by the munificence of the empress. Part of the principal street is formed, like the Russian roads, of trees laid cross-ways, and part is boarded with planks like the floor of a room. It contains above twenty churches, a remarkable number for a place but thinly inhabited. The churches in the small towns and villages are chiefly ornamented with a cupola and several domes; the outside walls are either white-washed or painted red, and the cupolas or domes are generally green, or of a different colour from the other parts. At some distance the number of spires and domes rising above the trees, which conceal the contiguous hovels, would lead a traveller unacquainted with the country to expect a large city, where he will only find a collection of wooden huts.

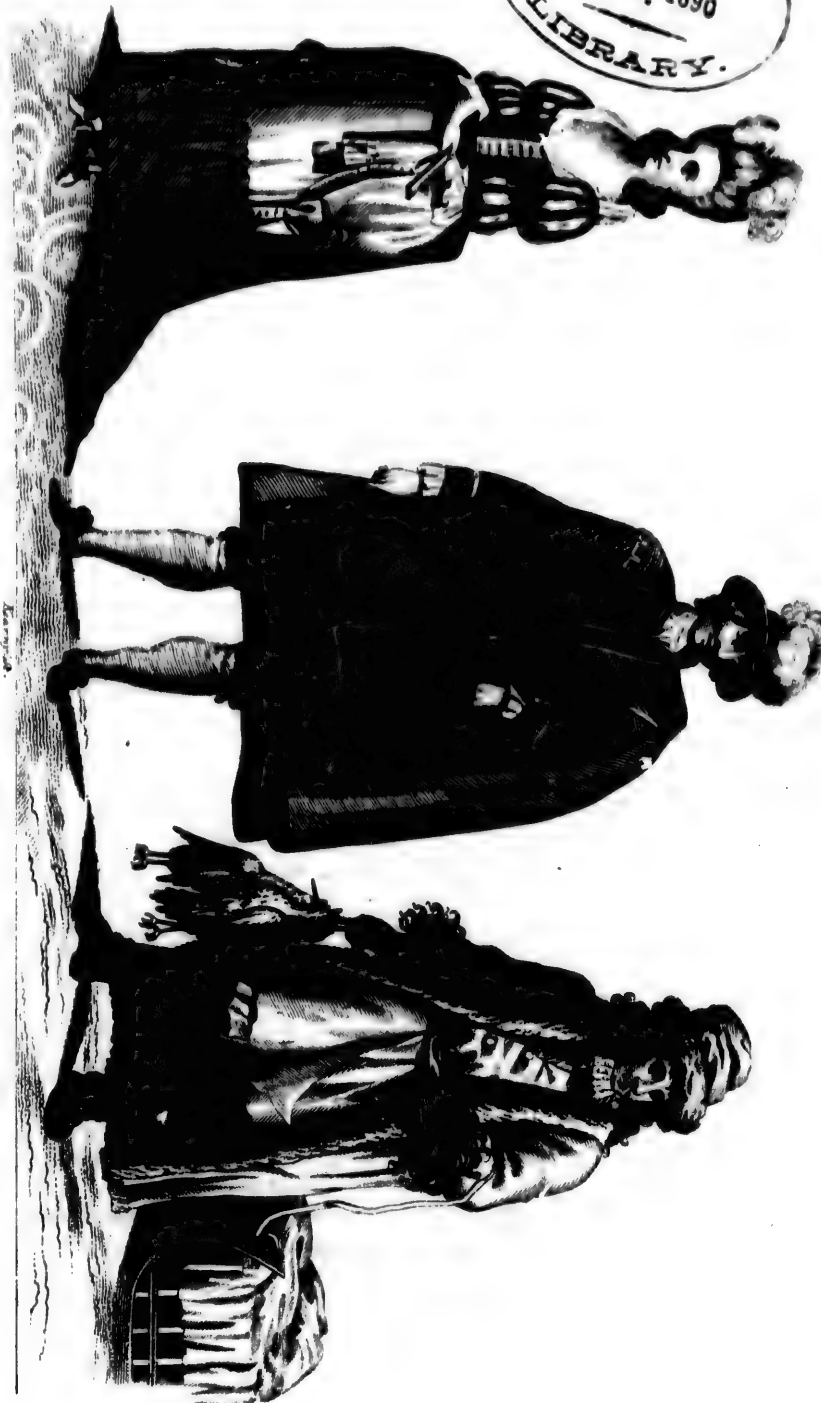
At Viasma was concluded, in 1634, the treaty of perpetual peace between Ladislaus, IV, king of Poland, and Michael Feodorovitch: by which treaty Michael confirmed the cession of Smolensko, Severia, and Tchernichef, which had been yielded to the Poles at the truce of Levelina; while Ladislaus renounced the title of Tzar, and acknowledged Michael as the rightful sovereign of Russia.* On this occasion both monarchs relinquished what they did not possess, and wisely sacrificed imaginary pretensions to the attainment of a substantial peace.

The Russian peasants appear in general a large coarse hardy race, and of great bodily strength; their dress is a round hat or cap with a high crown, a coarse robe of drugget (or in winter of sheep-skin, with the wool turned inwards) reaching below the knee, and bound round the waist by a sash, trousers of linen almost as thick as sackcloth, a woollen or flannel cloth wrapped round the leg instead of stockings, sandals woven from strips of a pliant bark, and fastened by strings of the same materials, which are afterwards twined round the leg, and serve as garters to the woollen or flannel wrappers. In warm weather the peasants frequently wear only a short coarse shirt and trousers.

The cottages are built in the same manner as those of Lithuania, but larger, and somewhat better provided with furniture and domestic utensils: they are of a square shape, formed of whole trees, piled upon one another, and secured at the four corners with mortises and tenons. The interstices between these piles are filled with moss. Within the timbers are smoothed with the axe, so as to form the appearance of wainscot; but without are left with the bark in their rude state. The roofs are in the penthouse form, and generally composed of the bark of trees or shingles, which are sometimes covered with mould or turf. The peasants usually construct the whole house solely with the assistance of the hatchet, and cut the planks of the floor with the same instrument, in many parts being unacquainted with the use of the saw; they finish the shell of the house and roof before they begin to cut the windows or doors. The windows are apertures of a few inches square, closed with sliding frames, and the doors are so low as not to admit a middle-sized man without stooping. These cottages sometimes, though very rarely, consist of two stories; in which case the lower apartment is a store-room, and the upper the habitable part of the house; the stair-case is most commonly a ladder on the outside. Most of these huts are, however, only one story, and few of them contain two rooms, the generality only one. In some of this latter sort I was frequently awakened by the chickens picking the grains of corn in

* Lengnich, Hist. Pol. p. 167.

WAR DEPARTMENT
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*2. Dark blue - lady,
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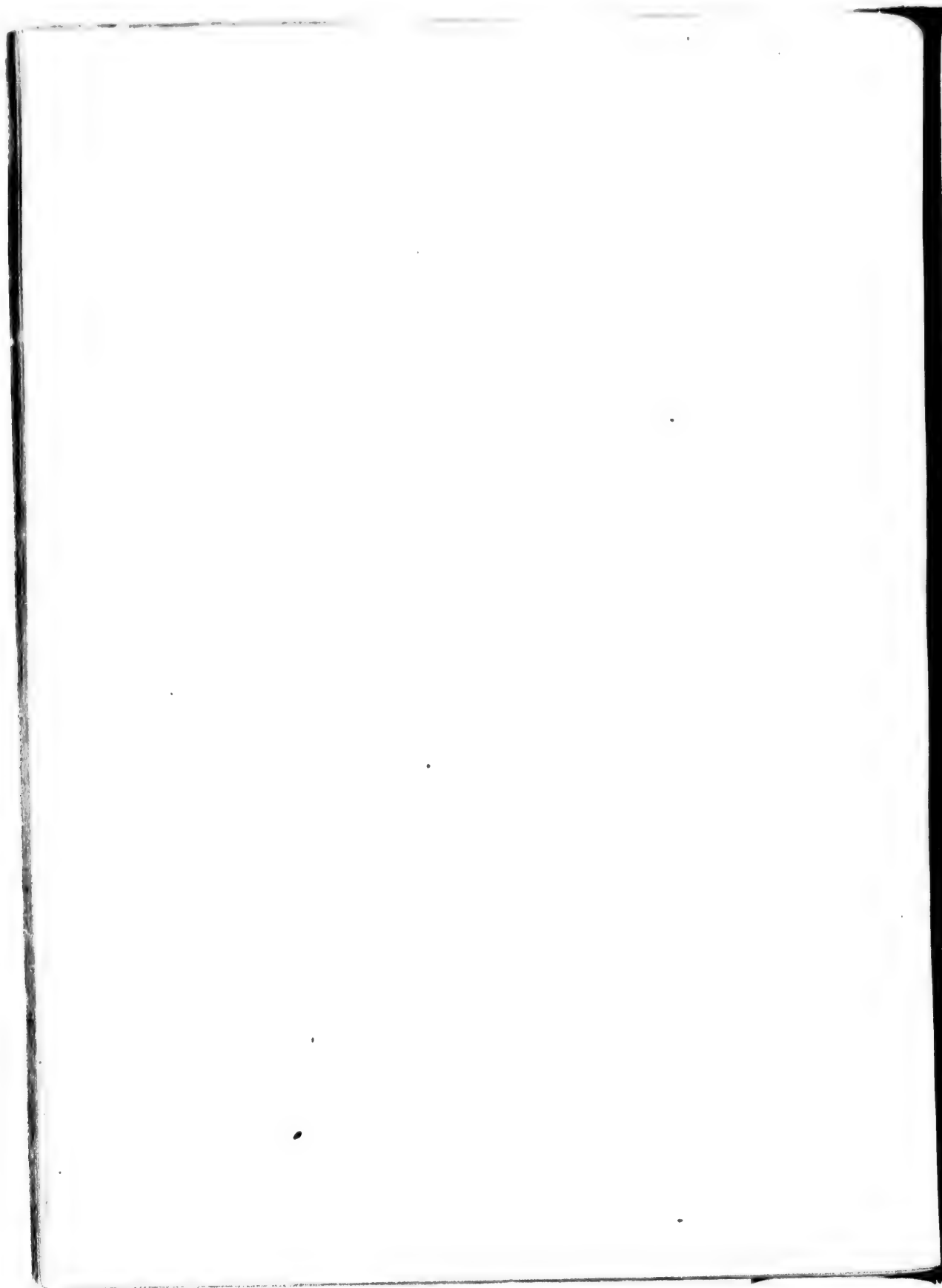
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the straw upon which I lay, and more than once by a less inoffensive animal. At Tabluka, a village where we passed the night of the 27th, a party of hogs, at four in the morning, roused me by grunting close to my ear. Not much pleased either with the earliness of the visit, or the salutation of my visitors, I called out to my servant, "Joseph, drive these gentry out of the room, and shut the door." "There is no door that will shut," replied Joseph, with great composure, "we have tried every expedient to fasten it without success; the hogs have more than once been excluded, but have as often returned." This conversation effectually rousing me, I determined to resign to my unwelcome guests that litter which I could no longer enjoy; and contemplated, by the light of a slip of deal, the surrounding scene. My two companions were stretched upon the same parcel of straw from which I had just emerged; a little beyond our servants occupied a separate heap; at a small distance three Russians, with long beards, and coarse sackcloth shirts and trowsers, lay extended upon their backs on the bare floor; on the opposite side of the room three women in their clothes slumbered on a long bench, while the top of the stove afforded a couch to a woman dressed like the others and four sprawling children almost naked.

The furniture in these cottages consists chiefly of a wooden table or dresser, and benches fastened to the sides of the room: the utensils are wooden platters, bowls, and spoons, with perhaps one large earthen pan for cooking. The food of the peasants is black rye bread, sometimes white, eggs, salt-fish, bacon, mushrooms; their favourite dish is a hodge-podge of salt or fresh meat, groats, and rye-flour, highly seasoned with onions and garlic, which are much used by the Russians.

The peasants were greedy of money; almost always demanded previous payment for every trifle, and were in general much inclined to thieving. In Poland it was not necessary to be always upon the watch; and we frequently left the equipage during the whole night without a guard: but in Russia, without the precaution of regularly stationing a servant in the carriage, every article would soon have disappeared; yet even with this expedient, the watchfulness of our Argus was continually baffled by the superior vigilance of the natives, and the morning generally announced some petty loss, to which the night had given birth.

The peasants at every post were obliged to furnish us with horses at a fixed and reasonable rate, which had the ill effect of rendering them extremely dilatory in their motions; and as our only interpreter was a Bohemian* servant, not perfectly acquainted with the Russian language, his difficulty in explaining, joined to their backwardness in executing our orders, occasioned delays of several hours for a change of horses. The peasants acted in the capacity of coachmen and postillions; they always harnessed four horses a-breast, commonly put eight, and sometimes even ten horses to our carriage: as the stages were for the most part twenty, and sometimes thirty miles, and the roads extremely bad. They seldom either used boots or saddles, and had no sort of stirrup, except a rope doubled and thrown across the horse's back. Each horse was equipped with a snaffle-bridle, which however was seldom inserted in the mouth, but generally hung loose under the jaw. The method of driving was not in a steady pace, but by starts and bounds, with little attention to the nature of the ground: the peasants seldom trotted their horses, but would suddenly force them into a gallop through the worst roads, and sometimes as suddenly checked their speed upon the most level surface. A common piece of rope served them for a whip, which they seldom had any occasion to use, as they urged their horses forwards by hooting and whistling like cat-

* The Bohemian and Russian languages are both dialects of the Slavonian tongue.

calls. Their intervals of these noises were filled with singing which is a favourite practice among the Russians, and has been mentioned by most travellers who have visited this country. From the wretched harness, which was continually breaking, the badness of the roads, the length of time we were always detained at the posts before we could procure horses, and other impediments, we were seldom able to travel more than forty or fifty miles a day; although we commenced our journey before sun-rise, and pursued it till it was dark.

August 27. Near Viasma we entered the vast forest of Volkonski, through which we continued for a hundred and fifty miles without interruption, almost to the gates of Moscow. This forest, which stretches on all sides to an immense extent, gives rise to the principal rivers of European Russia, the Duna, the Dnieper, and the Volga. The sources of the Duna were at some distance from our route; but those of the Dnieper and the Volga rose at small intervals from each other, not far from Viasma. The country in this part was more than usual broken into hill and dale; though it still exhibited rather a succession of waving surface, than any considerable elevations.

On the 28th we arrived at the village of Gretkeva towards the close of the evening, and imprudently proceeded on our journey another stage of eighteen miles: the evening was exceedingly dark, cold and rainy; the road uncommonly bad, and we were in continual apprehensions of being overturned. The greatest danger, however, which we encountered, was unknown to us until we reached the end of the station: we were then informed by our servants that we had crossed a broad piece of water upon a wooden bridge without railing, so infirm that it almost cracked under the carriage, and so narrow that one of the hind-wheels was for an instant suspended over the precipice. Our usual good fortune, however, brought us safe between twelve and one to a cottage at Moshaisk, where we found an excellent ragout of beef and onions prepared by the trusty servant, who always preceded us, and provided our lodging and supper. I have little to say of Moshaisk, as we entered it at so late an hour, and departed the next morning by day-break. We changed horses at the village of Selo-Naro and arrived early in the evening at Malo-a-Viasma, embosomed in the forest, and pleasantly situated at the edge of a small lake. This place was distant only twenty-four miles from Moscow, where we were impatient to arrive; but we prudently deferred our journey until the next morning, as we did not choose to tempt fortune by exposing ourselves a second time to dangers in a dark night and in an unknown country.

The road for some way before we came to Malo-a-Viasma, and from thence to Moscow, was a broad straight avenue cut through the forest. The trees which composed these vast plantations, set by the hand of nature, were oaks, beech, mountain-ash, poplar, pines, and firs, mingled together in the most wanton variety. The different shades of green, and the rich tints of the autumnal colours, were inexpressibly beautiful; while the sublime, but uniform expanse of forest was occasionally relieved by recesses of pastures and corn-fields.

CHAPTER II.

Moscow....History....Removal of the seat of empire to Petersburg....Population and description of Moscow....Divisions....Kremlin....Khitaigorod....Bielgorod....Semlunigorod....Sloboda, or Suburbs....New palace gardens....Old style....Hospitality of the Russian nobles....Account of Muller, the celebrated historian....Anniversary of St. Alexander Nevski....Entertainments at count Alexey Orlof's....His stud....Boxing matches....Fauxhall.

AUGUST 30. The approach to Moscow was first announced at the distance of six miles, by some spires over-topping an eminence at the extremity of the broad avenue cut through the forest; about two or three miles further we ascended a height, from whence a superb prospect of the vast city burst upon our sight. It stretched in the form of a crescent, to a prodigious extent: while innumerable churches, towers, gilded spires and domes, white, red, and green buildings, glittering in the sun, formed a splendid appearance, yet strangely contrasted by an intermixture of wooden hovels. The neighbouring country was undulating; the forest reached to within a mile of the ramparts, and was succeeded by a range of open pastures. We crossed the river Moskva on a long species of raft floating, fastened to each bank, which the Russians call a living bridge, because it bends under the carriage. After a strict examination of our passport we drove through the suburbs along a wooden road, entered one of the interior circles of the town, called Bielgorod, and took up our quarters at an inn kept by a Frenchman, at which some of the nobility hold assemblies. Our apartments were convenient and spacious; we also found every accommodation in abundance, except bed and sheets; for as no one, who is experienced in the customs of this country, travels without those articles, inns are seldom provided with them. With much trouble however, we obtained from our landlord two bedsteads with bedding, and one mattress to place upon the floor: we could not procure more than three sheets, one of which fell to my share; but we had been so long accustomed to sleep on straw, that we fancied ourselves in a state of unheard of luxury, and blessed our good fortune.

Antiquaries differ considerably concerning the foundation of Moscow; but the following account is most probable:*

Moscow owes its foundation to George, son of Vladimir Monomaka, who, in 1154, ascended the throne of Russia. Being insulted by Stephen Kutchko, prince of Susdal, he confiscated his domains, of which the lands now occupied by the city formed a part, and laid the foundation of a new town, which he called Moskva, from the river of that name. But the town fell into such decay under his successors, that when Daniel, son of Alexander Newski, received, in the division of the empire, the duchy of Moscow as his portion, and fixed his residence at this place, he may be said to have new founded the town. The spot now occupied by the Kremlin, was at that time a morass overspread with a thick wood, containing a small island with only a single hut. On this part Daniel constructed numerous buildings, and enclosed it with wooden fortifications. He first assumed the title of duke of Moscow, and was so attached to this situation, that on succeeding his brother Andrew Alexandrovitch in the great duchy of Vladimir, he continued his residence at Moscow, which became the capital of the Russian dominions. His son Ivan considerably enlarged the new metropolis, and in 1367 his grandson, De-

* See Sumerokof's *Kleine Chronik Von Moskau* in St. Pet. Journal for 1776; and Scherebatof's *Russ. Ges.* p. 736.

metrius Ivanovitch Donski, surrounded the Kremlin with a brick wall. These new fortifications, however, did not prevent Tamerlane, in 1382, from taking the town.* Being soon evacuated by that desultory conqueror, it again came into the possession of the Russians; but was frequently occupied by the Tartars, who in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries overran Russia, and even maintained a garrison in Moscow, until they were finally expelled by Ivan Vassilievitch I. To him Moscow is indebted for its principal splendour, and under him it became the most considerable city of the Russian empire.

The baron of Herberstein, ambassador from the emperor Maximilian to the great duke Vassili, son of Ivan Vassilievitch, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, is the first foreign writer who gave a description of Moscow, which he accompanied with a coarse engraving of the town in wood.† In this curious but rude plan, may be distinguished the walls of the Kremlin, or citadel, in their present state, and several of the public buildings, which even now contribute to its ornament. From this period we are able to trace its progress and gradual increase, under the succeeding sovereigns, in the accounts of several English‡ and foreign§ travellers.

Moscow continued the metropolis until the beginning of the present century; when, to the great dissatisfaction of the nobility, but with great advantage to the state, the seat of empire was transferred to Petersburg.

Notwithstanding the predilection which Peter conceived for Petersburg, in which all the succeeding sovereigns, excepting Peter II, have fixed their residence, Moscow is still the most populous city of the Russian empire. Here the chief nobles, who do not belong to the court of the empress, reside; they here support a large number of retainers, gratify their taste for a ruder and more expensive magnificence in the ancient style of feudal grandeur, and are not, as at Petersburg, eclipsed by the superior splendour of the imperial establishment.

Moscow is situated in the longitude of thirty-seven degrees thirty-one minutes from the first meridian of Greenwich, and in fifty-five degrees forty-five minutes forty-five seconds of northern latitude. It is the largest town in Europe: the circumference within the rampart, which encloses the suburbs, being thirty-nine versts, or twenty-six miles;|| but it is built in so straggling a manner, that the population in no degree corresponds to the extent. Some Russian authors state the inhabitants at five hundred thousand, a number evidently exaggerated. According to Busching, who resided some years in Russia, Moscow, in 1770, contained seven hundred and eight brick houses, and eleven thousand eight hundred and forty wooden habitations;¶ eighty-five thousand seven hundred and thirty-one males, and sixty-seven thousand fifty-nine females, in all only one hundred and fifty-two thousand seven hundred and ninety souls; a computation which errs in the other extreme.** According to an account published in the Journal of St. Petersburg,†† the district of Moscow contained, in the beginning of 1780, two thousand one hundred and seventy-eight hearths; and the number of inhabitants were one hundred and thirty-seven thousand six hundred and ninety-eight males, and one

* S. R. G. vol. ii. p. 93.

† See *Rer. Mos. Com.* in *Rer. Mos. Auct.*

‡ Chiefly Chancellor, Fletcher, Smith, the author of *lord Carlisle's embassy*, Perry, Bruce, &c.

§ Possevinus, Margaret, Petreus, Olearius, Mayerberg, Le Bruyn, &c.

|| The circumference is nearly equal to that of Pekin, which including the suburbs, measures forty versts, or twenty-six miles and three quarters. *Journal of St. Pet.* April 1775, p. 243.

¶ According to Heym, Moscow contained in 1793, eight thousand four hundred and thirty-nine houses, of which one thousand three hundred and eighty-two were of brick.

** Busching's *Neue Erdbeschreibung*, vol. i. p. 841. Edit. 1777.

†† For 1781, p. 200.

hundred and thirty-four thousand nine hundred and eighteen females, in all two hundred and seventy-two thousand six hundred and sixteen souls. In the course of the same year the deaths amounted to three thousand seven hundred and two, and the births to eight thousand six hundred and twenty-one; and in the end, the population of the district was found to be one hundred and forty thousand one hundred and forty-three males, and one hundred and thirty-seven thousand three hundred and ninety-two females, in all two hundred and seventy-seven thousand five hundred and thirty-five souls. This computation is more accurate than either of the others; and its truth has been recently confirmed by an English gentleman lately returned from Moscow, who made this topic the subject of his inquiries. According to his account, which he received from the lieutenant of the police, Moscow contains within the ramparts two hundred and fifty thousand souls, and in the adjacent villages, fifty thousand.

If I was struck with the singularity of Smolensko, I was all astonishment at the immensity and variety of Moscow; a city so irregular, so uncommon, so extraordinary, and so contrasted, never before claimed my attention. The streets are in general exceedingly long and broad; some are paved; others, particularly those in the suburbs, formed with trunks of trees, or boarded with planks like the floor of a room; wretched hovels are blended with large palaces; cottages of one story stand next to the most stately mansions. Many brick structures are covered with wooden tops; some of the timber houses are painted, others have iron doors and roofs. Numerous churches present themselves in every quarter, built in the oriental style of architecture; some with domes of copper, others of tin, gilt or painted green, and many roofed with wood. In a word, some parts of this vast city have the appearance of a sequestered desert, other quarters, of a populous town; some of a contemptible village, others of a great capital.

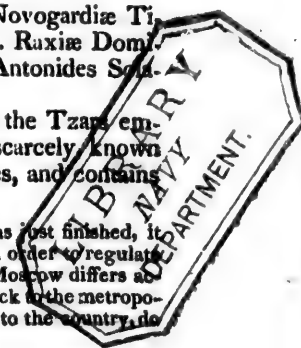
Moscow may be considered as a town built upon the Asiatic model, but gradually become more and more European; exhibiting a motley mixture of discordant architecture. It is distributed into five divisions: 1, Kremlin; 2, Khitaigorod; 3, Bielgorod; 4, Semlainogorod; 5, Sloboda, or suburbs.

1, The Kremlin was probably thus denominated by the Tartars when in possession of Moscow, from the word Krem or Krim, which signifies a fortress. It stands in the central and highest part of the city, near the conflux of the Moskva and Neglina, which wash two of its sides, is of a triangular form, and about two miles in circumference. It is surrounded by high walls of stone and brick, which were constructed by Solaro, a celebrated architect of Milan, in 1491, under the reign of Ivan Vassilievitch I, as appears from a curious inscription over one of the gates:

"*Joannes Vassili Dei Gracia Magnus Dux Volodimeriæ Moscoviæ Novogardiæ Tiferiæ Plescoviæ Veticie Ongarie Permiæ Bulgarie et Aliar. Totius Q. Raxiæ Dominus Anno Tertio Imperii Sui Has Turres Condere Fet. Statuit Petrus Antonides Solarus Mediolanensis anno Nat. Domini 1491, K. Julii.*"

The reader will doubtless be as much surprised as I was to find, that the Tsar employed foreign architects at so early a period, before their country was scarcely known to the rest of Europe. The Kremlin is not disfigured by wooden houses, and contains

* This computation may be relied upon. For as a new aqueduct near Moscow was just finished, it was necessary to form an exact estimate of the number of inhabitants, in order to regulate the necessary supply of water for each family. Richter observes, "the population of Moscow differs according to the season of the year. In winter, when the nobility and their retainers flock to the metropolis, the inhabitants exceed three hundred thousand; but in summer, when they retire to the country, do not amount to two hundred thousand. Skizze von Moskau."



the ancient palace of the Tzars, several churches, two convents, the patriarchal palace, the arsenal, now in ruins, and one private house, which belonged to Boris Godunof before he was raised to the throne.*

2, The second division is called Khitaigorod, a term conjectured by some etymologists to imply the Chinese town. Voltaire, in his history of Peter the Great, supports this opinion, when he calls Khitaigorod "*La partie appelée la ville Chinoise, ou les raretes de la Chine s'etallaient.*" But this division of Moscow bore that appellation long before any connection was opened between the Russians and Chinese; and the best historians suppose the word Cathay or Khitai to have been introduced by the Tartars when they had possession of Moscow:† in proof of this conjecture it is alleged, that there is a town in the Ukraine called Kkitaigorod, and another of the same name in Podolia; both which provinces, though unknown to the Chinese, were either overrun or inhabited by Tartars.

The Kkitaigorod‡ is enclosed on one side by that wall of the Kremlin which runs from the Moskva to the Neglina, and on the other by a brick wall of inferior height. It is much larger than the Kremlin, and contains the university, the printing-house, and many other public buildings, together with all the tradesmen's shops. The edifices are mostly stuccoed or white-washed; and it has the only street in Moscow in which the houses stand contiguous to each other without any intervals.

3, The Bielgorod, or White Town, which nearly encircles the two preceding divisions, is supposed to derive its name from a white wall with which it was formerly enclosed, and of which some remains still exist.

4, Semlainogorod, which environs the three other quarters, takes its denomination from a circular rampart of earth with which it is encompassed. These two divisions exhibit a grotesque group of churches, convents, palaces, brick and wooden houses, and mean hovels, in no degree superior to peasants' cottages.

5, The Sloboda, or suburbs, form a vast exterior circle round the parts already described, and are invested with a low rampart and ditch. These suburbs contain, besides numerous buildings of all denominations, corn-fields, much open pasture, and some small lakes, which give rise to the Neglina.

The Moskva flows through the city in a winding channel; but, excepting in spring, is only navigable for rafts: it receives the Yausa in the Semlainogorod, and the Neglina at the western extremity of the Kremlin; both which rivulets are, in summer, almost dry.

The morning after our arrival, having ordered our Russian servant to hire a carriage during our stay at Moscow, he procured a coach with six horses of different colours; the coachmen and postillions were dressed like peasants, with high cylindrical hats; the coachmen, with a long beard and sheep-skin robe, sat on the box; the postillions, in a coarse drugget garb, were mounted upon the off-horses, according to the custom of this country. Behind the carriage was an enormous sack of hay: upon expressing surprise at this appendage, we were informed, that almost every carriage at Moscow is provided with a viaticum of this sort, which, while the master is paying his visits, or is at dinner, is occasionally given to the horses. Some refreshments of this kind, indeed,

* See the next chapter, where some of those buildings are described. Since my visit to Moscow, many additional buildings have been constructed, particularly the senate house, a magnificent structure, built by the empress.

† S. R. G. vol. iii. p. 538, 541.

‡ Khitaigorod is said to be of Tartar derivation, and to mean the Middle Town, from its situation between the Kremlin and Bielgorod.

seemed necessary, as our horses never saw the stable from the morning until the evening, of at midnight; and remained during that interval, like those of our hackney-coaches, in the streets. During our continuance in this city, we, not uncommonly, perceived about dinner time, in the court-yards of those houses where we dined, many horses without bridles, and unharnessed from the respective carriages, browsing upon their portable provender strewed on the ground: with them were intermixed different parties of coachmen and postillions; who at the same time gratified the calls of hunger upon a repast ready prepared, like that of their cattle, and which too required as little ceremony in serving up. The frequency of these objects soon rendered them familiar, and we ceased to look upon our truss of hay as an excrescence.

The first visit we made in our new equipage was to our banker, who lived at the furthest extremity of one of the suburbs, at the distance of four miles from our inn. Our coachman drove through the town with great expedition, generally in a brisk trot, and frequently a full gallop, without any distinction of paved or boarded streets. Having settled our business with the banker, who was our countryman, and obligingly furnished us with a large collection of English newspapers, we crossed the Yausa over a raft bridge to a palace, constructed for the reception of the present empress, when she visits Moscow; this palace is not, according to our ordinary acceptation of the word, a single structure; but, in the true style of Asiatic grandeur, a vast assemblage of numerous buildings, distributed into several streets, and bearing the appearance of a moderate town.* The base of each building is stone, but of so soft a nature, that it seemed scarcely adequate to support the superstructure; the bricks used for the remainder of the fabric crumbled at the touch, nor did the workmanship exceed the materials, for the walls were in many places out of the perpendicular line.

The greater part of the timber employed in the construction of these vast edifices was fashioned with the axe. Though I often saw the carpenters at work, I never once perceived a saw in their hands; they cut the trees through with the axe, they hewed planks with the axe, they formed the beams, and fitted them together with the axe. With this simple engine they mortised and tenanted the smallest as well as the largest pieces of wood, and smoothed the boards for the floor with the nicest exactness. Indeed, the dexterity and justness with which they managed this instrument was wonderful; but the operation must evidently occasion a prodigious waste of labour and wood.

The gardens which belonged to the old palace built by Elizabeth near the spot where the present structure was erecting, are still retained; they are of considerable extent, and contained some of the best gravel walks I have seen since my departure from England. In some parts the grounds were laid out in a pleasing and natural manner, but in general the old style of gardening prevailed, and presented rows of clipped yew trees, long straight canals, and a profusion of preposterous statues. Hercules presided at a fountain, with a retinue of gilded cupids, dolphins, and lamais; every little structure was a pantheon, and every grove was haunted by Apollo's and Diana's; but the principal deity in the place, was a female figure holding a cornucopia reversed, which, instead of distributing as usual, all kinds of fruit, grain, and flowers, poured out crowns, coronets, and mitres. The reign of these deities was however doomed to be short: under the auspices of Catharine, all these instances of grotesque taste will be removed, and give place to more natural ornaments. This palace and gardens occupy the ex-

* Paul converted this palace into barracks for two thousand men.

tremity of the suburbs, within the compass of the exterior rampart which encircles the whole town.

We soon ceased to be surprised that our carriage was provided with six horses, as nothing was more common than to meet the equipages of the nobility with complete sets, driving merely about the streets of Moscow. As the city is of so large a compass, many hackney carriages are stationed in the streets for conveying passengers to the different quarters. These vehicles are without tops, have mostly four wheels, and are provided either with a long bench, or one, two, or three separate seats, like arm chairs, placed side-ways: their fares are so reasonable, that servants occasionally use them upon errands to distant parts of the city. The coachmen generally drives at the rate of eight or nine miles an hour.

September 1. This morning we received a card of invitation from count Osterman, governor of Moscow, to dinner for the 22d of August; but as it was the 1st of September, our servant who took the message, came laughing into the room, and informed us that we were invited to an entertainment that was past: he had endeavoured, he added to convince the messenger of the mistake; but the man insisted that the ensuing day was the 22d of August. It was indeed a natural mistake in our servant, who did not know that the Russians still adhered to the old style, and as he had passed the 22d of August in Lithuania, it is no wonder that he was surprised at finding it again so soon at Moscow.

Until the reign of Peter the Great, the Russians began their year in September, and dated their æra from the creation of the world,* and not from the nativity of our Saviour. In 1700, Peter instituted a grand jubilee at Moscow, and ordained that from that period the year should commence in January, and be computed from the Christian æra, according to the style then in use in England. As a mark of veneration to his memory, no alteration has been made in the Russian calendar; and Russia is the only European nation which still retains the old style.

The same morning we carried a letter of recommendation from count Stackelberg, the Russian ambassador at Warsaw, to prince Volkonski, governor of the province, who received us with great cordiality, and invited us to dinner, desiring us to consider his table as ours during our continuance at Moscow. The prince is in his sixty-seventh year, and recollects Peter the Great, whom he described as six feet in height, strong and well made, with his head slouching and awry, of a dark complexion, and a countenance continually subject to distortions; adding that he was generally dressed in his green uniform, or a plain brown coat; was remarkable for the fineness of his linen, wore his short black hair without powder, and whiskers. The prince amused us with relating several anecdotes of that great monarch, and amongst others, one which he received from prince Mentchikof.

After the battle of Pultava, while his father prince Volkonski, was following Charles XII, with a corps of light horse, an aid-de-camp brought an order from Mentchikof to halt: he obeyed, but dispatched a messenger to acquaint the prince that he was pursuing the king of Sweden with the fairest prospect of overtaking him. Mentchikof was greatly astonished at this message, as no orders for discontinuing the pursuit had issued from him, and his supposed aid-de-camp was never discovered. As Peter instituted no inquiry concerning the person who had probably prevented the capture of

* They reckoned also, according to the opinion of the Greek, 5508 years, instead of only 3369, from the creation to the nativity.

his most formidable rival, it is suspected that the stratagem was contrived by himself, in order to avoid being embarrassed with a prisoner whom he would be unwilling either to release or detain long in captivity.

Nothing can exceed the hospitality of the Russians. We never paid a morning visit to any nobleman without being detained to dinner: we also constantly received general invitations, but considering them as mere compliments, were unwilling to intrude ourselves without further notice. We soon found, however, that the principal persons of distinction kept open tables, and were highly obliged by our resorting to them without ceremony. Prince Volkonski in particular, having casually discovered that we had dined the preceding day at the inn, politely upbraided us, repeated his assurances that his table was ours, and that when we were not engaged, he should always expect us for his guests. Indeed the strongest expressions can scarcely do justice to the attention and kindness of this excellent nobleman; not content with admitting us to his table without form, he was anxious that our curiosity should be gratified with the sight of every remarkable object at Moscow, he ordered his aide-de-camp to accompany us to different parts of the city, and as we were extremely desirous to become acquainted with Muller, the celebrated historian of this country, he invited him to meet us at dinner.

Muller speaks and writes the German, Russian, French, and Latin tongues with uncommon fluency, and reads the English, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, and Greek with great facility. His memory is still surprising, and his accurate acquaintance with the minutest incidents of the Russian annals, almost surpasses belief.

At the conclusion of the dinner I had the pleasure of accompanying this eminent historian to his house, and passed some hours in his library. He possesses most of the books in the different languages of modern Europe which treat of Russia: the English writers upon this country are far more numerous than I imagined. His collection of state papers and manuscripts is invaluable, and arranged in the exactest order.

Every lover of literature must regret, that Muller, who is admirably qualified for the task, and has already prepared the materials, has not favoured the public with a regular history of Russia, and that on account of his advanced age, he must consign to others the use of those papers which he has so diligently accumulated. He will, however, always be considered as the great father of Russian history, as well from the excellent specimens he himself has produced, as from the vast fund of information which he bequeaths to future authors.

Gerard Frederic Muller was born in 1705, at Herforden, in the circle of Westphalia. He received the early part of his education under his father, Thomas Muller, rector of Gymnasium; in the seventeenth year of his age was removed to the university of Rinteln, and in the following year to Leipsic. Having greatly distinguished himself by rapid advances in various branches of polite literature, in the twentieth year of his age, he was recommended to Peter the Great as a proper person to be appointed member of the imperial academy of sciences. He arrived at Petersburg in November 1725, after the demise of Peter; but was nominated by Catharine the first, adjunct to the imperial academy. He read lectures in the Latin tongue on history and geography, and in 1730 was appointed professor of history, and member of the imperial academy. In the same year he began his travels into Germany, Holland, and England, and during his residence in London was chosen member of the Royal Society. Being deputed by the empress Anne to explore the extreme parts of Siberia, and the peninsula of Kamtchatka, he set out on the 8th of August, 1733, on this memorable expedition, in company with Steller, De Lisle, the elder Gmelin, and Krasheninnikof. The indefatigable traveller

turned his principal attention to the history, geography, antiquities, manners, and customs of the various people and hordes of Siberia. He compiled or corrected maps of the districts which he visited, arranged the archives of the principal towns, and copied the most important documents.

The unremitting assiduity with which he continued his inquiries, brought on a nervous complaint, which prevented him from accompanying his fellow travellers: and compelled him to demand his recall. Having obtained the empress's permission to return, he saw his companions depart with regret; but afterwards recovering his health, was impelled by literary zeal to continue his travels into the extreme parts of Siberia, notwithstanding the fatigue of the journey, through an inhospitable country, and over almost impassable roads. He visited Irkutsk, Okotsk, and even penetrated to Yakutsk, where he arrived in 1736. In examining the archives, he found the original account of the Russian voyages in the Frozen Ocean, and in the sea of Kamtchatka, and discovered that in the last century, Deshnef, a Russian navigator, had taken his departure from the river of Kovyma, sailed along the Frozen Ocean, and doubled the north-eastern promontory of Asia;* thus ascertaining a point which had long agitated the literary world, that the continents of Asia and America were separated by the sea. This important discovery occasioned various attempts to discover the north-western coast of America, and gave rise to the expedition of captain Cook.

After an absence of ten years Muller returned to St. Petersburg in the beginning of 1743; and was received by the empress Elizabeth with great marks of distinction. In 1747 he was appointed historiographer, and rector of the imperial university, received other promotions at St. Petersburg, and at length was appointed by the present empress, councillor of state, and keeper of the archives at Moscow.†

His principal work is a collection of Russian histories, in nine volumes, and contains many curious and interesting articles: an account of the Russian annals, drawn from the Byzantine writers, from the ancient Slavonian chronicles, and from Snorro Sturlensis, an historian of Norway; various details of the Calmuc Tartars, and Zaporavian Cossacs; the commerce and possessions of the Genoese on the coasts of the Black Sea, and at Azof; an account of the Russian and Chinese settlements on the river Amoor; history and commerce of Siberia; history of Russia, from the reign of Boris Godunof to the accession of Michael Feodorovitch; remarkable things in Asiatic Russia, and in Turkey in Asia; the Russian trade to China; natural history of the districts between the Don and Dnieper; account of Novogorod, Dorpart, Pernau, and Riga.

The third volume of this interesting work contains an "account of the Russian voyages and discoveries along the coasts of the Frozen Sea, and in the Eastern Ocean towards Japan and America," from 1636 to the termination of Bering's and Tchirikof's expedition in 1742: to this publication I was greatly indebted for my account of the Russian discoveries.

To these works the accurate and indefatigable writer successively added many other valuable performances on similar subjects, both in the German and Russian languages, which elucidate the history and topography of this vast empire.

* See account of the Russian Discoveries between Asia and America.

† The empress purchased his fine collection of books and manuscripts for 2,000*l*. This great patroness of letters consigned also to him the charge of arranging and printing, at her expence, a collection of Russian Treaties, in the form of Dumont's *Corps Diplomatique*; but the death of the learned historian prevented the completion. He died on the 16th of October, 1783, in the seventy eighth year of his age; Catharine a short time before his death, honoured Mr. Muller with the order of St. Vladimir, and has testified her respect to his memory by ennobling his family.

September 10. This day being sacred to Alexander Nevski, a saint highly revered by the Russians, and in whose honour an order of knighthood was instituted by Peter the Great, was kept with great solemnity. Service was performed in the principal churches of Moscow with all the pageantry peculiar to the Greek religion, and the governor of the province gave a splendid entertainment, to which the principal nobility and clergy were invited.

Alexander Nevski, a name more respectable than most of the saints who fill the Russian calendar, was son of the great duke Yaroslaf, and flourished in the beginning of the 13th century, at a period when his country was reduced to the utmost extremity by a combination of formidable enemies. He repulsed an army of Swedes and Teutonic knights, and wounded the king of Sweden with his own hand on the bank of the Neva, from whence he obtained the appellation of Nevski. He defeated the Tartars in several engagements, and delivered his country from a disgraceful tribute imposed by the successors of Zinghis Khan. His life seems to have been almost one continued scene of action; and he performed such almost incredible acts of valour, as induced an ignorant and superstitious people to consider him as a superior being, and consecrate his memory. He died about the year 1262, at Gerodetz, near Nishnei Novogorod. The great superiority of his character was evinced, as well by victories which distinguished the Russian arms during his life, as by the numerous defeats which immediately took place on his decease.

The morning of this anniversary was ushered in by the ringing of bells uncommonly loud; incessant peals resounded in every quarter of the city, but more particularly in the Kremlin, which contains the principal churches and the largest bells. At eleven we paid our respects to prince Volkonski, who, as governor of the province of Moscow, had a levee: he wore the red ribbon of the order of St. Alexander, and received the compliments of the principal nobility and gentry. From the levee we repaired to the cathedral of St. Michael, and were present at high mass, performed by the archbishop of Rostof. The church being filled with an immense concourse of people, we could not, without the utmost difficulty, penetrate to the bottom of the steps leading to the shrine, from which the bishop occasionally came forth to address the congregation. The confusion arising from the crowd, and the rapid succession of various ceremonies, distracted our attention, and rendered us incapable of discriminating the different parts of the service. We could only observe in general a great display of pomp and splendour, and many ceremonies similar to those described on a former occasion, with the addition of others appropriated to the greater festivals of the Russian church.

At the conclusion of the service, which lasted two hours, we returned to prince Volkonski's, where ninety persons were assembled at an entertainment given in honour of the day: when the archbishop of Rostof entered the room, the prince met him at the door, and kissed his hand after the prelate had made the sign of the cross; he paid the same mark of respect to two other bishops, and the greater part of the company successively followed the prince's example. Being presented to the archbishop, I held a long conversation with him in the Latin tongue, which he spoke with great fluency. He appeared to be sensible, well informed, and versed in various branches of literature: he had perused the works of several of our best divines, either originally written, or translated into Latin, and mentioned their compositions with much approbation. I troubled him with several questions relative to the service of the Russian church, which he answered with great readiness and condescension. The bible, he said, is translated into Sclavonian, the liturgy is written in that language, which is the mother tongue of the

Russian, and therefore the style of the sacred writings, though somewhat obsolete, is understood without much difficulty, even by the common people.

The clergy, he informed me, are divided into secular and regular priests; the latter, from whom are chosen the dignitaries of the church, are not permitted to marry; the seculars are the parish priests, and from a literal observation of St. Paul's precept, "the husband of one wife," are required, as a qualification for orders, to marry; and, in the spirit of the same tenet, are after the death of their wives deemed unfit for the sacred function. The disqualification arising from widowhood may, indeed, be healed by the bishop's dispensation,* but a second marriage irrecoverably divorces from the altar. The archbishop was politely continuing to acquaint me with many other circumstances peculiar to the ecclesiastical establishment, when the conversation was interrupted by a summons to dinner. A small table in the corner of the withdrawing-room, according to the custom in this country, was previously covered with plates of caviare, red herring, bread, butter, and cheese, and different sorts of liqueurs, to which the company helped themselves before they adjourned to dinner.

About ninety persons sat down to a splendid entertainment. During the second course, a large glass with a cover being brought to prince Volkonski, he stood up, delivered the cover to the archbishop, who sat next him, filled the glass with champagne, and drank the empress's health, which was accompanied with a discharge of cannon. The archbishop followed his example, and the glass was in like manner circulated round the table. The healths of the great duke, of the great dutchess, and of their son prince Alexander, were then successively toasted with the same ceremonies; after which count Panin arose, and drinking a return of thanks to the master of the feast, was joined by the whole company. When each toast was named by the prince, all the persons at table rose out of respect, and remained standing while he drank.

During our stay at Moscow we frequently experienced the hospitality of count Alexey Orlof, who, in the last war with the Porte, commanded the Russian fleet in the Archipelago, and burnt the Turkish armament in the bay of Tchesme, for which action he was honoured with the title of Tchesminski. The custom of conferring an additional name for the performance of signal services to the country, was in imitation of the Romans, usually practised by Constantine and his successors the Greek emperors, who reigned at Constantinople. From that quarter it probably passed to the Russians, who in the earlier times of their history gave similar appellations to some of their illustrious leaders. Thus the great duke Alexander was called Nevski for his victory over the Swedes near the Neva, and Demetrius Ivanovitch was denominated Donski, for his conquest of the Tartars upon the banks of the Don. This custom, which was long discontinued, was revived by the present empress. Marshal Romanzof received the denomination of Zadunaïski, for his victories south of the Danube; prince Dolgorucki that of Crimski for his successes in the Crimea; and count Orlof this of Tchesminski, for the naval victory in the bay of Tchesme.

The house of count Orlof is situated at the extremity of one of the suburbs, upon an elevated spot, commanding a fine view of the vast city of Moscow and the neighbouring country; many separate buildings occupy a large tract of ground. The offices, stables, manège, and other detached structures, are of brick; the foundation and lower story of

* In general the secular priest, when a widower, is received into a monastery.

the dwelling-house are built with the same material; but the upper part is of wood,* neatly painted of a green colour. We carried a letter of recommendation from prince Stanislaus Poniatowski, the king of Poland's nephew, to the count, who received us with great frankness, and detained us at dinner: he desired us to lay aside all form, adding, that he was a plain man, had a high esteem for the English nation, and should be happy to render us every service in his power during our stay at Moscow. We had the pleasure of dining several times with him, and always met with the most polite reception. The count seemed to live in the true style of old Russian hospitality, and kept an open table, abounding with a great variety of Greek wines, which he brought from the Archipelago. One dish served on his plentiful board, was extremely delicious, and only inferior to our best venison; it was a quarter of an Astracan sheep, remarkable for the quantity and flavour of the fat.†

There was music during dinner, which generally made a part of the entertainment at the tables of the nobility. We observed also another usual instance of parade; numerous retainers and dependants were intermixed with the servants, but seldom assisted in any menial office: they occasionally stood round their lord's chair, and seemed greatly pleased whenever they were distinguished by a nod or a smile. In this train was an Armenian, recently arrived from Mount Caucasus, who, agreeably to the custom of his country, inhabited a tent pitched in the garden, and covered with felt. His dress consisted of a long loose robe tied with a sash, large breeches, and boots: his hair was cut, in the manner of the Tartars, in a circular form; his arms were a poignard, and a bow of buffalo's horn strung with the sinews of the same animal. He was extremely attached to his master; and, when first presented, voluntarily took an oath of fealty, and swore, in the true language of Eastern hyperbole, to attack all the count's enemies; offering, as a proof of sincerity, to cut off his own ears; he also wished that all the sickness, which at any time threatened his master, might be transferred to himself. He examined our clothes, and seemed delighted with pointing out the superiority of his own dress in the article of convenience: he threw himself into different attitudes with uncommon agility, and defied us to follow his example: he danced a Calmuc dance, which consisted in straining every muscle, and writhing the body into various contortions without stirring from the spot: he beckoned us into the garden, took great pleasure in shewing us his tent and his arms, and shot several arrows to an extraordinary height. We were struck with the unartificial character of this Armenian, who seemed like a wild man just beginning to be civilized.

Count Orlof, who is fond of the manege, is esteemed to possess, though not the largest, yet the finest stud in Russia, and he was so obliging as to gratify our curiosity by conveying us to his country-house, at the distance of fifteen miles from Moscow. He conveyed us in his own carriage drawn by six horses, harnessed with ropes, and placed two in front, and four a-breast in the hinder row; an empty coach with six horses, ranged two by two, followed for parade. He was attended by four hussars, and the Armenian accoutred with his bow and quiver, who continually shouted and waved his hand with the strongest expressions of transport; he occasionally galloped his horse close to the

* Wooden houses are by many persons in this country supposed to be warmer and more wholesome than those of brick and stone, which is the reason why several of the Russian nobility choose that part of the house which they inhabit themselves, to be constructed with wood.

† In the court-yard I observed several sheep of this species ranging about the stables, so perfectly tame that they suffered us to stroke them. They are almost as large as fallow deer, but with much shorter legs: they have no horns, long flowing ears, and instead of tails, a large bunch of fat, sometimes weighing thirty pounds. Mr. Pennant has given an engraving of these sheep in his history of quadrupeds, which he has accompanied with an accurate description.

carriage, then suddenly stopped and wheeled round to the right or left with great rapidity.

In our route we passed several large convents, surrounded, like many of the monasteries in this country, with walls of brick, bearing the appearance of small fortresses; we crossed the Moskva twice, and entered a circular plain of luxuriant pasture, in the midst of which rises an insulated hill, with the count's house on the top. This seat commands a beautiful view of a circular plain, watered by the Moskva, and skirted by gentle hills, whose sides present a rich variety of wood, corn, and pasture.

The greater part of the stud was grazing in the plain; it consisted of fine stallions, and above sixty brood-mares, most of which had foals. The collection was gleaned from the most distant quarters of the globe; from Arabia, Turkey, Tartary, Persia, and England. The count obtained the Arabians during his expedition in the Archipelago, some as presents from Ali-Bey, others by purchase or conquest from the Turks: amongst these he chiefly prized four horses (two of which we had noticed in the manege at Moscow) of the true Cochlean breed, so much esteemed in Arabia, and seldom seen out of their native country.

The count, after politely attending us to the stud and about the grounds, regaled us with a most elegant entertainment, at which his vivacity lent charms to his splendour and hospitality. On our return to Moscow, we made a circuit to a small village six miles from the capital, where a villa was erecting for the empress, called Tzaricino, consisting, besides the principal building, of eight or ten detached structures in the Gothic taste, which were prettily dispersed among the plantations. The situation is romantic, a rising ground backed with wood, and a large piece of water embracing the foot of the hill.

I cannot forbear to mention in this place an act of almost Eastern magnificence, which this visit afterwards occasioned. One morning in the ensuing winter, at Petersburg, one of the finest among the Arabian horses, which lord Herbert had greatly admired, was sent to him, accompanied with the following note:

"My Lord....I observed that this horse pleased you, and therefore desire your acceptance of him. I received him as a present from Ali-Bey. He is a true Arabian of the Cochlean race, and in the late war was brought by the Russian ships from Arabia to me while I was in the Archipelago. I wish he may be as serviceable to you as he has been to me; and I remain, with esteem, your obedient servant,

Count ALEXEY ORLOF TCHESMINSKI."

At the close of an entertainment, which the count gave us at Moscow, he introduced us to the sight of a Russian boxing match, which is a favourite diversion among the common people. We repaired to the manege, where we found about three hundred peasants assembled. They divided into two parties, each of which chose a chief, who called out the combatants, and pitted them against each other: only a single pair was allowed to engage at the same time. They did not strip, and had on thick leathern gloves with thumb pieces, but with no separations for the fingers. From the stiffness of the leather they could scarcely double their fists, and many of them struck open-handed. Their attitudes were different from those used by boxers in England: they advanced the left foot and side, stretched the left arm towards the adversary to repel his blows, and kept the right arm swinging at some distance from the other. They generally struck in a circular direction at the face and head, never attacked the breast or sides, and seemed to have no notion of aiming a blow directly forwards. When any combatant felled his antagonist

he was declared victor, and the contest ceased. During our stay we witnessed about twenty successive combats. Some of the men were of vast strength; but their mode of fighting prevented mischief: nor did we perceive any of those contusions and fractures in which boxing matches in England frequently terminate. Both parties were highly interested in favour of their respective champions, and seemed at times inclined to enter the lists in their support; but the first appearance of dispute, or growing heat, was checked by the count, who acted as mediator: a kind word, or even a nod from him, instantly composed all differences. When he appeared desirous to put an end to the combats, they humbly requested his permission to honour them with his presence a little longer; upon his assent they bowed their heads to the ground, and seemed as pleased as if they had received the highest favour. The count is greatly beloved by his peasants, and their stern countenances melted in the most affectionate softness at his approach.

We made an agreeable excursion to Mikaulka, the villa of count Peter Panin, a Russian nobleman of the first distinction, who signalised himself in the late war against the Turks, by the capture of Bender, and more recently by the defeat of the rebel Pugatchef. The villa is situated at the distance of six miles from Moscow, in the midst of a large forest. The count originally purposed to raise a grand edifice of brick, after a design of his late wife; but on her death abandoned this project, and contented himself with a comfortable wooden house at the extremity of his grounds, which he first erected only as a temporary habitation. His offices, stables, coach houses, dog kennels, lodgings for huntsmen and other menial servants, form two long rows of detached wooden buildings, all with uniform fronts neatly painted. The grounds are agreeably laid out in the style of English parks, with gentle slopes, spacious lawns of the finest verdure, scattered plantations, and a large piece of water fringed with wood.

We could not avoid feeling extreme satisfaction at observing that the English style of gardening had penetrated even into these distant regions. The English taste, indeed, can display itself in this country to great advantage, where the parks are extensive, and the verdure, during the short summer, uncommonly beautiful. Most of the Russian nobles have gardeners of our nation, and resign themselves implicitly to their direction. The count, who is fond of country diversions, had a pack of hounds chiefly of the English breed, consisting of an indiscriminate mixture of harriers, stag and fox-hounds, selected without regard to size or species. With this same pack he hunted wolves, deer, foxes, and hares. He possessed likewise a fine breed of Russian grayhounds, in high estimation for their swiftness; they are shaggy and wire-haired, and some are taller than the largest breed of Newfoundland dogs.

The count entertained us with a most sumptuous dinner: we were particularly struck with the quantity and quality of the fruit in the desert: pines, peaches, apricots, grapes, pears, cherries, which can rarely in this country be obtained without the assistance of hot-houses, were served in the greatest profusion.* There was a delicious species of small melon, which was sent by land carriage from Astracan to Moscow, though at the distance of a thousand miles.† One instance of elegance which distinguished the desert, and had a pleasing effect, must not be omitted: at the upper and lower end of the

* Since my departure from Russia, horticulture has been considerably improved. According to Richter, in his sketch of Moscow, pines are reared in great abundance in the hot-houses about Moscow, and may be purchased for a rouble a piece. I am also informed, by an ingenious Dutch gentleman, lately arrived from Russia, that in the country house of prince Gallitzin, he saw grapes nearly ripe in the open air.

† These melons sometimes cost five pounds a piece, and at other times they may be purchased in the markets of Moscow for less than half a crown piece.

table were placed two china vases containing cherry-trees in full leaf, and fruit hanging on the boughs, which was gathered by the company. We observed also in the desert a curious species of apple, which is not uncommon in the neighbourhood of Moscow: it is somewhat larger than a golden-pippen, of the colour and transparency of pale amber, and has an exquisite flavour; the Russians call it Navlinich. The tree thrives in the open air without particular attention to culture, but degenerates in other countries; the slips and seed, planted in a foreign soil, have hitherto produced only a common sort of apple, but never the transparent species.

In returning from Mikaulka we passed close to the villa of count Razomouski Hetman of the Ukraine, which had more the resemblance of a little town than a country house. It consisted of forty or fifty buildings of different sizes; some of brick, others of wood; some painted, and others plain. The count maintains his guard, a numerous train of retainers, and a large band of musicians. The Russian nobles display a great degree of grandeur and magnificence in their houses, domestics, and way of living. Their palaces at and near Moscow are stupendous piles of building, and I am informed that their mansions, at a distance from Moscow and Petersburg, are upon a still grander scale; where they reside as independent princes, like the feudal barons in early times, have their separate courts of justice, and govern their vassals with almost unlimited sway.

I did not expect to find in this northern climate a kind of Vauxhall. It is situated at the furthest extremity of the suburbs in a sequestered spot, which has more the appearance of the country than of a town. We entered by a covered way into the gardens, which were splendidly illuminated. There was an elegant rotunda for a promenade, either in cold or rainy weather, and several apartments for tea or supper. The entrance money was four shillings. The proprietor is an Englishman, whose name is Mattocks. The encouragement he met with from the natives on this occasion enabled him to engage in constructing at a great expence, a brick theatre, and, as an indemnification, he obtained from the empress an exclusive patent for all plays and public masquerades, during ten years from the time of its completion.

The finest view of Moscow is from an eminence about four or five miles from the town, of which I have forgotten the Russian name, but its signification in English is Sparrow hill: upon this eminence were the ruins of a large palace built by Alexey Michaelovitch. Upon our return we stopped at Vasilioski, the villa of prince Dolgorucki, which stands upon the brow of the same hill. Beneath the Moskva, which is here broader than usual, expands into a semicircle, at some distance; and the vast city of Moscow makes a superb and magnificent appearance: the house is a large wooden building, to which we ascended by three terraces. The present possessor is prince Dolgorucki Crimski, who distinguished himself by his victories over the Turks in the Crimea, and by the conquest of that peninsula. The models of several fortresses which he besieged and took, are placed in the gardens, among which I particularly remarked those of Yenikale, Kersch, and Precop.

In traversing the apartments, the various reverses of fortune which befell the family of Dolgorucki, occurred forcibly to my recollection; especially when I surveyed the portrait of the princess Catharine Dolgorucki, whose adventures, so pathetically described by Mrs. Vigor,* afforded one of the most affecting stories in the annals of history. That unfortunate princess, torn from the person she loved, was betrothed against her inclination to the emperor Peter II. On his decease she became a momentary sove-

* Letters from Russia by a lady.

reign; but was almost as instantly hurried from the palace to a dungeon, where she languished during the whole reign of the empress Anne. Being released upon the accession of Elizabeth, she married count Bruce, and died without issue.

CHAPTER III.

Number of Churches in Moscow....Their outward Structure....Interior Divisions....Worship of painted Images....Description of an enormous Bell....Principal Buildings in the Kremlin....Ancient Palace....Convent of Tschudof....Nunnery of Viesnovitskoi....Cathedral of St. Michael....Tombs and Characters of the Tzars....Genealogical Tables of the Russian Sovereigns.

THE places of divine worship at Moscow are exceedingly numerous, and exclusive of chapels, there are four hundred and eighty-four* public churches, of which one hundred and ninety-nine are of brick, and the others of wood; the former are commonly stuccoed or whitewashed, the latter painted of a red colour.

The most ancient churches are generally square buildings, with a cupola and four small domes,† some of copper or iron built, others of iron tinned, either plain or painted green. These cupolas and domes are for the most part ornamented with crosses entwined with thin chains or wires; each cross has two transverse bars,‡ the upper horizontal, the lower inclining, which, according to the opinion of many Russians, is supposed to be the form of the real cross, and that our Saviour was nailed to it with his arms in a horizontal position, and one of the legs higher than the other. I frequently observed a crescent under the lower bar, the meaning of which no one could explain.¶

The inside of the church is mostly composed of three parts; that called by the Greeks *ναός*, by the Russians Trapeza; the body; and the sanctuary or shrine.

In the body of the church are frequently four square and massive piers, which support the cupola: these piers, as well as the walls and ceilings, are painted with numerous representations of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and different saints. Many of the figures are enormously large, and executed in the rudest manner, some are daubed upon the bare walls; others upon large massive plates of silver or brass, or enclosed in frames of those metals. The head of each figure is invariably decked with a glory, which is a massive semicircle, resembling an horse-shoe, of brass, silver, or gold, and sometimes composed almost entirely of pearls and precious stones. Some of the favourite saints are adorned with silken drapery fastened to the walls, and studded with jewels; some are painted upon a golden ground, and others are wholly gilded but the face and hands. Towards the extremity of the body of the church is a flight of steps

* According to Heym, in 1793, Moscow contained twenty-two convents, nine cathedrals, and three hundred and twenty-six churches.

† The church of the Holy Trinity, sometimes called the Church of Jerusalem, which stands in the Khitaigorod, close to the gate leading into the Kremlin, has a kind of high steeple and nine or ten domes; it was built in the reign of Ivan Vassilievitch II. An engraving of that, as well as some of the more ancient churches, may be seen in Olearius and Le Brun's Travels.

‡ I am here describing the most ancient churches; the modern crosses over those of St. Petersburg are mostly single.

§ Dr. King ingeniously accounts for the crescent. "Some churches have a crescent under the cross; for when the Tartars, to whom Muscovy was subjected two hundred years, converted any of the churches into Mosques for the use of their own religion, they fixed the crescent, the badge of Mahometanism, upon them; and when the grand duke Ivan Basilovitch had delivered his country from the Tartar yoke, and restored those edifices to the Christian worship, he left the crescent remaining, and planted a cross upon it as a mark of its victory over its enemy." Rites and ceremonies of the Greek Church, p. 23.

leading to the shrine; and between these steps and the shrine is usually a platform, upon which the officiating minister stands and performs part of the service.

The shrine or sanctuary is divided from the body of the church by the *Inconostas*, or skreen, generally the part the most richly ornamented, and on which the most holy pictures are painted or hung.* In its centre are the folding, called the holy, royal, or beautiful doors, which lead to the shrine, within which is the holy table, a Dr. King well describes it, "with four small columns to support a canopy over it: from which a peristerion, or dove, is suspended, as a symbol of the Holy Ghost; upon the holy table the cross is always laid, and the Gospel, and the pyxis, or box, in which a part of the consecrated elements is preserved, for visiting the sick or other purposes."†

It is contrary to the tenets of the Greek religion to admit a carved image within the churches, in conformity to the prohibition of Scripture, "Thou shalt not make to thyself a graven image," &c. By not considering the prohibition as extending to representations by painting, the Greek canonists, while they follow the letter, depart from the spirit of the commandment, which positively forbids us to worship the likeness of any thing under whatever form, or in whatever manner it may be delineated.

Over the door of each church is the portrait of the patron Saint, to which the common people pay homage as they pass, by taking off their hats, crossing themselves, and occasionally touching the ground with their heads; a ceremony which I often saw them repeat nine or ten times in succession.

Before I close the general description of the Russian churches, I must not forget their bells, which form, I may almost say, no inconsiderable part of divine worship; as the length or shortness of their peals ascertains the greater or lesser sanctity of the day. They are hung in belfreys detached from the church, and do not swing like our bells, but are fixed immoveable to the beams, are rung by a rope tied to the clapper, and pulled sideways. Some of these bells are of a stupendous size: one in the belfrey of St. Ivan's church weighs three thousand five hundred and fifty-one Russian poods, or one hundred and twenty-seven thousand eight hundred and thirty-six English pounds. It has always been esteemed a meritorious act of religion to present a church with bells, and the piety of the donor has been measured by their magnitude. According to this mode of estimation, Boris Godunof, who gave a bell of two hundred and eighty-eight thousand pounds to the cathedral of Moscow, was the most pious sovereign of Russia, until he was surpassed by the empress Anne, at whose expence a bell was cast, weighing four hundred and thirty-two thousand pounds, which exceeds in bigness every bell in the known world. The size is so enormous, that I could scarcely have credited the account of its magnitude had I not myself ascertained the dimensions. The height is nineteen feet, circumference at the bottom sixty-three feet eleven inches, greatest thickness twenty-three inches.‡ The beam to which this vast machine was fastened, being accidentally burnt, the bell fell down, and a fragment was broken off towards the bottom, which left an aperture large enough to admit two persons abreast without stooping.

Our inn being close to the walls of Kremlin, I had frequent opportunities of examining the principal buildings.

* "On the north side of the royal doors the picture of the Virgin is always placed, and that of Jesus on the south; next to which is that of the Saint to whom the church is dedicated; the situation of the rest is indifferent. Candles or lamps are usually suspended before the images of Jesus and the Virgin, and several others, and sometimes kept perpetually burning." Dr. King on the Greek church, p. 29. to which book I would refer the reader.

† King on the Greek church, p. 26.

‡ Mr. Hanway, in his Travels, has given an accurate description and engraving of this bell.

The palace, inhabited by the ancient Tzars, stands at the extremity of the Kremlin. Part of this palace is old, and continues in the same state in which it was built under Ivan Vassilievitch I. The remainder has been successively added at different intervals without any plan, and in various styles of architecture, which has produced a motley pile of building, remarkable for its incongruity. The top is thickly set with numerous little gilded spires and globes; and a large portion of the front is decorated with the arms of all the provinces which compose the Russian empire. The apartments are in general exceedingly small, excepting one single room, called the council-chamber, in which the ancient Tzars used to give audience to foreign ambassadors, and which has been repeatedly described by several English travellers, who visited Moscow before the imperial residence was transferred to Petersburg. The room is large and vaulted, and has in the centre an enormous pillar of stone, which supports the ceiling.*

This palace, in which the Tzars formerly held their courts, all the splendour of eastern pomp, was once esteemed by the natives an edifice of unparalleled magnificence; since the modern improvements in architecture, it is far surpassed by the ordinary mansions of the nobility, and by no means calculated even for the temporary residence of the sovereign.†

In this palace Peter the Great was born in 1672; an event here mentioned, not only because it is remarkable in the annals of this country, but because the Russians themselves were, till lately, unacquainted with the birth-place of their favourite hero. That honour was usually ascribed to Columna, which, on that supposition, has been profanely styled the Bethlehem of Russia; but the judicious Muller has unquestionably proved, that the imperial palace of Moscow was the place of Peter's nativity.‡ I was greatly disappointed that we could not view that part of the palace called the treasury. The keeper being lately dead, the door was sealed up, and could not be opened until a successor was appointed. Beside the crown, jewels, and royal robes, used at the coronation of the sovereign, this repository contains several curiosities which relate to and illustrate the history of this country.

There are two convents in the Kremlin; one a nunnery, and the other a monastery for men, called Tchudof. It is well known in the Russian history as the place in which the Tzar Vassili Shuiski was confined (1610) after his deposition, and from whence he was conveyed into Poland, where he only exchanged one prison for another still more dismal, and fell a victim to his own disappointment and chagrin, as well as to the ill treatment of the Poles. We are naturally led to compassionate the fate of a deposed monarch, who dragged on a miserable existence amidst the horrors of perpetual imprisonment; but the black ingratitude of Vassili Shuiski towards Demetrius, his sovereign and benefactor, almost extinguishes our sense of his calamities. For even if the person who assumed the name of Demetrius was an impostor, Shuiski, when condemned for high treason to an ignominious death, was indebted to him for his pardon; an act of clemency ill requited by the deposition and murder of his benefactor.§

The nunnery called Viesnovitskoi, was founded in 1393 by Eudoxia, wife of the great duke Dmitri Ivanovitch Donski, who was canonised and interred under the altar. The abbess politely accompanied us over the convent, and pointed out every object worthy

* "The roof of the audience chamber was arched and supported by a great pillar in the middle." Lord Carlisle's Embassy, p. 149: In the feast which Alexey Michaelovitch gave to the earl of Carlisle, this great pillar was adorned with a wonderful variety of gold and silver vessels, p. 292.

† The emperor Paul ordered this venerable seat of the Russian monarchs to be restored and fitted up as a mansion for himself and family.

‡ See Journ. St. Pet.

§ See Chap. 7.

of attention. She first conducted us to the principal chapel, which contains the tombs of several Tzarinas and princesses of the imperial family. The tombs resemble stone coffins laid on the floor, and ranged in rows; some were inclosed with brass, and others with iron balustrades, but the greater number had no distinction of this sort. Each sepulchre was covered with a pall of crimson or black velvet, ornamented with an embroidered cross, and edged with a border of gold and silver lace; over these, on great festivals, are laid other coverings of gold and silver tissue, richly studded with pearls and precious stones. The abbess obligingly presented me with a MS. Russian account of the princesses interred in the church. Having examined the repositories of the dead, and surveyed the rich vestments of the priests, and the figures of various saints painted on the walls, the abbess invited us to her apartment. She led the way, and at the top of the stairs, as we entered the anti-chamber, struck the floor two or three blows with her ivory-handled cane; when a chorus of twenty nuns received us with hymns, which they continued singing as long as we staid; the melody was not unpleasing. In an adjoining room tea was served to the company, and a table was plentifully spread with pickled herrings, slices of salt fish, cheese, bread, butter, and cakes; champagne and liqueurs were presented by the abbess herself. After partaking of these refreshments, we attended the abbess through the apartments of the nuns, many of whom were employed in embroidering sacerdotal habits for the archbishop of Moscow, and then took our leave.

The nuns wore a long robe of black stuff, black veils, black forehead-cloth, and black wraps under the chin; the abbess was distinguished by a robe of black silk. Meat is prohibited, and the nuns live chiefly upon fish, eggs, and vegetables. In other respects the order is not rigid, and they are allowed to pay occasional visits in the town.

I have already had occasion to mention the great number of churches contained in this city. The Kremlin is not without its share; in a small compass I counted eight almost contiguous to each other. Two of these churches, St. Michael's, and the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, are remarkable; the one being the place where the sovereigns were formerly interred, and the other where they are crowned. These edifices are both in the same style of architecture; and were probably constructed by Solario of Milan, who built the walls of the Kremlin. Though the architect was obliged to conform his plan to the style of ecclesiastical buildings which prevailed in Russia; yet their exterior form is not inelegant, although it is an oblong square, and too high in proportion to the breadth.

In the cathedral of St. Michael I viewed the tombs of the Russian sovereigns. The bodies are not, as with us, deposited in vaults, or beneath the pavement, but are entombed in raised sepulchres, mostly of brick, in the shape of a coffin, and about two feet in height. When I visited the cathedral, the most ancient were covered with palls of red cloth, others of red velvet, and that of Peter II, with gold tissue,* bordered with silver fringe and ermine. Each tomb has at its lower extremity a small silver plate, bearing the name of the deceased sovereign, with the æra of his death.

From the time that Moscow became the imperial residence to the close of the sixteenth century, all the Tzars have been interred in this cathedral; except Boris Godunof, whose remains are deposited in the convent of the Holy Trinity;† the Tzar, under the name of Demetrius,‡ who was destroyed in a tumult, and Vassili Shuiski, who died in captivity at Warsaw.

* On great festivals all the sepulchres are covered with rich palls of gold or silver brocade, studded with pearls and jewels.

† See Chap. 6.

‡ See Chap. 7.

The tomb of Ivan Vassilievitch I, justly esteemed the founder of Russian greatness, claimed my principal attention. At his accession to the throne, in 1462, Russia formed a collection of petty principalities, engaged in perpetual wars with each other, some nominally subject to the great- duke of Moscow, and all, with that monarch himself, tributary to the Tartars.* Ivan, in the course of a long and prosperous reign, gave a new aspect to the Russian affairs: he annexed to his dominions the duchies of Tver and other neighbouring principalities, subdued Novogorod, and, what was still more glorious and beneficial, he rescued this country from the Tartar yoke, and refused the payment of the ignominious tribute exacted from his predecessors. He had no sooner delivered Russia from this dependence, than his alliance was courted by many European sovereigns; and during his reign Moscow saw, for the first time, ambassadors from the emperor of Germany, the pope, the grand signor, the kings of Poland and Denmark, and the republic of Venice.

The talents of this able monarch were not confined to military achievements: Russia was indebted to him for the improvement of her commerce, and for opening a more ready communication with the European nations. Under his auspices, the knowledge of gunpowder and the art of casting cannon were first brought into Russia by Aristotle of Bologna.† He employed the same artist,‡ as well as other foreigners, to recoin the Russian money, hitherto disfigured by Tartar inscriptions; he engaged, at a vast expence, Italian artists to enclose the Kremlins of Moscow and Novogorod with walls of brick, and to erect several churches and other public structures with the same materials.§ For his various civil and military services he deservedly acquired the name of Great. Ivan is described as a person of gigantic stature, and ferocious aspect. His manners and deportment, strongly infected with the barbarism of his age and country, were somewhat softened and polished by the example of his second wife Sophia,|| a Grecian princess of consummate beauty and winning address, who to all the softer graces of her sex added a manly spirit: and who, while she infused into her husband a taste for the arts of peace, animated him to those glorious enterprizes which tended to the aggrandisement of his country.

Ivan the Great died in 1505, in the sixty-seventh year of his age: on each side of his remains are deposited those of his father Vasili Vassilievitch, surnamed The Blind;¶

* The servitude of the Great-duke will appear from a passage in Cromer, the Polish historian. "Whenever the Tartar ambassadors were sent to Moscow, in order to collect the accustomed tribute, the Great-duke used to meet them, and offer, as a mark of his respect, a cup of mare's milk; and if a drop chanced to fall upon the mane of the horse, on which the Tartar ambassador was sitting, he would himself lick it up. When they reached the hall of audience, the ambassadors read the Khan's letter, seated upon a carpet of the choicest furs, while the Great-duke with his nobles knelt, and listened in respectful silence." Cromer, l. xxix. p. 647.

† Bachmeister's *Essai sur la Bib. de Peters.* p. 28.

‡ Possevinus.

§ A vast effort in those barbarous times, and which deserves to be mentioned, because at his accession to the throne almost all the buildings of Moscow were of wood.

|| Sophia was daughter of Thomas Palæologus, brother of Constantine, the last Grecian emperor, who lost his life when Constantinople was taken by the Turks in 1453. Soon after that event Sophia repaired to Rome with her father, where they lived under the protection of the pope, who is said to have negotiated her marriage with the Great-duke, and even to have bestowed her portion, in hopes of procuring, through her influence, great advantages to the Roman Catholic religion in Russia. But these hopes were frustrated; for Sophia, on her marriage in 1482, embraced the Greek religion. She encouraged her husband in shaking off the Tartar yoke, and probably assisted him in procuring the ablest architects from Italy. See Herberstein, in *Rer. Mos. Comm.* p. 7. also Pau Jovii de *Leg. Mos.* lib. p. 129.

¶ He received the appellation of The Blind, because his eyes had been put out by order of his uncle, who, having formerly deposed him, practised this cruel expedient to disqualify him from re-ascending the throne. He was afterwards, however, reinstated in the sovereignty by the affection of his subjects.

and of his son Vasili Ivanovitch, who succeeded him in the throne, and expired in 1533.

In a small chapel adjoining to these tombs is the sepulchre of Ivan Vassilievitch II,* son and successor of Vassili Ivanovitch. This sovereign is branded by many writers with the name of tyrant, and represented as the most odious monster that ever disgraced human nature. In delineating, however, his general character, they are sometimes guilty of falsehood,† and often of exaggeration; and seem totally to forget many great qualities which he certainly possessed. Though we should not give implicit credit to many idle reports of his savageness and inhumanity, yet it would be equally absurd, and contrary to historical evidence, to deny or attempt to apologise for many cruelties‡ actually committed by this monarch, who, like Peter the Great, did not reckon clemency among the number of his virtues.

But while we regard the ferocity of his temper with abhorrence, we cannot refuse the tribute of admiration to his political character. He raised the superstructure of the Russian grandeur, of which his grandfather laid the foundation. Instead of a desultory militia, collected in haste, and always impatient to disband, he instituted a standing army; he abolished the use of the bow, hitherto the principal weapon among the Russians; he trained them to fire-arms, and introduced a more regular discipline. By means of this formidable body, he extended his dominions on all sides, conquered the kingdoms of Casan and Astracan, and rendered the Russian name respectable to the distant powers of Europe. He gave to his subjects the first code of written laws; he invited foreign artists§ to Moscow, introduced printing into Russia, promoted commerce, and regulated the duties of export and import; he permitted English merchants to establish factories within his dominions, and, with a liberality not always practised by more enlightened sovereigns, granted to them the free exercise of their religion: he had even formed the design, which death alone prevented, of instituting various seminaries for the cultivation of the Latin and German languages.

Ivan Vassilievitch II, died in 1584, in an agony of grief at the death of his eldest son Ivan, whose remains are placed contiguous to those of his father. Historians have recorded, that this prince received his death from the person to whom he was indebted for his life, by an unfortunate blow on the temple. The enemies of the Tzar imputed this melancholy catastrophe to design; while his apologists strenuously laboured to re-

* Called, by the English writers, John Basilovitz.

† Thus some writers assert, that when he walked out, or made a progress through his own dominions, if he met any one whose mien displeased him, he would command his head to be struck off, or do it himself. Others as absurdly relate, that he would order bears to be let loose upon a crowd of people assembled in the streets of Moscow, and diverted himself with the cries and agonies of the persons devoured by those ferocious animals. Olearius informs us, that Ivan wantonly commanded the eyes of the architect, who built the church of the Holy Trinity at Moscow, to be put out, that he might never construct any building of superior beauty. These incredible tales confute themselves; but the following charge we are able to contradict from our own history. Ivan is said to have ordered the hat of the English ambassador, sir Jerome Bowes, to be nailed to his head, because he refused to take it off in his presence. This report was occasioned by the exaggerated account of a misunderstanding between the Tzar and sir Jerome Bowes, which is related in the ambassador's dispatches. Hackluyt's collection of voyages, vol. i. p. 460, &c.

‡ Instances of which the reader will find in the 6th chap. of this book, and the 2d of book iv.

§ Above three hundred artists of all professions, namely, painters, sculptors, architects, watch-makers, bell-founders, miners, armourers, stationers, masons, &c. already arrived at Lubec in their way to Moscow, but were prevented from proceeding by the intrigues of the inhabitants of Lubec, and the natives of Livonia. See Bachmeister's *Essai sur la Bib.* &c. p. 32.

present it as merely accidental. On weighing these discordant accounts with impartiality, it appears, that the blow was either casual, or, if designed to chastise, not intended to be fatal.

Feodor, the second son and successor of Ivan Vassilievitch II, is interred in the same chapel: a prince of such weak intellects and notorious incapacity, as to be a mere phantom of sovereignty, and entirely under the direction of his brother-in-law Boris Godunof. Feodor ascended the throne in 1584, and expired in 1598: in him ended the male line of the sovereigns of the house of Ruric;* a family which governed Russia for a period of seven centuries.

Among the tombs in this church, the most remarkable is that which contains the body of a child, supposed by the Russians to be the third son of Ivan Vassilievitch II, who is said to have been assassinated at Vglitz, in the ninth year of his age, by order of Boris Godunof. This tomb, which is more distinguished than those of the Russian sovereigns, is of brass and highly ornamented. The child is classed among the saints of the Russian calendar, and, according to the legends of the church, his body is said to have performed miracles, and is believed by the credulous to remain uncorrupted. The top of the sepulchre is frequently uncovered; and during divine service on the festival of St. Alexander Nevski, I observed several Russians kissing the inside with great marks of devotion. The history of the assassination at Vglitz, and the adventures of the real or pretended Demetrius, require a separate narrative.†

The sovereigns of the house of Romanof are interred in the body of the church: their tombs are placed on each side between the massy piers which support the roof.

The first of this illustrious line is Michael Feodorovitch; whose election in 1613 put a final period to a long scene of civil bloodshed, and restored tranquillity to his distracted country. He owed his elevation to his high rank and princely descent; but more particularly to the virtues, abilities, and popularity of his father Philaretus. Ladislaus, prince of Poland, having received a tender of the crown, from a body of Russian nobles, assumed the title of Tzar, and established a garrison at Moscow: soon afterwards a powerful party, averse to the government of a foreigner, expelled the Poles from the capital, and unanimously advanced Michael to the throne, though scarcely seventeen years of age. It is singular, that he was raised to this high station, not only without his knowledge, but even in repugnance to his own inclination. When the deputies from Moscow arrived at Costroma, where he resided with his mother, and acquainted him with his election, Michael, recollecting the dreadful catastrophes which had befallen all the Tzars since the demise of Feodor Ivanovitch, and reflecting on the distracted state of Russia, burst into tears, and declined a crown, which seemed to entail destruction upon those who had ventured to wear it.‡ Overcome, however, by the importunities of the deputies, and dazzled with the splendour of royalty, Michael at length yielded to the wishes of his country, and repairing without delay to Moscow, was crowned with the usual solemnities. Though he ascended the throne with reluctance, he filled it with dignity, and found a protection from those disasters which overwhelmed his immediate predecessors, in his own discretion, in the wise counsels of his father, and in the affection of his subjects. Michael died in 1645, after a prosperous reign of twenty-three years.

* Unless Demetrius was the real son of Ivan Vassilievitch II.

† See chapter 7.

‡ See Busching's account of the election of Michael. Hist. M. II. p. 403.

Alexey Michaelovitch his son, whose ashes are contiguous to his remains, is chiefly known by foreigners as the father of Peter the Great; but he deserves likewise our attention for his own public virtues, and for many salutary institutions. He revised, amended, and new modelled the code of laws compiled by Ivan Vassilievitch II.; he introduced a more regular discipline into the army, and invited foreign officers into his service;* he procured from Amsterdam ship-builders, whom he employed in constructing vessels for the navigation of the Caspian Sea: in a word, he traced the great outlines of those regulations, which were afterwards improved and enlarged by the vast genius of his son Peter the Great. Alexey deceased in 1676, in the 32d year of his reign, and the forty-ninth of his age.

Opposite to the sepulchre of Alexey are those of his sons Feodor and Ivan. Feodor, who succeeded his father in the throne, is described by Voltaire and others as a prince who possessed a vigorous mind in a weak frame, and whose administration was dignified with many useful and glorious regulations. But incapacity, no less than ill-health, disqualified him from conducting the affairs of government; he resigned himself to the direction of his sister Sophia, and all the beneficial acts of his administration must be ascribed to her influence, and to the abilities of his prime-minister, the great Galitzin. Feodor, after a short reign of six years, sunk under the disorders which had long preyed upon his frame.

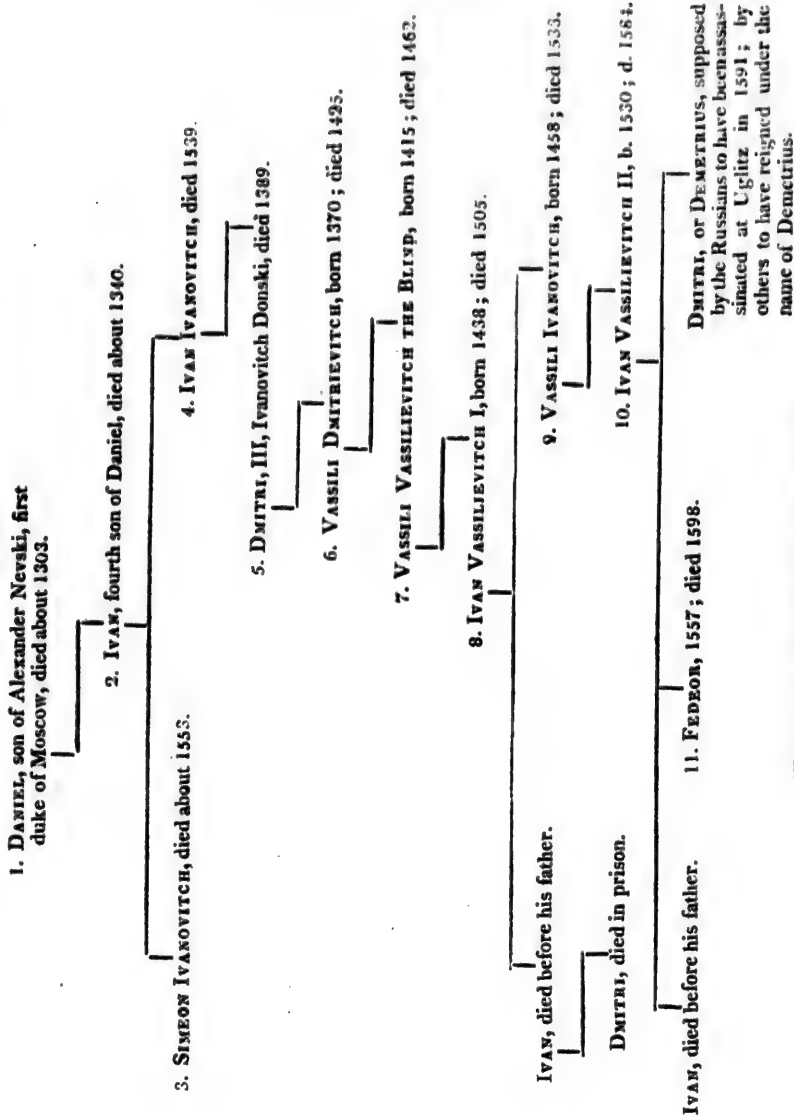
Ivan, second brother of Feodor, was rightful heir of the throne; being debilitated by epileptic fits, both in body and mind,† was at first excluded from the succession, as incapable of discharging the functions of government; but being afterwards recognised as joint-sovereign with his half-brother Peter the Great, he was considered merely as a puppet, to satisfy the multitude, and secure to his adherents a share in the administration of affairs. He was allowed to continue this state-pageant during the remainder of his life; and his death, which happened in 1698, was scarcely perceived by his subjects, and not known to the rest of Europe, except by the omission of his name, in the public acts.

The succeeding sovereigns are interred at Petersburg, excepting Peter II, whose ashes repose in this cathedral. This monarch, the son of the unfortunate Tzarovitch Alexey, was born in 1715, succeeded in 1727 Catharine I, and died in 1730 of the small-pox, on the day appointed for his marriage with princess Dolgorucki. His death was occasioned by the ignorance of the physicians, who treated his disorder as a malignant fever. He acquired great popularity by fixing, during the latter part of his short reign, his imperial residence at Moscow. He was regretted as the grandson of Peter the Great, and as the prince in whom the male line of the house of Romanof became extinct.

* Mayerberg says, among the foreign officers in the service of Alexey Michaelovitch, were two generals, two field marshals, more than a hundred colonels, majors, captains, lieutenants, and ensigns in proportion.

† Schleissing, who was at Moscow during the administration of Sophia, thus describes the person of Ivan. "Ivan Alexey, the eldest Tzar, is ill-formed by nature, insomuch that he can neither rightly see, read, nor speak. He always wears a piece of green silk before his eyes, in order to prevent the upper part of his face from being seen on account of its deformity. But he is very pious and devout; and as, on account of his weak constitution, he cannot hunt, or take any violent exercise, he is the more constant in his attendance at church, and never misses a procession. He is short in his person, very thin, and is now thirty years of age."

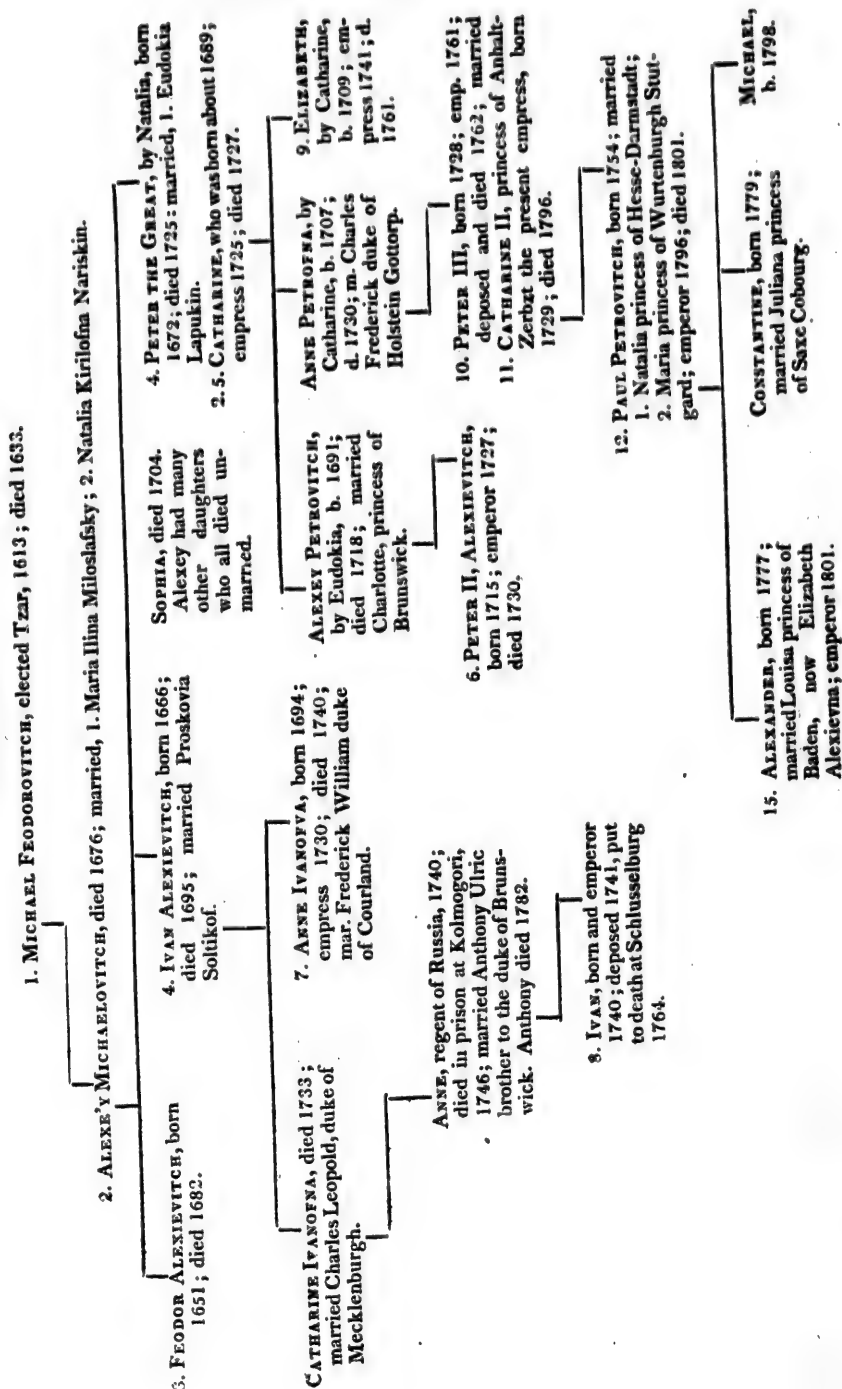
SOVEREIGNS OF MOSCOW OF THE HOUSE OF RURIC.



TZARS OF DIFFERENT FAMILIES.

13. BORIS GODUNOV, elected Tzar 1598; DMITRI, or DEMETRIUS, the False Demetrius of the Russians; by others called the son of Ivan Vassilievitch II, ascended the throne in June, 1605; assassinated May, 1606.
- His son Feodor, proclaimed Tzar in April by his father's party, and put to death in June, can scarcely be classed among the Russian sovereigns.
- VASSILI IVANOVITCH SHUISKI, elected Tzar upon the assassination of Demetrius in 1609; deposed in 1610; died in captivity at Warsaw.

SOVEREIGNS OF RUSSIA OF THE HOUSE OF ROMANOF.



CHAPTER IV.

Cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in the Kremlin....Tombs of the Russian Patriarchs....Origin and Abolition of the patriarchal Dignity....Account of the Patriarch Philaret, Father of the House of Romanof....Biographical Anecdotes of the Patriarch Nikon.

THE cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, appropriated to the coronation of the Russian sovereigns, also situated in the Kremlin, is the most magnificent temple in Moscow. The skreen is in many parts covered with plates of solid silver and gold richly worked. From the centre of the roof hangs an enormous chandelier of massy silver, weighing two thousand nine hundred and forty pounds: it was made in England, and presented by Morosof, prime-minister of Alexey Michaelovitch.* The sacred vessels and episcopal vestments are extremely rich; but the workmanship is in general rude, and by no means equal to the materials.

Many of the painted figures which cover the inside walls are of a colossal size, and were executed so early as the close of the fifteenth century. This church also contains a head of the Virgin, supposed to have been painted by St. Luke, and greatly celebrated in this country for the power of working miracles. The face is almost black; the head is ornamented with a glory of precious stones, and the hands and body are gilded, which gives it a grotesque appearance. It is placed in the skreen, and enclosed within a silver case, which is never removed but on great festivals, or to gratify the curiosity of strangers. This Madonna, according to the tradition of the church, was brought from Greece to Kiof, transferred from thence to Volodimir, and afterwards to Moscow. It seems to have been a Grecian painting, and was probably anterior to the revival of the art in Italy.†

In this cathedral are deposited the remains of the Russian patriarchs.

The first was Job, before whose time the primate of the Russian church was suffragan to the patriarch of Constantinople. Job, being metropolitan archbishop of Moscow,

* According to Storch it was a present from the Venetians to Boris Godunof, and weighs two thousand eight hundred pounds.

† I saw several representations of the Virgin in the north of Italy similar to this painting: some were called the productions of St. Luke, others of Cimabue, or his scholars. The complexion in these was likewise of a dusky hue. Probably the Grecian painters represented the Virgin of a dark complexion, which was copied by Cimabue and the earliest Italian artists, who received the art from the Greeks. Le Bruyn, speaking of this Madonna at Moscow, says, "It is very gloomy and almost black; but whether this proceeds from the effects of time, or the smoke of tapers, or the fancy of the painter; certain it is, there is no great matter in it," &c. Travels, vol. p. 70. An ingenious author, in a late publication, mentions in the monastery of Monte Virgine, a colossal portrait of the Virgin Mary, which passes for the work of St. Luke the Evangelist, and adds, "There are in Italy and elsewhere some dozens of black ugly Madonnas, which all pass for the work of his hands, and as such are revered." To which passage he subjoins the following note, but without citing his authority: "The origin of this fable, or rather mistake, appears to be, that about the time that paintings of holy subjects came into fashion, there lived at Constantinople a painter called Luke, who, by many representations of the Virgin, acquired a very transcendent reputation. He was a man of exemplary life, and on account of his piety, and the edifying use he made of his talents, was generally known by the name of the Holy Luke. In process of time, when the epocha and circumstances of his life were forgotten by the vulgar, and his performances had acquired by age a smoky, dusky cast, sufficient to perplex the short sighted connoisseurs of those days, devotees ascribed his pictures to the Evangelist, who was pronounced a painter because they knew of no other saint of the name, and because, if he had been a painter, no one could have had such opportunities of examining and delineating the features of the holy model." Swinburne's Travels in the Two Sicilies, p. 123. For proof of the introduction of painting into Russia and Italy by the Greeks, see the Description of the Cathedral of St. Sophia at Novogorod.

was, in 1588, installed in this cathedral patriarch of Russia, by Jeremias, patriarch of Constantinople. The ceremony of translating the see from the capital of Turkey to this city is thus described by an author who was himself present : *

"On the 25th of January, 1588, the Greek patriarch, accompanied with the Russe cleargi, went to the great church of Precheste, or our Ladie, within the emperor's castle, where he made an oration, and delivered his resignation in an instrument of writing, and so laid down his patriarchal staffe; which was presently received by the metropolit of Mosko, and divers other ceremonies used about the inauguration of the new patriarch."

The most venerable of Job's successors in the patriarchal see was Philaret, who, though no sovereign himself, is celebrated as the founder of that line of Russian monarchs, distinguished by the name of the house of Romanof.† His secular name was Feodor, and he drew his lineage from Andrew, a Prussian prince, who came into Russia about the middle of the fourteenth century, and whose immediate descendants enjoyed the highest offices under the sovereigns of this country. Feodor was son of Nikita Romanovitch, great grandson of Andrew, and brother of Anastasia, first wife of Ivan Vasilievitch II. When Boris Godunof was elevated to the throne, the high birth, great abilities, and popularity of Feodor Romanof, rendered him so obnoxious to the new monarch, that he was compelled to assume the priesthood, and confined in a monastery, on which occasion he, according to the Russian custom, changed his name to Philaret.

On the accession of the sovereign whom the Russians call the False Demetrius, Philaret was released from confinement, and appointed to the archbishopric of Rostof. Soon after the deposition of Vassili Shuiski, a strong party among the nobles having agreed to elect Ladislaus, son of Sigismond III, king of Poland, Tzar of Russia; Philaret was dispatched at the head of an embassy, to settle the conditions of his son's election. He found the Polish monarch engaged in the siege of Smolensko; and when the king demanded the immediate cession of that town, Philaret replied, "When your son has ascended our throne, he will possess not only Smolensko, but all Russia, and it ill becomes you to dismember his territories." Sigismond, exasperated at this spirited reply, and still farther inflamed by the remonstrances of the ambassadors against his conduct towards Russia, arrested and threw them into prison. Philaret languished nine years in the castle of Marienburg,† in Prussia, under a rigorous confinement.

His absence, however, did not diminish the veneration which the Russians entertained for his character: the whole nation unanimously conferred the crown on his son Michael, a youth only in the seventeenth year of his age; in hopes that a peace with Poland would restore Philaret to his country, and render him the director of that power with which they invested his son. This expectation was gratified at the truce of Develina, concluded in 1619, between Russia and Poland, which gave Philaret to the wishes of the people. On his arrival at Moscow he was consecrated patriarch, and became

* Fletcher's Russia, chap. 21. This author adds, that Jeremias, whom he calls Hieronimo, had been either banished from Constantinople by the Turks, or deposed by the Greek clergy; that he came to Moscow without any invitation from the Russians, to obtain money from Feodor Ivanovitch, and with this view proposed the translation of the patriarchal see from Constantinople to Moscow. Others deny that he was either deposed or banished, and relate, that the Tzar having formally demanded the consent of the four patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, to the establishment of a new patriarch in Russia, they acceded to the request, and solemnly deputed Jeremias to Moscow, who invested the metropolitan Job with the new dignity. King on the Greek church, p. 496.

† In consequence of a custom prevalent among the Russians to adopt the appellation of the grandfather for a family name, the new royal line was called Romanof, in honour of Roman, Feodor's grandfather.

‡ Busching's Hist. Mag. v. ii. p. 403.

the real, though not the ostensible sovereign of his country, as his son held the reins of government under his direction. He was invested with the administration of affairs; his name was frequently associated in the public acts with that of the Tzar; he gave audience to ambassadors, and on many public occasions was permitted to take precedence of his son.* His experience, moderation, and abilities, rendered him worthy of these high honours and unbounded authority; and the prosperity of Michael's reign proclaimed the wisdom of his sage monitor. Philaretes died in 1633, in an advanced age, regretted by his son and the whole kingdom.

The last of these patriarchs was Adrian, at whose demise, in 1699, Peter the Great refused to nominate a successor; and in 1721 the patriarchal dignity was formally abolished.

In a former chapter I observed, that there are no seats in the Russian churches, the ceremonial of the Greek worship requiring all persons to stand during the performance of divine service. In this cathedral I observed two elevated places near the skreen, enclosed with rails without seats: one is appropriated to the sovereign; the other was formerly destined for the patriarch, whose state and grandeur were not inferior to those of the Tzar himself. Upon some public occasion the archbishop of Novogorod, who aspired to have the patriarchal dignity revived in his person, pointing to the place formerly occupied by the patriarch, remarked to Peter, "Sire, that structure is now useless, will not your majesty order it to be removed?" Peter was silent; but the archbishop repeating the question, replied, "That place shall not be removed, nor shall you fill it."†

The Russians reckon eleven patriarchs from the first establishment of the dignity in the person of Job, to its final abolition after the death of Adrian. Of these the greatest and most conspicuous was the celebrated Nikon; whom, as he is the only patriarch not interred in this cathedral, I could not mention on contemplating their tombs. It is hoped that no apology is necessary for the account of a prelate, whom some Russians still abhor as Antichrist, and others adore as a saint; and whose extraordinary character has never been faithfully represented to the English reader.

Nikon was born in 1613, in a village of the government of Nishnei Novogorod, of obscure parents. He received, at the baptismal font, the name of Nikita, which, when he became monk, he changed to Nikon. He was educated in the convent of St. Macarius, under the care of a monk. From the course of his studies, which were almost solely directed to the Holy Scriptures, and the exhortations of his preceptor, he imbibed, at a very early period, the strongest attachment to a monastic life, and was only prevented from following his inclination by the authority of his father. In conformity, however, to the wishes of his family, he entered into matrimony; and as that state precluded him from being admitted into a convent, he was ordained a secular priest.

With his wife he passed ten years; first as a parish priest in some country village, and afterwards at Moscow in the same capacity; but losing three children, whom he tenderly loved, his disgust for the world and his propensity to solitude returned with redoubled violence; and, having persuaded his wife to take the veil, he entered into the monastic order. He chose for his own retreat a small island of the White-Sea, inhabited only by a few persons, who formed a kind of ecclesiastical establishment, as remarkable for the austerity of the rules as for the solitude of the situation: twelve monks occupied separate cells, equally distant from each other‡ and from the church which stood in the

*Schmid. Russ. Ges. v. ii. p. 13. Busching. Hist. Mag. v. vii. p. 329. Olearius.

†From prince Volkonski.

‡Two versts, or a mile and a half.

centre of the island. These lonely anchorites assembled regularly on Saturday evening in the church, where they assisted in the performance of divine service during the whole night, and the next day until noon, and then retired to their respective habitations. This practice was repeated on certain festivals; at other times each recluse occupied his cell undisturbed by mutual intercourse. Their food was bread, and fish which they caught themselves, or procured from the contiguous continent. Such was the situation to which Nikon retired, as congenial to the gloomy state of his own mind; where, brooding in solitude upon the uncertainty of human life, he was unhappily led to consider the most debasing austerities as acceptable to the Supreme Being, and contracted that cloistered pride, which gave an alloy to his virtues, and proved the greatest defect in his character, when raised to an exalted station.

After a short residence in this island, Nikon accompanied the chief of the ecclesiastical establishment to Moscow, to raise a collection for building a new church. He was scarcely returned from this expedition, when, at the instigation of the chief, whom he had offended during the journey, he was compelled by the other monks to retire from the island. He embarked in an open boat, with only a single person, in a high sea: being overtaken by a violent storm, he was tossed about in continual danger of perishing; but was at length driven upon an island near the mouth of the Onega.

From this island he repaired to a monastery of the contiguous continent; and was admitted into the society; but instead of inhabiting an apartment in the convent, he constructed a separate cell on an adjacent island; where he lived upon the fish which he caught with his own hands, and never visited the monastery but during the time of divine service. In consequence of this recluse and rigid way of life he was held in high esteem by the brethren, and on the death of the superior was unanimously raised to the vacant dignity. He continued in this capacity three years, when, being drawn by some family affairs to Moscow, he was casually presented to the Tzar Alexey Michaelovitch, who, captivated with his various talents and extensive learning, detained him at Moscow, under his immediate protection. Within less than five years he was successively created archimandrite or abbot of the Novospatskoi convent, archbishop of Novogorod, and patriarch of Russia. He deserved these rapid promotions by a rare assemblage of extraordinary qualities, which even his enemies allowed him to possess; undaunted courage, irreproachable morals, exalted charity, comprehensive learning, and commanding eloquence.

While archbishop of Novogorod, to which dignity he was raised in 1649, he gave a memorable instance of firmness and discretion. During a tumult the imperial governor, prince Feodor Kilkof, took refuge in the archiepiscopal palace against the fury of the insurgents, who, bursting open the gates, threatened instant pillage if the governor was not delivered to them without delay. Nikon, instead of acceding to their demand, boldly advanced into the midst of them, and exhorted them to peace. The populace, inflamed to madness by the prelate's appearance, transferred their rage from the governor to him; they assaulted him with stones, dragged him by the hair, and offered every species of violence and indignity to his person. Being conveyed to the palace in a state of insensibility, he was recovered by immediate assistance; but, regardless of the imminent danger from which he had just escaped, he persisted in his resolution, either to appease the tumult, or perish in the attempt. With this design, as if devoting himself to certain death, he confessed and received the sacrament, and repaired to the town-house, where the insurgents were assembled. He confounded them by his presence, softened them into repentance by a firm, but pathetic address, and persuading them to disperse, tranquility was instantly restored. This calm, however, was of no long duration: the

sedition, allayed by the spirit and eloquence of Nikon, was again fomented by the ring-leaders of the tumult, and broke into open rebellion; many of the inhabitants renounced their allegiance to the Tzar, and proposed to deliver the town into the hands of the king of Poland. The prelate, however, undaunted by this change in their sentiments, continued his efforts to bring them back to their duty; his remonstrances and exhortations gradually prevailed; many flocked to his palace, desiring his intercession with their enraged sovereign; and though the remainder of the insurgents blocked up the avenues of the town, yet he contrived, at the peril of his life, to send information to the Tzar. Being armed, by a commission from Moscow, with full powers, he, by a vigorous exertion of authority, but without the effusion of blood, finally quelled the rebellion. To him was committed the trial of the rebels, and the disposal of life and death; an office which he executed with as much judgment as lenity. The leader of the sedition was alone punished with death; ten of his most mutinous adherents were knotted and banished, and a few were condemned to a short imprisonment. Nikon nobly forgave the outrage committed against his own person; and in chastising the public offence tempered the severity of justice with the feelings of humanity.

He gained the respect of the inhabitants by the unwearied assiduity with which he performed the functions of his archiepiscopal office, and conciliated their affection by acts of unbounded charity. He built and endowed alms-houses for widows, old men, and orphans, was the great patron of the indigent, the zealous protector of the lower class of men against the oppressions of the great, and during a dreadful famine, appropriated the revenues of his see to the general relief of the poor.

Nikon was no less conspicuous in the vigilant discharge of his patriarchal office, to which he was appointed in 1652, only in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He instituted seminaries for the instruction of priests in the Greek and Latin languages, and enriched the patriarchal library with rare ecclesiastical and classical manuscripts, drawn from a convent at Mount Athos. By a diligent revisal of the Holy Scriptures, and a collation of the various editions of the Old and New Testament, perceiving many errors in the printed copies of the Bible and Liturgy used for divine service, he prevailed upon the Tzar to summon a general council of the Greek church at Moscow, in which he presided. By his arguments, authority, and influence, it was determined that the most ancient Slavonian version of the Bible, was exact, and that the errors with which the latter copies abounded should be corrected. He inspected and superintended the printing of a new edition of the Slavonian Bible, which was become extremely rare. He removed from the churches the pictures of deceased persons, to which many of the Russians offered a blind adoration; he abolished a few ceremonies which had been carried to a superstitious excess: in a word, his labours tended more to the reformation of the church, than the united efforts of all his predecessors in the patriarchal chair.

Nor was he solely distinguished in his professional character; but proved himself no less qualified in a civil capacity. Although his studies were hitherto confined to ecclesiastical subjects, and the recluseness of his former life seemed to impede the attainment of political knowledge; yet he was no sooner called to a public station, than his abilities expanded in proportion as the objects which they embraced became more numerous and important: his sagacity, sharpened by continual application, soon rendered him master of the most intricate affairs, taught him to discriminate the most opposite interests, and to adopt that decisive line of conduct which marks the great and enlightened statesman. Being consulted by the Tzar on all occasions, he soon became the soul of

his councils,* and gained the ascendancy in the cabinet by the vast superiority of his genius, ever fertile in expedients, and zealous to recommend the most spirited measures.

Having thus attained the highest summit of human grandeur to which a subject can arrive, he fell a victim to popular discontents, and to the cabals of a court. His fall, no less sudden than his rise, may be traced from the following causes: the removal of the painted images from the churches disgusted a large party among the Russians, superstitiously addicted to the adoration of their ancestors; the correction of the errors in the Liturgy and Bible, the abolition of some ceremonies, and the admission of a few others (introduced perhaps with too much haste, and without due deference to the prejudices of his countrymen) occasioned a schism in the church; many persons averse to all innovations, and adhering to the old tenets and ceremonies, formed a considerable sect under the appellation of Old Believers, and, rising in several parts, created much disturbance to the state, circumstances naturally imputed to Nikon by his enemies. He excited the hatred of an ignorant and indolent clergy by the appointment of Greek and Latin seminaries; he raised the envy and jealousy of the prime-minister and courtiers by his predominance in the cabinet, and by the haughtiness of his deportment, offended the Tzarina and her father, who were implacable in their resentment.

All these parties uniting in one great combination, Nikon hastened his fall by a supercilious demeanour, which occasionally bordered upon arrogance; by trusting solely for his support to the rectitude of his conduct and the favour of his sovereign, and by disdaining to guard against what he considered as the petty intrigues of a court.

The only circumstance which seemed wanting to complete his disgrace was the loss of Alexey's protection; and this was at length effected by the gradual but secret insinuations of the Tzarina and her party, who finally availed themselves of an unsuccessful war with Poland, of which the Patriarch is said to have been the principal adviser. Nikon, finding himself excluded from the presence of a sovereign accustomed to consult him on every emergency, and disdaining to hold the highest office in the kingdom, when he had lost the confidence of his master, astonished the public by a voluntary abdication of his patriarchal dignity. This measure, censured by many as hasty and imprudent, and highly expressive of that pride which strongly marked his character, must yet be esteemed manly and resolute, which even those who condemn cannot but admire. It may also admit of great palliation, if we consider that the popular odium was rising against him; that a powerful party had secretly effected his disgrace, and that, as he foresaw his fall, he preferred a voluntary abdication of his dignity to a forcible deposition; choosing to resign with spirit what he could not retain without meanness.†

This abdication took place on the 10th of July, O. S. 1658, and he quitted his exalted station with the same greatness of soul with which he had ascended it. He was permitted to retain the title of patriarch, while the functions of his office were performed by the archbishop of Novogorod. He chose for the place of his residence the convent

*The influence which Nikon, from the superiority of his genius, obtained in the Tzar's councils, perhaps induced Voltaire, in his erroneous account of this Patriarch, to declare, that he "voulut élever sa chaire au-dessus du trône; non seulement il usurpait le droit de s'asseoir dans le sénat à côté du czar, mais il prétendait, qu'on ne pouvait faire ni la guerre ni la paix sans son consentement," &c. Hist. de Pierre le Grand, p. 74. From Voltaire, the compiler of the article of Russia, in the Universal History, has adopted this idle assertion, v. 32, p. 140.

† This is the opinion of Mayerburgh, who came to Moscow six years after his abdication: after enumerating the causes of his fall, he adds, "Propter quæ omnia omnibus exosus et ad exilium communibus votis expetitus patrociniū nullum inveniit in favore Alexii, cujus animū sensim abalienaverant jactis in longum odiis uxor et socer illi ob privatas causas infensi." p. 87.

of Jerusalem, built and endowed by himself. On his arrival he re-assumed his recluse way of life, and practised the most rigid mortifications. The hermitage he inhabited is thus described by an author,* who visited the spot in the beginning of this century: "A winding stair-case, so narrow that one man could hardly pass, leads to the little chapel of about a fathom in the square, in which the patriarch used to perform his solitary worship. The room in which he lived was not much larger; in it hung a broad iron plate, with a cross of brass fixed to a heavy chain, weighing above twenty pounds, all which the said patriarch wore about his neck for twenty years together. His bed was a square stone two ells in length, and scarcely one in breadth, over which was spread nothing but a cover of rushes. Below in the house was a small chimney, in which the patriarch used to dress his own victuals."

Nicon, however, did not waste his whole time in the performance of useless austerities; but employed himself in compiling a regular series of Russian annalists from Nestor, the earliest historian of this country, to the reign of Alexey Michaelovitch. He pursued this plan with his accustomed zeal. After comparing and collating numerous manuscripts, he digested the whole collection in chronological order into a work, which is called sometimes, from its author, the Chronical of Nicon, and sometimes from the place where it was begun and deposited, the Chronical of the convent of Jerusalem. This compilation, the labour of twenty years, is justly esteemed, by the best Russian historians, a work of the greatest authority; and was considered, by the venerable author, of such importance to the history of his country, that, in the true spirit of enthusiasm, he begins the performance by anathematising all those who should attempt to alter the minutest expression.

The innocent manner in which he passed his time could not protect him from the persecutions of his enemies, who were apprehensive that while he retained the name of patriarch, he might be reinstated in his former dignity. Repeated complaints were urged against him; every disturbance, occasioned by the old believers, was made a matter of serious accusation; not only his former conduct was arraigned, but new crimes were invented to render him still more obnoxious. He was accused of disrespectful expressions relating to the Tzar, in a letter to the patriarch of Constantinople, of holding a treasonable correspondence, and receiving bribes from the king of Poland.

The Tzar, continually beset by the patriarch's enemies, was prevailed on to proceed to the most violent extremities. He convened in 1666, a general council of the Greek and Russian clergy at Moscow, who, after a short deliberation, formally deposed Nicon from the patriarchal see, and banished him to a distant convent. The principal cause assigned for this deposition was, that Nicon, having by a voluntary abdication meanly deserted his flock, was unworthy to fill the patriarchal chair. This futile allegation is a sufficient proof that the other crimes were maliciously circulated to prejudice the Tzar, and to influence the judges. In conformity to his sentence, Nicon was degraded to the condition of a common monk, and imprisoned in the convent of Therapont, in the government of Bielozero. His confinement was for some time extremely rigorous; because, conscious of his own integrity, he persisted in a denial of guilt, and refused to accept a pardon for crimes he had never committed. Upon the death of Alexey, in 1676, Feoder, probably at the instigation of his prime minister, prince Galitzin, the patron and friend of genius, permitted Nicon to remove to the convent of St. Cyril, where he enjoyed perfect liberty.

* Perry's State of Russia, vol. i. p. 140.

Nicon survived his deposition fifteen years. In 1681 he obtained permission to return to the convent of Jerusalem, that he might end his days in that favourite spot, but expired upon the road near Yaroslaf, in the 66th year of his age. His remains were transported to the convent of Jerusalem, and buried with all the ceremonies which are usual at the interment of patriarchs.*

CHAPTER V.

Russian Archives....English State papers....Commencement of the Connection between the Courts of London and Moscow....Correspondence between Queen Elizabeth and the Tzar Ivan Vassilievitch II...His demand of the Lady Anne Hastings in marriage...Account of that negotiation....Other dispatches....Rise of the Title of Tzar...Negotiation between Peter the Great and the European Courts relative to the Title of emperor....University...Syllabus of the Lectures....Matthæi's Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Holy Synod.... Hymn to Ceres attributed to Homer.

MR. MULLER obligingly accompanied us to the place in the Khitaigorod, where the public archives are deposited: it is a strong brick building, containing several vaulted apartments with iron floors. These archives, consisting of numerous state-papers, were crowded into boxes, and thrown aside like common lumber; until the present empress ordered them to be revised and arranged. In conformity to this mandate, Mr. Muller has disposed them in chronological order, and any single document may be inspected with little trouble. They are enclosed in separate cabinets with glass doors: those relative to Russia are classed according to the several provinces to which they relate; and over each cabinet is inscribed the name of the province. In the same manner the manuscripts relative to foreign kingdoms are placed in separate divisions under the respective titles of Poland, Sweden, England, France, Germany, &c. The papers which concerned my native country principally engaged my attention. The earliest correspondence between the sovereigns of England and Russia commenced in the middle of the sixteenth century, soon after the discovery of Archangel, and chiefly relates to the permission of trade granted exclusively to the English company of merchants settled in Russia. The first record is an original letter of Philip and Mary to Ivan Vassilievitch II, acknowledging the receipt of a dispatch transmitted to England by his ambassador Osef Niphea, and returning thanks for the liberty of opening a free trade throughout the Russian dominions. The charter of privileges granted by the Tzar to the English merchants, together with the numerous letters which he received from Elizabeth, are preserved in this collection, and are mostly published in Hackluyt's Voyages: one, however, not found in that work, is dated the 18th of May, 1577, in which Elizabeth, among other expressions of friendship, offers to Ivan Vassilievitch, if compelled by an insurrection to quit his country, an asylum in England. This letter was signed by Elizabeth in the presence of her secret council; amongst the signatures, I noticed the names of Bacon, Leycester, and Cecil.

Some historians having asserted that Ivan Vassilievitch II, carried his personal respect for queen Elizabeth so far as to be one of her suitors; while Camden only relates, that

* For the History of Nicon, I have followed Muller in his *Nachricht von Novogorod* in S. R. G. vol. v. p. 541 to 559. L'Evesque has also drawn from the same source a spirited and candid account of this great patriarch, to which I acknowledge myself indebted for a few reflections. *Hist. de Russie*, vol. iii. p. 391 to 394; also 417 to 430.

he proposed to marry lady Anne Hastings, daughter of the earl of Huntingdon; my curiosity led me to make inquiries into this transaction. With respect to any treaty of marriage between the Tzar and Elizabeth, the archives are silent; but furnished some curious particulars in regard to the intended espousal of lady Anne Hastings.

The first hint of this match was suggested by Dr. Robert Jacob, a physician whom Elizabeth, at the Tzar's request, sent to Moscow. Jacob, acquainted with the fickleness of Ivan in his amours, and his desire of contracting an alliance with a foreign princess, extolled the beauty, accomplishments, and rank of lady Anne Hastings, whom he represented as niece of the queen, and daughter of an independent prince, and inspired the Tzar with a strong inclination to espouse her, although he had just married his fifth wife Maria Feodorofna. The Tzar, fired by his description, dispatched Gregory Pirsemaskoi, a Russian nobleman of the first distinction, to England, to make a formal demand of the lady for his wife. By his instructions, he was ordered, after a conference with the queen, to procure an interview with the lady, obtain her portrait, and inform himself of the rank and situation of her family: he was then to request that an English ambassador might return with him to Moscow, with full powers to adjust the conditions of the marriage. If an objection should be raised that Ivan was already married, he was directed to answer, that the Tzar having espoused a subject, was at liberty to divorce her; and if it was asked what provision should be made for the children by lady Anne Hastings, he was instructed to reply, that Feodor, the eldest prince, was heir to the throne, but that her children should be amply endowed.

In consequence of these orders, Pirsemaskoi repaired to London, had an audience of Elizabeth, saw lady Hastings, who had just recovered from the small-pox, procured her portrait, and returned to Moscow in 1583, accompanied with an English ambassador, sir Jerome Bowes. The latter, a person of capricious disposition, at his first interview greatly offended the Tzar, as well by his freedom of speech, as because he was not commissioned to give a final assent to the marriage, but only to receive a more explicit offer, and transmit it to the queen. The Tzar, unaccustomed to brook delay, declared, "that no obstacle should prevent him from marrying some kinswoman of her majesty's; that he should send again into England to have some one of them to wife; adding, that if her majesty would not, upon his next embassy, send him such an one as he desired, himself would then go into England, and carry his treasure with him, and marry one of them there." Sir Jerome Bowes, probably in conformity to his instructions, threw obstacles in the way of the marriage; instead of speaking favourably of lady Hastings, he mentioned her person with indifference, and denied that she was any relation to the queen; adding, with some marks of contempt, that his mistress had many such nieces. By these means the affair was suspended; and the negotiation finally terminated by the death of the Tzar in the beginning of the following year.

It appears from these archives, that the correspondence between the Russian and English sovereigns, which began with Ivan, did not cease upon his demise. The amity, indeed, between the two courts was so firmly established, that Charles I, sent a corps of troops, under colonel Sanderson, to the assistance of Michael Feodorovitch, against Laudislaus king of Poland; and Alexey Michaelovitch occasionally furnished Charles, in the period of his greatest distress, with money and corn. The last letter from our unfortunate sovereign to Alexey is dated Isle of Wight, June 1, 1648, and was written during his confinement in Carisbrook castle. I observed one from Charles II, to the Tzar, announcing the execution of his father: it is dated September the 16th, 1649, and was brought to Moscow by lord Culpepper.

During the usurpation of Cromwell, Alexey maintained a constant correspondence with the exiled Charles. He was accustomed to declare, that all monarchs ought to esteem the cause of Charles I, as their own, and should not, by countenancing an usurper, encourage subjects to rebel against their king. In conformity to these sentiments he refused, for some time,* to hold any intercourse with the protector; and these archives contain no letters between Cromwell and the Tzar.

The restoration of Charles II, renewed the harmony between the two courts; and as from this interval the dispatches received from England were so numerous as to require several days to examine them with attention, I was compelled to retire without satisfying my curiosity. These papers, containing a complete historical series of the alliances, connection, correspondence, and commerce, between Russia and England, would form an interesting publication, if printed in chronological order, and interspersed with historical observations.

I had scarcely time to glance over the numerous state-papers which relate to the other European powers; but the keeper of the archives did not omit pointing out to me one document of great importance in the history of Russia: I allude to the famous letter, written in the German tongue,† from Maximilian I, emperor of Germany, to Vassili Ivanovitch, confirming a treaty of alliance against Sigismond, king of Poland. This dispatch, dated August the 4th, 1514, and ratified with the seal of the golden bull, is remarkable, because Maximilian addresses Vassili by calling him *Kayser und Herrscher aller Russen*; emperor and ruler of all the Russias. This deed, discovered by baron Shaviroff in the archives in the beginning of this century, first suggested to Peter the idea of assuming the title of emperor. The claim gave rise to various negotiations, and occasioned a curious controversy among the learned, concerning the rise and progress of the titles by which the monarchs of this country have been distinguished. The early sovereigns of Russia were called great dukes; and Vassili Ivanovitch‡ was probably the first who styled himself Tzar, an expression which, in the Sclavonian language, signifies king; his successors continued to bear within their own dominions that title as the most honourable appellation, until Peter the Great first took that of *Povelitel*, or emperor. It is nevertheless as certain, that the foreign courts,§ in their intercourse with that of Moscow, styled the sovereign indiscriminately Great Duke, Tzar, and Emperor.|| With respect to England, in Chancellor's account of Russia, Ivan Vassilievitch II, was called lord and empeor of all Russia; and in the English dispatches, from the reign of Elizabeth to that of Anne, the sovereign was generally addressed under the same appellation. We may at the same time remark, that when the European powers styled the Tzar emperor of Muscovy, they by no means intended to give him a title similar

* I say for some time; for although, if I rightly remember, these archives contain no dispatches between the Tzar and Cromwell, yet it is certain, that afterwards Alexey maintained a correspondence with the Protector, and had once consented to receive his ambassadors at Moscow. See the chapter on the rise and progress of the English trade to Russia.

† The reader will find a copy of the original German in Weber's *Verandertes Russland*, vol. i. p. 357; and a faithful translation in Perry's *State of Russia*, p. 258.

‡ The appellation of Tzar was not taken, as some authors suppose, from the Tartars, when Ivan conquered Casan, for the prince of Casan was called Khan.

§ This is asserted upon the positive testimony of Herberstein; and his authority is unquestionable, because, as he was twice ambassador to Moscow, the first time to Vassili Ivanovitch, and afterwards to Ivan Vassilievitch II, he must have been acquainted with the titles borne by these two sovereigns. Other authors suppose, that his son Ivan was the first who assumed the title of Tzar.

|| According to Mayerberg, the title of Alexey Michaelovitch, prefixed to his code of laws, was "Tzar et Magnus Dux totius Russiæ Autocrator." *Iter in Mos.* p. 113.

to that which was peculiar to the emperor of Germany; but bestowed upon him that appellation as upon an Asiatic sovereign, in the same manner as we now say the emperor of Japan. When Peter, therefore, determined to assume the title of emperor, he found no difficulty in proving, that it was conferred upon his predecessors by most of the European powers; yet, when he was desirous of affixing to the term the European sense, it was considered as an innovation, and was productive of more negotiations than would have been requisite for the termination of the most important state affair. After many delays and objections, the principal courts of Europe consented, about the year 1722, to address the sovereign of Russia with the title of emperor, without prejudice, nevertheless, to the other crowned heads of Europe.*

* Many authors have erroneously advanced, that the English ambassador, lord Whitworth, soon after the battle of Pultava, gave, by order of queen Anne, the title of emperor, in its European sense, to Peter the Great. But the following extracts from a dispatch of lord Carteret to sir Luke Schaub, the English minister at Paris, which fell under my observation since I finished the account in the text, will fully contradict these assertions, and are here inserted, because they will help to throw further light upon this subject. The united provinces and the king of Prussia had, in 1711, acknowledged Peter's right to the title of emperor; but the courts of London and Paris withheld their consent. During the negotiation, several dispatches passed between lord Carteret, secretary of state, cardinal Dubois, and sir Luke Schaub, English ministers at Paris.

"Le Cardinal," writes lord Carteret in one of his dispatches to sir Luke, dated Jan. 1721-2, "croit qu'on pourroit accorder le titre de l'empereur au Tzar, de maniere que les couronnes n'en fussent point prejudicies."

"Le Roy [George I.] a trouve la reponse tres sage, que le cardinal a faite aux ministres du Czar touchant la demande du titre d'empereur: Nous agirons de concert, avec son eminence dans cette affaire. Et pour luy donner les eclaircissements qu'elle souhaite, touchant ce qui s'est passe entre la Grande Bretagne et le Czar a l'egard du titre, je vous envoie un extrait, qui a ete tire des registres de nos archives, pour luy en communiquer. Les ministres Moscovites ne sont nullement fondez en ce qu'ils alleguent que ce titre a ete accorde au Czar comme une partie de la satisfaction dans l'affaire de Matueof. Il est constant que l'on ne fit alors aucun changement a cette occasion la.

"En examinant le stile, dont les Roys de la Grande Bretagne se sont servis, en écrivant aux Czars de Moscovie, on est remonte jusqu'au tems de la reine Elizabeth. On trouve qu'on leur a toujours écrit en Anglois, et que cette princesse,

An. 1559. Se servoit du stile d'empereur et de highness.

1616. Le Roy Jacques I, de celuy, d'empereur et de majesty.

1633. Le Roy Charles I.

1666. Le Roy Charles II.

1687. Jacques II, et Guillaume III, de celuy d'empereur et

1688. d'imperial majesty.

1707. La reine Anne, s'est servie du stile d'empereur et d'imperial majesty, jusqu'au l'an 1707, et alors on commença a écrire commander, &c. et Czaric majesty.

1708. En 1708, le 19 Juillet et le 19 Septembre, commander et imperial majesty; et le 9 Novembre de la meme année empereur et imperial majesty. En 1709, 1710, 1711, empereur et imperial majesty.

En 1712, 1713, 1714, empereur et Czarean, Czarish, et imperial majesty, tantot l'un, tantot l'autre, et souvent Czarish et imperial majesty, dans une meme lettre.

En 1714, le 27 Septembre, le stile de la lettre de notification de l'avènement du Roy a la Couronne, est, empereur et your majesty, et dans plusieurs autres lettres depuis ce temps la Czarish, ou imperial majesty, et quelquefois your majesty simplement.

Voicy le titre entier.

To the most high, most potent, and most illustrious, our most dear brother, the great lord Czar, and great-duke, Peter Alexejewitz, of all the greater, lesser, and white Russia, self-upholder of Muscovia, Kiovia, Ulodomiria, Novogardia, Czar of Cazán, Czar of Astracán, Czar of Siberia, lord of Plexoe, and great-duke of Smolensko, Tueria, Ugoria, Permia, Viatkyá, Bolgaria, and others, lord and great-duke of Novogardia, and of the lower countries of Zzernevorsky, Resansky, Restovesky, Yeroslave, Beloorzersky, Udorsky, Obdorsky, Condinski, and emperor of all the Northern

The archives contain also thirteen volumes of letters, journals, notes, and other manuscripts, of Peter the Great, written with his own hand; these papers contain the indefatigable pains with which that great monarch noted down the circumstances, that might prove useful in his extensive plans for the civilization and improvement of his country. Muller has lately given to the public several letters and other pieces of this kind, which throw a considerable light upon the transactions of Peter's reign, and afford striking instances of his persevering genius.

From the archives we repaired to the university, also situated in the Khitaigorod: it was founded at the instance of count Shuvalof, by the empress Elizabeth, for six hundred students, who are clothed, boarded, and instructed at the expense of the crown. We were received, with great civility, by the director of the university and professors, who conducted us first to their printing-office. One of the presses being at work, several sheets were struck off and presented to us as specimens of the Russian typography; on examining them, we found a complimentary address to ourselves in the English and Russian languages.

We next proceeded to the university library, which contains a small collection of books, and a moderate apparatus of experimental philosophy. On taking leave of the director, he obligingly presented me with a Grammar of the Tartar language, which is taught in this society, a Syllabus of a year's lectures, and a catalogue of the Greek manuscripts in the library of the Holy Synod. An extract from the Syllabus* will display to the reader the general studies, and the principal books used in the university for the instruction of the students.

1. A course of lectures on the history of the Russian Law, on Nettelbadianus, *Systema universæ Jurisprudentiæ*, and on the *Jus Cambiale*; eight hours a week. 2. On Cicero's Orations against Catiline, the sixth book of Virgil's *Æneid*, plays of Plautus and Terence, instructions on the manner of writing Latin and Russian verses, from the examples of Horace and Lomonosof; an exposition of the panegyrical orations of Lomonosof, together with translations and exercises in Latin and Russian prose: eight hours a week. 3. On arithmetic, trigonometry, and optics, from Weidler's *Mathema-*

Coasts, Lord of the lands of Iversky, Cartilinsky, and Gruzensky, Czar of the lands of Caberdinsky, Czereasky, and duke of the mountains, and of many other dominions and countries, east, west, and north, from father, and from grandfather, heir, lord, and conqueror.

Lord Carteret, in a letter to the cardinal Dubois, writes; *Le Roi concourt sans difficulté avec sa majesté très Chrétienne à faire ce que V. Eminence jugera convenable, par rapport au nouveau titre que le Czar demande, et un parfait concert à faire espérer à ce prince un telle complaisance pour servir à le gagner, et à nous faire tirer fruits de son ambition.* Jan. 30, 1721-2.

And in a dispatch to sir Luke Schaub, he thus expresses himself: *La coutume icy a toujours été d'écrire aux Czars de Moscovie sur du velin enlumine peint et dore, comme on fait aux empereurs de Maroc et Fez, et à plusieurs autres princes non-Européens lesquels selon cette coutume seroient également sondez d'insister sur le titre d'empereur. Ou n'a jamais voulu changer l'usage établi, quoique les Moscovites l'ayent, fort sollicité durant l'ambassade de mylord Whitworth à Moscow. Ce ministre s'excusa toujours d'en faire la proposition. Il leur dit, qu'il leur donneroit le titre, sans difficulté, tel qu'il le trouvoit établi; mais qu'il ne leur conseilloit pas de remuer cette matière, ni de s'alarmer trop soigneusement sur quel pied on leur donnoit ce titre. Les Moscovites crurent son avis bon pour lors. Quand mylord Whitworth et Mr. l'Amiral Norris furent chargés d'une commission auprez du Czar à Amsterdam, ils n'eurent que des lettres de cachet, dont le stile étoit *Votre Majesté*; les ministres Russiens en firent d'abord quelque scrupule, mais n'y insisterent pas.*

These extracts are drawn from sir Luke Schaub's state papers, in the rare and ample collection of the earl of Hardwicke, a nobleman as distinguished for the extent, as the liberal communication of his knowledge.

* It is entitled, "*Catalogus prælectionum publicarum in Universitate Cæsarea Mosquensi habendarum.*"

ticae Institutiones; and experimental philosophy from Kruger's Compendium. 4, On modern history. 5, Introduction to the knowledge of moral philosophy, Institutes. 6, On clinic medicine, or the remedies used by ancient physicians, from Vogel's Compendium. 7, On the pandects, from the Compendium of Heineccius, and a comparison between the Roman and Russian law; eight hours a week. Professor Desaitsky, who reads this lecture, teaches also the English language from a grammar compiled by himself; four hours a week. 8, Logic and metaphysics from Baumeister's logic, eight hours; and four geometry and trigonometry, from Weidler. 9, On phisic under the following heads; pathology, dietetics, and therapeutics, from Ludwig's Compendium. 10, On botany, after the system of Linnæus. 11, Anatomy from Ludwig. 12, On the etymology, syntax, and style of the French tongue; eight hours. 13, Etymology, syntax, and style of the German.

Beside the university, there are two gymnasia, or seminaries, for the education of youth, endowed also by Elizabeth, in which are taught divinity, classics, philosophy, the Greek, Latin, Russian, German, French, Italian, and Tartar Languages; history, geography, mathematics, algebra, architecture, fortification, artillery, drawing and painting, music, fencing, dancing, reading, and writing. There are twenty-three professors; amongst these, the Syllabus informed me, that Mr. Alexief teaches divinity two hours in the week. Mr. Matthæi, professor and rector of both seminaries, explains some of Cicero's Orations and select Epistles, Libanius's Letters, Ernesti's oratorical Essays, Xenophon's Anabasis, teaches the Roman antiquities from Burman's Compendium, and continues his usual Latin exercises upon oratory. Mr. Sinkovski, every morning from seven to nine, treats of the principles of rhetoric, particularly concerning the Periodologia, both as to theory and practice, from Burgius's Elementa Oratoria; explains Cæsar's Commentaries and Justin: employs his scholars in Latin and Russian translations, and in the etymology and syntax of the Greek tongue; reads Plutarch *ἐν πτυχῇ* and, from nine to twelve on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays, Ovid's Metamorphosis, and connects mythology with ancient history and geography. Mr. Tsherbotareff, extraordinary professor of logic and morality, and under-librarian to the university, four hours in the week, comments upon Heineccii elementa philosophiæ rationalis et moralis, as well in the original Latin, as in the Russian* translation, for the benefit of those who are unacquainted with the Latin tongue. Mr. Urbanski gives instructions in rhetoric from the Compendium of Burgius, both in theory and practice. Mr. Holberstorf explains count Tessin's letters to a young prince.†

The account of the Greek manuscripts in the library of the Holy Synod at Moscow, presented to me by the director, bore this title: "Notitia codicum manuscriptorum Græcorum Bibliothecarum Mosquensium sanctissimæ synodi Ecclesiæ orthodoxæ Græco-Russicæ, cum variis anecdotis, tabulis acneis et indicibus locupletissimis. Edidit Christianus Fredericus Matthæi, Gymnasiorum Universitatis Mosquensis Rector. Mosquæ, typis Universitatis, anno 1776," folio. The author is Christian Frederic Matthæi, a learned German, who was educated at Leipsic under the celebrated Ernesti, and had already displayed his erudition by several excellent editions of the classics. Being drawn to Moscow by the liberality of the empress, he was appointed a professor of this university. Soon after his arrival, he turned his attention to the state of Greek literature, and ex-

* His præcipue, qui linguæ Latinæ sunt ignari, nec sua studia academica in universitate ulterius prosecqui possunt.

† The king of Sweden when prince royal.

explored the curious collection of Greek manuscripts in the library of the Holy Synod, the greater part of which had, at the suggestion of the patriarch Nikon, been collected by the monk Arsenius from the monastery of Mount Athos.

As a catalogue of these manuscripts, published by Athanasius Schida, at the command of Peter the Great, was exceedingly inaccurate, Matthæi* was encouraged by prince Potemkin, the great patron of ancient literature, who defrayed the expence of the publication, to undertake this work upon a more extensive plan. Accordingly, in 1776, the learned editor gave to the public the first part, in which he has laid down an accurate and circumstantial detail of fifty-one manuscripts, accompanied with judicious remarks and critical inquiries. He describes the materials upon which each manuscript is written; specifies the age, contents, and author, the number of pages, and the first and last words: he points out also the different proprietors. The author proposes to continue the publication at different intervals, until he has finished the account. But as it would require many years thus minutely to describe all the manuscripts, which amount to five hundred and two; the learned author has, in the mean while, favoured the public with a complete catalogue in a less circumstantial manner.† To this index is prefixed a satisfactory and comprehensive introduction; in which, after informing us that he compiled it for the use of prince Yusapof, an enthusiast in Greek literature, he gives a brief account of the principal manuscripts. He enumerates several of the Septuagint, and one in particular of the Books of Kings, which is of the ninth century, and contains, in some places, many various readings, materially differing from the printed editions. He mentions also several of the New Testament; some accompanied with ancient commentaries, which have never been published, and which the ingenious author has transcribed, collated, and prepared for the press. The most ancient of these was written at different periods: the first part so early as the seventh or eighth century, and the remainder in the twelfth or thirteenth. This collection he adds, though chiefly confined to theological subjects, is by no means deficient in the classics; among which he notices Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, Demosthenes, Æschines, Hesiod, Pausanias, Plutarch, and a most beautiful Strabo, which he has collated for the new edition of that author, preparing for the Clarendon press by Mr. Falkener of Oxford.‡

In this library of the Holy Synod Matthæi discovered an ancient hymn to Ceres in a manuscript of Homer, written about the conclusion of the fourteenth century, but which he supposes a transcript from an ancient and valuable copy; this manuscript, beside a fragment of the Iliad, contained the sixteen hymns usually attributed to Homer, in the same order as they are generally printed. At the end of the sixteenth he found twelve verses of a hymn to Bacchus, and a hymn to Ceres, which, excepting the last part, was entire. Matthæi, well acquainted with the delays which would attend the publication at Moscow, sent a copy of the hymn to the celebrated Runkenius, of the university of Leyden, who gave it to the public in 1780; and twenty lines being omitted by mistake, he put forth a second edition in the following year.§

* Harris has enumerated the editions published by Matthæi. *Philos. Inquiries*, p. 564.

† "Index codicum manuscriptorum Græcorum Bibliothecarum Mosquensium sanctissimæ Synodi ecclesiæ orthodoxæ. Græco-Russicæ; edidit Christianus Fredericus Matthæi. Pretopoli, typis Academiæ Scientiarum, 1780," 4to.

‡ It was a considerable disappointment to me, that Mr. Matthæi was absent from Moscow during my continuance in that city, as I should have derived great information from his acquaintance. I have likewise to regret, that, on account of his absence, I could not obtain a sight of these manuscripts.

§ *Homeri Hymnus in Cererem nunc primum editus a Davide Runkenio.*

The learned editor has prefixed a critical disquisition, in which he asserts that the hymn is undoubtedly of great antiquity, and written, if not by Homer himself, yet certainly by a very diligent imitator of his style and phrascology. Though the style and plan of this hymn appears to me (as well as to the celebrated editor) inferior to Homer, and in some places unworthy of him; yet this argument, depending on the taste and feelings of the reader, will not operate on all with equal force; nor will even they who allow its inferiority to the other productions of the divine poet, be inclined to grant the conclusion, that it is not his work; because Homer might in one particular composition fall below his usual standard of excellence. A stronger proof against its originality may be drawn from the words, phrases, and inflexions occurring in this poem, which are either of a later date, than the age of Homer, or not found in his unsuspected works. Some of these are enumerated by the editor.*

CHAPTER VI.

Retail Trade in the Khitaigorod....Market for the Sale of Houses....Excellence of the Police in Cases of Riot or Fire....Chess common in Russia....Account of the Poudling Hospital....Excursion to the monastery of the Holy Trinity....Delays of the Post....Description of the Monastery....Tomb and History of Maria Titular queen of Livonia....Tomb and Character of Boris Godunof.

MOSCOW is the centre of the inland commerce of Russia, and connects the trade between Europe and Siberia.

The navigation to this city is formed solely by the Moskva, which falling into the Occa near Colomna, communicates by means of that river with the Volga.* But as the Moskva is only navigable in the spring, on the melting of the snow, the principal merchandise is conveyed on sledges in winter.

Almost the whole retail commerce of the city is carried on in the Khitaigorod, where, according to a custom common in Russia, as well as in most kingdoms of the East, the shops and warehouses are collected in one spot. The place is like a kind of fair, consisting of many rows of low brick buildings; the interval between them resembling alleys. These shops or booths occupy a considerable space, and do not, as with us, make part of the houses inhabited by the tradesmen, but are usually detached from their dwellings, which are mostly at some distance in another quarter of the town. The tradesman comes to his shop in the morning, and returns to his family in the afternoon. Every trade has its separate department; and they who sell the same goods have booths adjoining to each other. Furs and skins form the most considerable article of commerce in Moscow, and the shops vending those commodities occupy several streets.†

Among the curiosities of Moscow, I must not omit the market for the sale of houses. It is held in a large open space, in one of the suburbs, and exhibits ready-made houses, strewed on the ground. The purchaser who wants a dwelling, repairs to this spot, mentions the number of rooms he requires, examines the different timbers, which are regularly numbered, and bargains for that which suits his purpose. The house is sometimes

* The classical reader, who is desirous of further information relative to the genuineness of this ancient poem, is referred to the last edition of the hymn by Runkenius, and to the preface of Mr. Hole's Translation.

† For the communication of the Volga with the Baltic, see the chapter on the inland Navigation of Russia.

‡ According to Storsch, the number of shops and warehouses in Moscow amount to six thousand, of which the Khitaigorod contains four thousand and seventy-five.

paid for on the spot and removed by the purchaser; or the vender contracts to transport and erect it upon the place where it is designed to stand. It may seem incredible, that a dwelling may be thus bought, removed, raised, and inhabited, within the space of a week; but it will appear easily practicable by considering that these ready-made houses are in general merely collections of trunks of trees, tenanted and mortised at each extremity, so that nothing more is required than the labour of transporting and adjusting them.

But this summary mode of building is not always peculiar to the meaner hovels; as wooden structures of large dimensions and handsome appearance are occasionally formed in Russia, with an expedition almost inconceivable to the inhabitants of other countries. A remarkable instance of this dispatch was displayed during the last visit of the empress to Moscow. Her majesty proposed to reside in the mansion of prince Galitzin, which is esteemed the completest edifice in this city; but as it was not sufficiently spacious for her reception, a temporary addition of wood, larger than the original house, and containing a magnificent suit of apartments, was finished within the space of six weeks. This meteor-like fabric was so handsome and commodious, that the materials were afterwards taken down and re-constructed upon an eminence near the city, as an imperial villa.

In Moscow I observed an admirable police for preventing riots, or stopping the course of people in case of fires, which are very frequent in those parts where the houses are mostly of wood, and the streets laid with timber. At the entrance of each street is a chevaux-de-frize gate, one end turning upon a pivot, and the other rolling upon a wheel; near it is a centry-box, in which a man is occasionally stationed. In times of riot or fire the centinel shuts the gate, and all passage is immediately stopped.

Chess is so common in Russia, that during our continuance at Moscow, I scarcely entered into any company where parties were not engaged in that diversion; and, in passing the streets, I frequently observed the tradesmen and common people playing before the doors of their shops or houses. The Russians are esteemed great proficients in chess. With them the queen has, in addition to the other moves, that of the knight, which, according to Phillidor, spoils the game, but which renders it more complicated, and of course more interesting. The Russians play also at chess with four persons at the same time, two against two; for which purpose the board is longer than usual, contains more men, and is provided with a greater number of squares. I was informed, that this mode is difficult but more agreeable, than the common manner.

Among the public institutions, the most remarkable is the Foundling Hospital, endowed by the empress in 1764, and supported by voluntary contribution, legacies, and other charitable gifts.* To encourage donations, her majesty grants to all benefactors some valuable privileges, and a certain degree of rank in proportion to the extent of their liberality. The hospital, situated in an airy part of the town on a gentle ascent near the river Moskva, is a large quadrangular building, part of which only was finished: it contained three thousand foundlings, and when the whole is completed, will receive eight thousand.

The children are received at the porter's lodge, and admitted without recommendation. The rooms are lofty and large; the dormitories, which are separate from the work rooms, are airy, and the beds not crowded: each foundling, even each infant, has a separate bed; the bedsteads are of iron; the sheets are changed once, and the linen

* Besides these occasional supplies, the institution is supported by a lottery, tax upon public entertainments, and cards, which are stamped by the Foundlings Hospital. Richer Skizze von Moskau.

three times a week. I was particularly struck with the neatness of the rooms; even the nurseries were uncommonly clean, and without unwholesome smells. No cradles are allowed, and rocking is forbidden. The infants are not swaddled according to the custom of the country, but loosely dressed.

The director obligingly favoured us with his company, and shewed us the foundlings at their respective works. On his appearance the children crowded round him; some took hold of his arm; some held by his coat; others kissed his hand, and all expressed the highest satisfaction. These natural and unfeigned marks of regard were convincing proofs of his mildness and good nature; for children when ill used, naturally crouch before those who have the management of them. I could be no judge whether the children were well instructed, and the regulations well observed; but I was perfectly convinced, from their behaviour, that they were in general happy and contented, and perceived from their looks that they were remarkably healthy; a circumstance owing to the uncommon care which is paid to cleanliness both in their persons and rooms.

The foundlings are divided into separate classes according to their respective ages. The children remain in the nursery two years, at the end of which term they are admitted into the lowest class; the boys and girls continue together until they are seven years of age, at which period they are separated. Both sexes are instructed in reading, writing, and casting accounts. The boys are taught to knit, card hemp, flax, and wool, and to work in the different manufactories. The girls learn to knit, net, and perform all kinds of needle work; they spin and weave lace, and are employed in cookery, baking, and house work.

At the age of fourteen the foundlings enter into the first class, and have the liberty of choosing any particular branch of trade; for which purpose different species of manufactures are established in the hospital; the principal are embroidery, silk stockings, ribbons, lace, gloves, buttons, and cabinet work. A separate room is appropriated to each trade. Some are instructed in the French and German languages, and a few of the boys in the Latin tongue; others learn music, drawing, and dancing. About the age of twenty, the foundlings receive a sum of money, and several other advantages, which enable them to follow their trade in any part of the empire: a considerable privilege in Russia, where the peasants are slaves, and cannot leave their village without the permission of their master.

In another visit which I paid to this hospital, I saw the foundlings at dinner: the girls and boys dine separately. The dining rooms, which are upon the ground floor, are large and vaulted, and separate from their work rooms. The first class sit at table, the rest stand; the little children are attended by servants; but those of the first and second class alternately wait upon each other. The dinner consisted of beef and mutton boiled in broth, with rice; I tasted both, which were remarkably good: the bread was very sweet, and baked in the house, chiefly by the foundlings. Each foundling has a napkin, pewter plate, knife, fork, and spoon: the napkin and table cloth are clean three times in the week. They rise at six, dine at eleven, and sup at six. The little children have bread at seven, and at four. When employed in their necessary occupations, the utmost freedom is allowed, and they are encouraged to be as much in the air as possible. The whole was a lovely sight; and the countenances of the children expressed the utmost content and happiness.

In the hospital is a theatre, of which the decorations are the work of the foundlings: they constructed the stage, painted the scenes, and made the dresses. I was present at the representation of the *Honnête Criminel*, and the comic opera *Le Devin du Village*, both translated into the Russian tongue. Not understanding the language, I could be no

judge whether they spoke with propriety ; but was surprised at the ease with which they trod the stage, and pleased with the gracefulness of their action. There were some agreeable voices in the opera. The orchestra was filled with a band by no means contemptible, which consisted entirely of foundlings, excepting the first violin, who was their music-master. On this occasion the play was not, as usual, concluded with a ballet, because the principal performer was indisposed, which was no small disappointment, as they dance ballets with great taste and elegance. The empress, I am told, is induced to countenance theatrical representations, which appear improper in a seminary of this kind, from a desire of diffusing among her subjects a taste for that species of entertainment, which she considers a means of civilization, and of enriching the Russian theatres with a constant supply of performers.

Many and great are the advantages of this excellent charity. It diffuses a knowledge of the arts among the people, increases the number of free subjects, and above all has considerably diminished the horrid practice of infanticide, so prevalent before the institution of this hospital.

We were unwilling to quit this part of the country without visiting Troitskoi Kloster, or the monastery of the Holy Trinity, which is distinguished in the annals of this country as the asylum for the Russian sovereigns in cases of insurrection ; and is more particularly known to foreigners for the refuge it afforded to Peter the Great when he put an end to the administration of his sister Sophia.*

The distance from Moscow to the monastery being forty miles, we ordered post horses to be ready at five in the morning, with an intention of viewing the convent, and returning by night. We hoped to complete the excursion in the time proposed ; but obstacles continually occur in foreign countries, unforeseen by those who are not sufficiently acquainted with the manners of the natives ; and an ignorance of the most trivial circumstances, which better information might easily have obviated, produces considerable embarrassment. Some petty distresses of this nature lengthened our expedition from one to three days.

We rose at five in the morning, but were detained by want of post horses, which we found great difficulty in procuring, although the order was signed both by the governor of the province and of the city, and we importuned the post-master with repeated messages. The case is, that the price for the hire of horses being inconsiderable, the owners can employ them in other services to greater advantage ; and on this account a stranger, unless accompanied with a Russian soldier to quicken the expedition of those who furnish the post, must meet with infinite delays. We were, indeed, strongly advised by some of our acquaintance to use this precaution, but imprudently omitted it, to our great inconvenience, as we soon experienced.

After waiting nine hours, we at length thought ourselves fortunate in seeing the post-horses make their appearance about two in the afternoon ; and set off with an expectation of proceeding without interruption to Bretofshina, where a relay was waiting for us. But the drivers stopping at a village only four miles from Moscow, peremptorily refused to carry us any further. In vain we produced the order for horses ; they contended that it authorised us only to take them from village to village, and on the strength of that construction returned without further ceremony to Moscow. Two hours more were employed, and much broken Russian spoken by our Bohemian interpreter, before we were able to prevail on the inhabitants to supply us with horses, and were again deposited in a village about the distance of three miles ; where all the old process of alter-

* See chap. viii.

ation, threats, and promises, was renewed. In this manner we continued wrangling and proceeding from village to village, which were thickly scattered in this part of the country, until near midnight, when we found ourselves at Klisma, only seventeen miles from Moscow, and took up our lodging in a peasant's cottage. Our Bohemian servant having fortunately devoted great part of the night in rambling to different houses, and adjusting the difficult negotiation for fresh horses, we were able to depart almost by day-break, and had the still farther satisfaction to pass over the immense space of seven miles without either halt or delay; so that by eight in the morning we reached Bretofshina, half-way between Moscow and the convent. Here we found a Russian serjeant, whom prince Volkonski had obligingly sent forwards to procure horses, and accompany us during the remainder of our journey; the experience of the preceding day taught us the value of this military attendant.

At Bretofshina we viewed a palace built by Alexey Michaelovitch, in which he frequently resided: it is a long wooden building, painted yellow, only one story in height, containing a suite of small and low rooms. This palace (if it deserves that name) has long been uninhabited. The empress, pleased with the beauty of the situation, and respecting the favourite residence of Peter the Great's father, proposed to build a large brick palace near the site of the old mansion, and part of the materials were already collected for that purpose. On our return to the village we ordered the horses, and were pleased to find our order obeyed almost as soon as issued: we had, indeed, a successful agent in our friend the serjeant; for the peasants, who were beginning to wrangle, and make their usual altercations, were instantly dispersed by his cudgel, whose eloquence was more persuasive than the most pathetic remonstrances. The boors were certainly accustomed to this species of rhetoric; for they bore it patiently, and with perfect good humour; and, the moment they were seated on the box, began whistling and singing their national songs as usual. We now continued our route, and arrived at the convent, though distant from Bretofshina twenty miles, without once stopping to change horses.

Troitskoi Sergief Kloster, or the monastery of the Holy Trinity, at a little distance bears the appearance of a small town; and, like many convents in this country, is surrounded with high brick walls, strengthened with battlements and towers. The parapet is roofed with wood, and the walls and towers are provided with embrasures for muskets and cannon: the whole is surrounded by a deep ditch. This place withstood several sieges; and particularly baffled all the efforts of Ladislaus prince of Poland, who attacked it at the head of a large army.

Beside the convent or habitation for the monks, the walls enclose an imperial palace, and nine large churches constructed by different sovereigns. The convent is a range of buildings, encircling a court, and far too spacious for the present inhabitants: it formerly contained three hundred monks, together with a proportionate number of students, and was the richest ecclesiastical establishment in Russia. Their estates, as well as all the other church lands, being annexed to the crown, the members receive pensions. With the revenues the number of monks is greatly diminished, and they do not amount to one hundred. The habit is black, with a veil of the same colour; they eat no meat, and the discipline of the order is very strict. Within the convent is a seminary for the education of persons intended for the church, which contained about two hundred students.

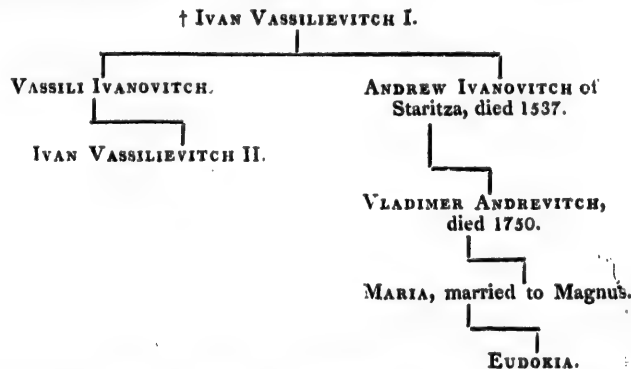
The imperial palace, which was much frequented when the sovereign resided at Moscow, is small; one of the apartments is ornamented with representations in stucco of the principal actions of Peter the Great. The nine churches are splendid, and extremely rich in gold and silver ornaments, and costly vestments. The principal church

has a cupola of copper gilt, and four domes, of tin or iron painted green. We ascended a new belfry, built by the empress Elizabeth, which is not an inelegant piece of architecture; it commands a fine view of the adjacent country, which is gently waving, richly cultivated, producing much grain, and thickly strewed with villages. The archimandrite or abbot of the monastery being absent, we could not obtain permission to see the library, which occasioned some regret, because, according to Busching, it contains a curious collection of books.*

In the principal church a few tombs drew my attention.

The first was that of Maria queen of Livonia, probably the only person who ever bore that title, an empty honour, which she may truly be said to have purchased at a dear rate. Maria, lineally descended from Ivan Vassilievitch I, was a relation of Ivan II.† She espoused, in 1573, Magnus duke of Holstein,‡ and titular king of Livonia, who was raised to that dignity by Ivan Vassilievitch II, in an extraordinary manner. Livonia, bordering upon Russia, Sweden, and Poland, and reciprocally claimed and possessed by those three powers, was, in the middle of the sixteenth century, partly free, partly subject to Poland, and partly to the Swedes, when the Tzar made an irruption, and conquered a small portion. Well acquainted, however, with the aversion of the natives to the Russian sceptre, he declared that he entered their country with no interested views; had no other ambition than to rescue them from the Swedish yoke; and, renouncing all right of conquest, would only style himself their protector: he exhorted them to elect for their sovereign Magnus, brother of Frederic II, king of Denmark, who, in the capacity of bishop of Pilten, had some pretensions to Livonia. This proposal being cheerfully agreed to by a great party among the natives, the Tzar dispatched an embassy to Magnus, who accepted the proffered crown; and repairing without delay to Moscow, was formally installed in

* Busching's *Erd-beschreibung*, vol. i. p. 852.



‡ Magnus was son of Christian III, king of Denmark, and is known in history by several different appellations. He is sometimes styled king of Livonia, from his mock sovereignty in that country; sometimes duke of Holstein, from his inheriting a portion of that duchy on the decease of his father; and bishop of Æsel, from his exchanging his part of Holstein for the bishoprics of Æsel and Courland, which he secularized. Holberg, the Danish historian, mentions a bond for 1500 marks, which was signed: "We Magnus, by the grace of God, lord of Æsel and Wick, bishop of Courland, administrator of the bishopric of Reval, heir of Norway, duke of Schleswick, Holstein, Stormar, and Ditmarsh, count of Oldenburgh and Delmenhurst." Titles, as the historians remark, which could not procure him even a small sum of money without his bond. Holberg, vol. ii. p. 488.

his new dignity, upon condition of espousing Maria, and paying an annual tribute to the Tzar.

Magnus, however, being opposed by the Swedes, who maintained a large army in Livonia, and not unanimously acknowledged even by the natives, was still only a titular sovereign; and after a fruitless attempt to take possession of his crown, continued to display his mock dignity at Moscow. At length, in 1577, being escorted to Livonia by the Tzar, at the head of fifty thousand troops, he obtained the town and territory of Wenden, the remainder of the province being reserved to Russia.

Magnus was scarcely admitted into Wenden, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy, than, despising a precarious sovereignty, he was prevailed upon by his new subjects to form a secret alliance with the king of Poland, and counteract the Tzar's progress in Livonia. Ivan, apprised of this negotiation, laid immediate siege to Wenden with a numerous army, and compelled the inhabitants to capitulate. Magnus himself carried the terms of capitulation, and, advancing to supplicate the incensed monarch, threw himself at his feet, and interceded for the town. The Tzar, spurning at him with his foot,* and striking him on the face, loaded him with reproaches for his ingratitude, and ordered him to prison; and entering the town, his troops committed every species of horror and devastation. Many of the principal inhabitants, retiring into the citadel, determined to defend it to the last extremity; but perceiving all resistance fruitless, and expecting no quarter, they calmly assembled, received the sacrament, and destroyed themselves by blowing up the citadel. Thus ended the kingdom of Livonia, four years after it was erected into a sovereignty. Magnus obtained his enlargement by paying a considerable sum of money; and repaired, with his consort Mary, to Pilten in Courland, where he died in 1583, in extreme distress.† After the death of her husband, Maria was enticed in Russia, and thrown into a nunnery, with her only daughter Eudokia.‡ She was never released from her confinement, and the time of her decease is uncertain. The remains, both of the queen and her daughter, were deposited in the convent of the Holy Trinity.

In the same church repose the ashes of Boris Feodorovitch Godunof, who, upon the demise of Feodor Ivanovitch in 1597, was raised from a private station to the throne of Russia. It is a circumstance extremely favourable to a virtuous conduct, that a sovereign cannot commit one flagrant offence without suffering the imputation of many others; and that suppositious cruelties are always added to acts of real tyranny. This was the fate of Boris Godunof, who, having deservedly acquired the detestation of pos-

* Henning, author of the Livonian Chronicle, relates this transaction more to the honour of Ivan. He is thus quoted by the authors of the Universal History, vol. xxxv. p. 242. "The Tzar laid siege to the place, till, at the earnest request of the citizens, Magnus, with only a few attendants, went into the Tzar's camp, and, falling on his knees, begged pardon for himself and the city. Basilowitz no sooner saw the king of Livonia thus prostrate before him, than he dismounted from his horse, and desired him to rise, returning him his sword, and, after reproaching him with the ingratitude of his late conduct, freely pardoned him and the city, and assured them of his protection. At this instant a cannon ball from the castle narrowly missed killing the Tzar; which so incensed him, that he mounted his horse and rode away directly, swearing by St. Nicholas, that, for this fresh instance of perfidy, every person in Wenden should suffer death. Magnus was then put under an arrest in a farm house, and obliged to sign an obligation, by which he engaged to pay the Tzar 40,000 Hungarian florins by the next Christmas, as a satisfaction for the money taken from Polubenski; in case of failure of payment at that time, to forfeit double the sum, and remain a prisoner at Moscow till the whole should be discharged." I have followed the principal historians of Sweden and Denmark, also Heidenstein, and Oderborg, who seem to have given the most probable account of this event.

† Holberg, vol. i. p. 488.

‡ Fletcher's state of Russia, chap. v.

terity by the perpetration of one crime, has been unjustly branded with infamy, even for those actions which merit the highest applause.

Boris Godunof was descended from a Tartar ancestor, who came into Russia in 1329, and, having embraced Christianity, assumed the name of Zachary. From Simon Godun, one of his descendants, the family was known by the surname of Godunof, and was greatly distinguished by the elevation of the personage now under consideration.

Boris, son of Feodor Ivanovitch, a nobleman of the Russian court, was born in 1522, and in the 20th year of his age appointed, by Ivan Vassilievitch II, to attend his son prince Ivan: being successively promoted to higher offices, and obtaining additional influence by the marriage of his sister Irene with Feodor Ivanovitch, he was, upon that monarch's succession to the throne, created privy counsellor, master of the horse, and invested with the sole direction of affairs.

Feodor dying without issue, the election fell unanimously upon Boris Godunof, who owed his elevation to the high opinion which all parties entertained of his capacity and wisdom; to the influence of his sister Irene, and to the artful manner with which he affected to decline, while he was most ambitious to possess, the crown. He deserved his elevation by his consummate abilities and popular manners; and, for his political and civil deportment, he is justly ranked among the greatest statesmen of his age.

Happy would it have been for himself and country, had he united moderation and humanity to these splendid qualities. His persecution of several noble families, who stood in the way of his ambitious designs, and still more the assassination* of Demetrius, brands his character with indelible infamy. But while we admit and detest in this instance the full extent of his guilt, let not our horror at this crime induce us to misrepresent his most laudable actions. Let us not assert, with his enemies, that to turn the attention of the people from the catastrophe of the prince, and to ingratiate himself in their favour by an act of public munificence, he purposely set fire to several parts of Moscow, that he might re-build them at his own expence! Nor let us, with equal absurdity and injustice, accuse him of privately inviting the Khan of the Tartars to invade Russia, that he might occupy the public with a foreign war, and acquire fresh glory by repelling the enemy!

We may add to the list of his suppositious crimes, that he poisoned Feodor; for the Tzar had long laboured under a declining state of health;† and, the year before his death, requested a physician from England.‡ Even his paternal attention and unbounded generosity towards his subjects during a famine, which soon after his elevation to the throne desolated Moscow, was turned into an accusation against him; for it was insinuated, that from an absurd delicacy, he would not permit foreigners to supply the Russians with corn, and that he joined several banditti in plundering the houses of the rich:§ calumnies ably and unanswerably refuted by Muller. But the brightest splendour of abilities, and even the most upright use of power, will not atone for the ill means of acquiring it; and the time arrived, when Boris paid the price for the assassination of

* This is not the proper place to inquire whether Demetrius was really assassinated, or whether he escaped? for the crime of Boris was the same, whether his orders were carried into execution, or eluded. See the next chapter.

† Fletcher says of Feodor, that he was inclining to a dropsy.

‡ As appears from a letter in the Russian archives.

§ This report, Mr. Muller conjectures, arose from his compelling the bishops and nobles, who had a superfluity of corn, to dispose of it to the poor at an under price, S. R. G. V.

Demetrius. The death and character of Boris Godunof are thus delineated by an impartial historian.*

The party of the pretended Demetrius increased daily, and the Russians flocked to him from all quarters. This circumstance, joined to the inactivity of the Russian army, had such an effect upon Boris, that, driven to despair, he swallowed poison.† He felt the first effects of the poison at dinner, and the symptoms were so violent, that he had scarcely time to enter into the monastic order before he expired. According to the Russian custom, he changed his name from Boris to Bogolep. His decease happened on the 13th of April, or the 24th, according to the new style, 1605, after a reign of eight years and two months.

"It must be allowed that his death was a great loss to Russia; for if we except the unjustifiable means by which he raised himself to the throne, and the cruelty with which he persecuted several illustrious families, particularly the house of Romanof, he must be esteemed an excellent sovereign. Ambition and revenge were his principal vices: on the contrary, penetration and sagacity, affability and munificence, political knowledge, diligence in the administration of affairs, assiduity in introducing into Russia the improvements of foreign nations, in a word, unwearied attention to promote the advantage of his country, and the welfare of his subjects, were conspicuous parts of his character. We are apt to overlook the vices of a sovereign in consideration of his princely virtues, and in this respect Boris is entitled to our esteem. When we add to these considerations the long chain of calamities which succeeded his death, his loss could not but be sensibly felt."

His remains were at first deposited in the imperial sepulchre at Moscow; but were afterwards removed to the convent of the Holy Trinity.‡

CHAPTER VII.

*History and Adventures of the Tzar who reigned under the name of Demetrius....
Seats himself on the throne....His Character....and Assassination....Probably the real
Demetrius.*

AMONG the tombs in the cathedral of St. Michael I had occasion to mention that of a child, called by the Russians Dmitri, or Demetrius, whose intricate and controverted history was reserved for a separate narrative.

Ivan Vassilievitch II, left two sons; Feodor who succeeded to the throne, and Demetrius, an infant, who was educated at Uglitz under the care of his mother the Tzarina Maria Feodorofna, and in the eighth year of his age was said to have been assassinated

* Muller, S. R. G. V. p. 247.

† Captain Margaret says, that he died of an apoplexy. Etat de la Russie, p. 118.

‡ For the History of Boris Godunof, see Muller, S. R. G. Vol. v. p. 27 to 249.

§ I had finished this chapter before the publication of L'Evesque's Histoire de Russie. That ingenious author has, in his account of the person who styled himself Demetrius, advanced many plausible arguments to shew, that he was probably not an impostor; and though they appear to me unanswerable, and it is easy to perceive that he entirely leans to that opinion, yet he candidly concludes with asserting, "Plusieurs objections que j'ai hazardées contre l'Imposture d'Otrepief me paraissent d'une grande force, je n'oserai cependant décider la question" See His. de Russ. v. iii. p. 226 to 236. It may serve, perhaps, as an additional proof in favour of Demetrius, that two foreigners, who visited Russia, both unbiassed by national prejudices, and without the least communication, should hold nearly the same opinion upon so intricate a subject.

by order of Boris Godunof.* The real circumstances of this assassination, being purposely withheld from the public, are variously related : and the following particulars are alone unquestionable. A body, supposed to be that of the young prince, was found weltering in its blood ; and certain persons, considered as the assassins, were instantly put to death by the inhabitants of Uglitz. The account of the catastrophe being transmitted to Moscow, Boris Godunof, after circulating a report that Demetrius had, in a fit of phrenzy, put a period to his own life, dispatched his creatures Vassili Shuiski and Cletchnin to inquire into the circumstances of his death. Having examined the body of the deceased, they declared it to be that of Demetrius, and confirmed the report. Maria Feodorofna, accused of gross inattention to her son's security was compelled to assume the veil, and confined in a convent ; many inhabitants of Uglitz, who spoke freely concerning the murder, were capitally punished ; some were imprisoned, and others banished.

Boris Godunof managed this horrid transaction with such art and secrecy, that scarcely any suspicions were entertained against him, until thirteen years afterwards a person made his appearance under the name of Demetrius : he declared that his mother, suspicious of the attempts against her son's life, had removed him from Uglitz, and substituted another child, who was assassinated in his place ; and that, being educated in a convent, and concealed from the knowledge of his persecutors, he had escaped from Russia into Poland. Being there admitted into the service of Wiesnovitski, a Pole of great distinction, he discovered himself to that nobleman, who warmly espoused his cause. Boris Godunof, having received intelligence of this unexpected claimant, disseminated a report, that the impostor, who assumed the name of Demetrius, was a monk styled Gregory or Griska Otrepief ; and spared neither threats nor bribes to obtain possession of his person. When these expedients failed of success, he dispatched his emissaries into Poland to assassinate him.

Wiesnovitski, alarmed for the safety of his fugitive recommended him to the protection of the senator George Mnishek Palatine of Sandomir, a nobleman of great consequence in Poland. Demetrius (if I may be allowed to call him by that name) being acknowledged by him the rightful heir of the Russian throne, was soon afterwards betrothed in marriage to the Palatine's daughter Marina, and, in the beginning of 1603, was introduced to Sigismond III, king of Poland. Being admitted to a public audience before the diet, he excited the compassion of the assembly by the affecting manner in which he related his adventures ; and though Sigismond and the diet regretted that the situation of their country prevented them from openly seconding his pretensions, yet they testified the most cordial attachment to his interests, and laid no prohibition on those nobles

* Muller relates from a Russian manuscript, that twelve persons were privy to the murder, amongst whom were the prince's nurse and her son, who perpetrated the deed ; that it was committed at mid-day in the court-yard of the palace, and that a bell-ringer who was upon the top of an adjoining cathedral, saw the whole transaction. Petreus asserts, that the prince was murdered during the confusion of a fire, purposely occasioned by one of the assassins. Margaret and Gravenbuck say that the assassin was son of the Tzarina Maria's secretary ; and it is generally affirmed, that it happened at midnight. The Russian authors naturally prefer the first account, because it was more difficult at mid-day to substitute a child. There is no reason to be surprised at these contradictory opinions, when it is considered, as L'Esque justly observes, " que Boris supprima tous les details de cet horrible affaire ; qu'il trompa le Tzar et le public. Le public fut donc alors mal instruit des circonstances de cet evenement, et le temps n'a pu y ajouter que de nouvelles obscurites. D'ailleurs, comme le dit Margaret, on observait en Russie un secret si profond sur toutes les affaires, qu'il e'rait fort difficile d'apprendre la verite de ce qu'on n'avait pas vu de ses yeux." Vol. iii. p. 228.

who might be disposed to engage in his support. By the assistance of his two patrons, Wiesnovitski and the palatine of Sendomir, Demetrius entered Russia in the month of August, 1604, at the head of 4000 Poles; and being soon joined by many Russians, particularly by the Cossacs of the Don, advanced almost without opposition to Novogorod Severskoi, and routed in December an army of 40,000 men; but was not long afterwards defeated with great slaughter, by prince Vassili Shuiski general of Boris Godunof. Eight thousand of his followers were either killed or taken prisoners, and all his artillery and colours fell into the hands of the enemy; his horse was wounded under him, and he himself escaped with difficulty.

This overthrow occasioned the defection of the Polish troops; and Demetrius himself, dismayed with his loss, would have retreated precipitately into Poland, had he not been dissuaded by the importunities of his Russian adherents; many of whom believed him to be the true Demetrius, and all dreaded the vengeance of Boris Godunof. Overcome by their entreaties he continued his march, and notwithstanding his late discomfiture, was soon at the head of a numerous army of Russians, who flocked to his standard from all quarters. Not only the populace, ever prone to credulity, but even men of the highest birth and quality, gave credit to his pretensions; not only the distant provinces supported his cause; but the people rose even at Moscow, and publicly proclaimed that Demetrius had escaped from his assassins, and claimed allegiance as their rightful sovereign. This insurrection was immediately quelled; but although Boris Godunof inflicted the severest punishment upon his adherents, though the patriarch published a ban of excommunication against him and his party, and though Vassili Shuiski affirmed that he had himself examined the body of the deceased prince at Uglitz; yet an universal belief spread through all ranks, that the pretender to the throne was the real son of Ivan Vassilievitch II.

The sudden death of Boris Godunof ensured the success of Demetrius. Feodor Borisovitch, declared successor to his father by the patriarch and nobles who were present at Moscow, was deserted by the principal generals of the Russian army, and by many persons of distinction. His troops at this inauspicious juncture were suddenly attacked and defeated; and those who escaped were persuaded to swear fealty to his rival, who, strengthened by this accession, advanced by hasty marches towards the capital without the least opposition; the highways were lined with people; the towns opened their gates with every demonstration of joy, while Demetrius supported the prepossession of the Russians in favour of his birth by the affability of his demeanour, and the gracefulness of his person. Having published a manifesto to the inhabitants of Moscow, with offers of clemency and favour on their return to their duty, they rose in arms, stormed the place, strangled Feodor Borisovitch, and recognised the title of Demetrius. On the 30th of June the new Tzar entered Moscow in triumph, and took possession of the throne with universal approbation. His pretensions to the crown, as real son of Ivan Vassilievitch, were confirmed by the public testimony of Maria Feodorofna, whom Boris Godunof had imprisoned in a distant monastery, and whom Demetrius, at his accession released from her confinement. Upon her approach to Moscow, on the 8th of July, he rode to meet her at the head of a numerous procession, and at the first appearance of her carriage, alighted from his horse, and ran to embrace her. The tenderness and affection which both parties displayed on this interesting occasion drew tears from the spectators; and the strong expressions of transport with which the Tzarina openly acknowledged him for her son, seemed to confirm the reality of his imperial lineage. Soon after this interview he was crowned with the usual pomp, and seemed firmly seated upon the throne, in the possession of which he would probably have maintained himself by a

conformity to the manners of his subjects, and by a prudent deference to their civil and religious establishment. But his avowed contempt of the Russian customs, and his public neglect of their religious ceremonies, soon alienated the affections of his subjects, and precipitated him from the throne as rapidly as he had ascended it.

Margaret, who had frequent access to the person of Demetrius, has sketched his portrait in a short but lively manner.

"He had no beard, was of a middle stature, and of dark complexion, his limbs were strong and nervous, and he had a wart under his right eye. He was active, spirited, and merciful, soon offended, and as soon appeased; liberal, ambitious, and desirous of making himself known to posterity; in a word, he was a prince who loved honour, and recommended it by his own example."*

If we should allow that Margaret has concealed many of his defects, and placed his virtues in the most advantageous light, yet the acrimony and injustice which appears in many parts of the following extracts from his character, as drawn even by Muller, the most candid of his opponents, will prevent impartial persons from giving implicit credit to the representations of his enemies.

"The false† Demetrius was of a middle size, dark complexion, and had one arm shorter than the other. He would have been esteemed not deficient in wisdom, had he not been so precipitate in his conduct, and had he conformed his behaviour to the disposition and temper of his subjects. In Poland he applied himself to the study of languages, arts, and sciences; he conversed in Latin‡ and Polish with fluency; he was well acquainted with history, and particularly with that of Russia and the neighbouring kingdoms, he was well versed in music, and possessed other liberal accomplishments. On account of his address and good fortune in obtaining the crown, he was esteemed a magician. Warlike exercise and hunting were his principal amusements. He had some knowledge of engineering and artillery, was fond of casting cannon, and shot with such skill as to surprise the most dexterous marksmen. He was zealous to improve the discipline of his army, for which purpose he would often review his troops, instruct them in different manœuvres, storm ramparts and fortifications; and as he was always foremost, and the most eager among the assailants, was often rudely handled in the fray.

"Desirous to be esteemed a patron of justice, he put to death several judges who were convicted of iniquitous practices. But was not this mode of proceeding rather a proof of his inclination to cruelty? and might it not arise from a desire of striking terror into his subjects?§

"His munificence, for which he has been extolled, was both extravagant and ill-placed; he heaped bounties upon Polish musicians and other minions, and drained the treasury by enormous expences.|| Like all voluptuaries he was fickle and impetuous.

* Margaret, p. 141.

† S. R. G. Vol. v. p. 302, &c.

‡ His understanding Latin has been urged against him as a proof that he was educated by the Jesuits. Margaret, however, positively asserts, that he was not in the least acquainted with that language. Il est tres certain qu'il ne parloit nullement Latin, j'en puis temoigner, moins le sçavoit il lire et ecrire. Ibid p. 163.

§ A supposition which shews a strong disposition in the opposite party to misrepresent the most favourable parts of his conduct.

|| The accounts of his extravagance were grossly exaggerated. He is said to have given orders for a throne of mass silver, supported by six lions of the same costly materials; and for a footstool of pure gold, for the ceremony of his coronation, studded with six hundred diamonds, six hundred rubies, six hundred sapphires, six hundred emeralds, six hundred Turkish stones; all of a large size, but some of the latter were as big as half a pigeon's egg. It must be remarked, that this footstool was already in the treasury

All his actions proved an extraordinary proneness to prefer his own precipitate resolutions to the most prudent advice, and to adopt the rashest measures. His sudden elevation rendered him insolent; he was so ambitious, that even the Russian empire appeared too small to satisfy his lust of dominion, and he extended his views to the reduction of Turkey and Tartary. His ebriety and incontinence were his most notorious vices, which frequently exposed him in the eyes of the public. Besides the princess Irene, the daughter of Boris Godunof, all who pleased him were sacrificed to his desires, without the least regard to rank or age.*

"On his accession to the throne he was easy of access, but gradually became suspicious of his subjects; he had a foreign guard, and often refused audience to the Russian nobility, when he admitted the Poles without reserve. He seemed to summon the privy-counsellors only for the purpose of turning them to ridicule. If a Russian lodged a complaint against a Pole, he could never obtain justice, and insult was added to injury. Probably this insolence was the chief cause of his subsequent misfortunes; and his fall would at least have been retarded, had he endeavoured to conciliate the affection of the principal nobles. But the circumstance which principally contributed to his loss of popularity, was the little reverence which he professed for the ceremonies of the Greek church. On his arrival at Moscow he entered the two cathedrals with drums beating and trumpets sounding; he paid no respect to the clergy; he made no distinction between fasts and festivals, would neither bow nor cross himself before the sacred paintings; he profaned the church by admitting foreigners at the time of divine service, and still more by the number of dogs which followed him upon the same occasion.

"He was not only so much attached to the Polish customs and dress as to prefer them upon all occasions; but he even ridiculed the Russian manners, and in every instance deviated from the examples of the Tzars his predecessors. Instead of showing himself to the people seldom, and only upon extraordinary occasions with a large retinue, he was accustomed to traverse the streets with a few servants; he commonly rode, and, as he was an excellent horseman, was generally mounted upon the most fiery steeds; he hunted frequently, had music at his repasts, never slept at mid-day, never bathed. These trifling circumstances were regarded in so serious a light, that the omission of them rendered him the object of general hatred; and it was commonly reported, that the person who could show such a distaste for the customs of his country, could never be descended from the race of ancient sovereigns. It was an obvious inference, to consider the despiser of his subjects as their enemy. Under such circumstances his destruction seemed inevitable;† and yet near a year elapsed before any tumult broke out. At length his marriage with a foreign lady closed the scene; and it would have been a wonder if he had continued any longer upon the throne."

when Demetrius ascended the throne, and was a present from the Sophy of Persia to Ivan Vassilievitch II, S. R. G. vol. v. p. 335. Many similar ornaments employed at his coronation had been used by the former sovereigns, who were crowned with Asiatic magnificence.

* These parts of his conduct were also greatly misrepresented. L'Evesque asserts, with great appearance of probability, that these reports of his incontinence were not founded in truth; and particularly denies that the princess Irene was sacrificed to his desires. Vol. iii. p. 202.

† Muller relates an account of a match with snow balls between the Russian soldiers and Poles; when the latter, at the command of Demetrius, filled the snow balls with sand and stones, by which the Russians (*blauc Augen und blutige Koepse bekamen*) received many black eyes and bloody heads. Such

Having in Poland betrothed himself to Marina, the daughter of the Palatine Mnischek, he dispatched a splendid embassy to demand her in marriage. The espousals were performed at Cracow, and the bride having made her entry into Moscow, accompanied with a large suite of Poles, was lodged in a nunnery until the solemnization of the nuptials: during this interval he disturbed the devotion of the holy sisterhood with repeated feasts, concerts, and balls, whereby he excited public horror, as a violator of religious discipline. By this infatuated behaviour he inflamed the disaffection of his subjects to such a degree, that a regular conspiracy was concerted against him. The leader was prince Vassili Ivanovitch Shuiski, the same person who had owed his life to the lenity of Demetrius, and on whom this act of clemency had no other effect than to render him more cautious in his subsequent machinations against his benefactor. Demetrius frequently received intimations from different quarters of a projected insurrection; the popular odium betrayed itself by the most alarming symptoms; persons were heard exclaiming in the streets, "the Tzar is an heretic, worse than a Turk, and not the son of Ivan Vassilievitch." But, either from a natural magnanimity that braved all danger, or from the inconsiderate levity of his character, he was insensible to all these prognostics; and by obstinately persevering in his unpopular conduct, seemed almost to invite destruction.

The insurrection broke out early in the morning on the 17th of May. The conspirators secured the principal avenues of the city; the great bell in the Kremlin, the common signal of alarm, was tolled; and a confused cry was spread among the people, that the Poles were preparing to massacre the inhabitants. Vassili Shuiski, who secretly inflamed the public discontents, led the way to the palace, bearing a cross in one hand, and a sabre in the other, accompanied by a vast multitude armed with the first weapons which chance presented. This party, having overpowered the guards, burst open the gates of the palace, and rushed towards the royal apartment. Demetrius, awakened by the tumult, summoned the few guards who were immediately about his person, and sallying, without a moment's deliberation, against his assailants, hewed down several of the foremost: being soon overborn by numbers, he attempted to retreat into the interior part of the palace; but, closely pressed by his pursuers, precipitated himself from a window into a court, and dislocated his thigh with the fall.

Being discovered in this deplorable condition, he was re-conveyed to the palace, and brought before Vassili Shuiski, who loaded him with reproaches for his imposture. Not

absurd accusations do not merit serious refutation. Many idle tales are also gravely related against him; and indeed every circumstance of his conduct was malevolently interpreted. Among the public diversions which he gave in honour of his marriage, was a fire work, in which a dragon was represented with three heads spitting out flames. Such a spectacle being uncommon in the country, affrighted the Russians; and it was reported that the Tzar had contrived it on purpose to alarm his subjects. The Poles were not wanting upon this and all other occasions to ridicule the ignorance and simplicity of the Russians, which increased the hatred against them and the sovereign who protected them. A wooden tower was also constructed near the city, which, upon a certain day, was to be attacked with a cannonade and stormed. After the assassination of Demetrius, Vassili Shuiski publicly asserted in a manifesto, that Demetrius intended to take the opportunity, which the storming of this tower presented, of massacring many inhabitants of Moscow. The gates of the city were to be suddenly shut, the cannon to be fired among the people, and those who escaped to be hewn in pieces by the Cossacs and Strelitzs, and the Russian nobles to be murdered by the Polish troops. This account, so improbable in itself, is only supported by the supposed confession of two Polish nobles, to whom Demetrius is said to have revealed it a day or two before his assassination; but we may more justly believe it to have been a calumny, invented by Vassili Shuiski, to render the memory of his rival more odious. See S. R. G. vol. v. 342. 346.

dismayed however, with the menaces of his enemy, he persisted* in maintaining himself to be the real son of Ivan Vassilievitch II, and appealed to the testimony of his mother, who resided in a neighbouring convent. The firmness and consistency of his asseverations made a considerable impression upon many of the Russian soldiers, who peremptorily declared, that they would protect him from all injury, unless Maria Feodorofna formally renounced him as her son. On this unexpected declaration, Vassili Shuiski, accompanied by some Russian nobles of his party, repaired to the convent, and returned instantly with the following answer from the princess; "the real Demetrius was slain at Uglitz; the person who at present assumes his name is an impostor; and I was constrained by menaces to acknowledge him for my son." On the delivery of this message, the unhappy monarch was instantly sacrificed to the fury of his enemies. Neither was their vengeance appeased by his death, but extended even to his inanimate body; it was pierced with repeated wounds, stripped and exposed for three days to the insults of the populace; it was then deposited in the public charnel house, and afterwards† reduced to ashes, from a notion that the earth would be polluted by the interment of so unholy a corpse.

The assassination of Demetrius was followed by a general tumult; the houses of foreigners were pillaged; and not only the Poles, who fell into the hands of the people, but even many Russians who wore the Polish dress, were massacred. Though this state of anarchy lasted only ten hours, yet more than two thousand persons lost their lives. The dreadful scene was finally closed by the election of Vassili Ivanovitch Shuiski to the throne of Russia. Manifestos‡ were immediately published, in which the new Tzar justified his conduct, and detailed the history and fortunes of his predecessor, whom he pronounced an adventurer, whose real name was Griska Otrepiet. He ascribes to him an intention of extirpating the principal Russian nobility, and of introducing the Roman Catholic religion into Russia; accuses him of holding a correspondence with the pope for that purpose; insinuates that he had even promised to cede the provinces of Smolensko and Severia to the king of Poland; represents him as an heretic and a sorcerer; displays, in the most odious colours, his aversion to the manners and customs of the Russians, his attachment to foreigners, and expatiates with much art upon every part of his character which was most likely to excite the public abhorrence. A few days afterwards a manifesto appeared in the name of the Tzarina Maria Feodorofna, in which she apologizes for having owned the impostor for her son, and again acknowledges that the real Demetrius was assassinated at Uglitz; that the impostor, at their interview near Moscow, first accosted her alone,§ and threatened her and her family with the most cruel torments, if she refused to recognise him as her offspring.

* Mr. Muller says, all the Russian writers declare, that he confessed his imposture: but it is certain that he did not; otherwise why did Vassili Shuiski repair to the convent to obtain the Tzarina's declaration, when his own confession would have been fully sufficient.

† It seems, by other accounts, that the body was first buried without the city; and that the multitude flocked in crowds to the place. "The common people believed that music was heard in the night, and that spectres were seen hovering about the place where he was buried. For these reasons the body was dug up, and shot from the mouth of a cannon." Schmid: R. G. vol. i. p. 362. The author of the Russian Impostor also writes, "the people dug up his poor carcase out of an obscure grave, and after a repetition of barbarities upon him, they burnt the body, and scattered the ashes in the air," p. 125.

‡ Mr. Muller found these manifestos in the archives of Tshernin. S. R. G. 347, 364, 366.

§ Habe mit ihr geredet ohne dass jemand von den Boiarnen, oder andern Leuten, dabey seyn doerfen, S. R. G. vol. v. p. 367. Margaret, who was probably present at this interview, says expressly, "apres conferences d'un quart d'heur, en presence de tous les nobles et de ceux de la ville," &c. p. 124.

All these allegations, however, thus urged against the pretensions of Demetrius, could not efface the prepossessions entertained by the generality of the Russians in favour of his imperial descent. A fresh insurrection was hourly expected, and some transient tumults took place, in which Vassili Shuiski narrowly escaped destruction. In this critical state of affairs he had recourse to an expedient, for the purpose of appeasing the public suspicions. A rumour being spread, that the body of the young prince, formerly murdered at Uglitz, had performed miracles, a deputation of several bishops and nobles was dispatched to take up the hallowed corpse from the sepulchre, and to transport it to Moscow.

"Upon opening the tomb," relates Muller from the Russian archives, "an agreeable odour filled the whole church; the body was uncorrupted, and the very clothes entire; one of his hands grasped some nuts that were sprinkled with blood, and which the young prince had been eating at the instant of his assassination. His relics were carried in great state to Moscow; on their approach to the city they were met by Vassili Shuiski, the widow of Ivan Vassilievitch II, and a large concourse of people, and deposited with much solemnity in the cathedral of St. Michael. During the procession, many troubled with various disorders were miraculously restored to health: after the body was placed in the cathedral, thirteen sick persons declared themselves relieved of their complaints by the interposition of the saint, and the same number were healed on the ensuing day."*

Let us contrast this account with the relation of the opposite party.

"On the 4th of June a dispute concerning Demetrius arose between the Strelitz and the people, who asserted that he was not an impostor. The Tzar and the boyars cry out, the people shall have ocular demonstration, that the true Demetrius was killed at Uglitz; his body is now removing to Moscow, and has performed many stupendous miracles. The boyars procured a poor man's child, about thirteen years of age, cut its throat, and having committed it for a few days to the ground, conveyed it to Moscow, showed it to the people, and declared that this was the true Demetrius, whose body, although long interred, was still uncorrupted, which the foolish multitude believed, and were appeased."†

The reader will judge which of these two accounts is most likely to be true.

With respect to myself, I shall only add, that having endeavoured to examine the history of the Tzar Demetrius without prejudice or partiality, I am strongly inclined to believe that he was not an impostor, but the real personage whose name he assumed.‡

* S. R. G. vol. v. p. 371.

† Payerne in Schmidt Russ. Gess. vol. i. 354.

‡ For the history of Demetrius, see Petreius Moscov. Chron. Margaret's Estat de la Russie, p. 18 and 19, 111, 175. Payerne in Schmidt Russ. Ges. vol. ii. and particularly Muller's S. R. G. vol. v. p. 181 to 380. That ingenious author has drawn together, in one point of view, the principal events of this troublesome æra, and has reconciled, as much as possible, the contradictory accounts of the different writers: and though he has adopted the Russian prejudices, yet he has given the arguments of the opposite party with as much candour as could be expected from an author who wrote in Russia.

Since the publication of this chapter, the death of Muller allows me to declare (what delicacy at that time prevented me from asserting) his full conviction that the Tzar was the real Demetrius. "As his imposture," he said "is an article of faith, I could not venture to publish my real opinion in this country. But in perusing my account with attention, you will perceive that the arguments which I have advanced in favour of the imposture, are weak and inconclusive." He added, smiling, "If you write on the subject, refute me with freedom; but do not mention my confession during my life time." He then related a conversation with the empress on this subject, when she was at Moscow. "I am informed," she said, "that you doubt whether Griska was an impostor; tell me freely what is your opinion?" Muller respectfully evaded the question; but being still further pressed, replied, "your majesty is well

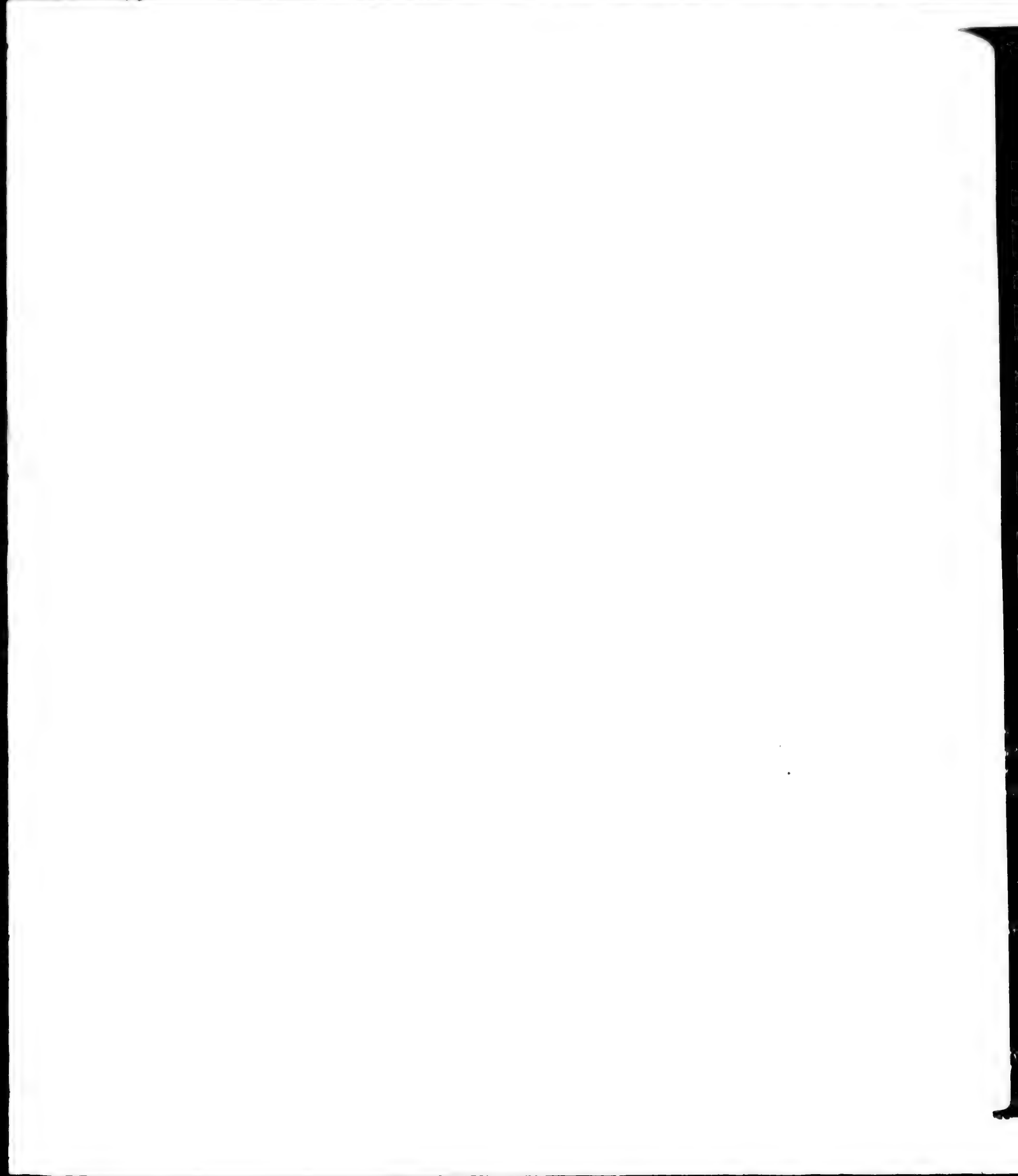
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CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Princess Sophia Alexiefna....Misrepresentation of her Character....Justification of her Conduct....Her Fall and Imprisonment....Unjustly accused of attempting to assassinate Peter....She assumes the Veil....Her Death.

SCARCELY any portion in the annals of this country is more important than the minority of Peter the Great; and no character more grossly misrepresented than that of his sister Sophia Alexiefna, who governed Russia during that period. This illustrious princess united many personal and mental accomplishments; but as she headed a party in opposition to Peter, the idolatry universally paid to him has contributed to diminish the lustre of her administration.

I was led into these reflections from a visit which I paid to the Devitchei nunnery in the suburbs of Moscow, where Sophia was confined during the last seventeen years of her life; and as we have scarcely any knowledge of her character but through the medium of her adversaries, I shall throw together a few particulars, which induce me to judge favourably of her conduct.*

acquainted that the body of the true Demetrius is deposited in the cathedral of St. Michael; that he is adored as a saint, and his relics perform miracles. What will become of these relics should Griska be proved to be the real Demetrius?" "True," returned the empress, smiling, "but let me know what would be your opinion if these relics did not exist?" Muller, however, still prudently declined giving a direct answer, and the empress urged him no farther.

This confession of Mr. Muller, who was the most able advocate of the opinion, that the Tzar was an impostor, might perhaps render it unnecessary to reprint the remaining part of the chapter, which was principally employed in refuting his arguments; but for the satisfaction of the reader, who may wish to see the statements on both sides of the question it is inserted in the Appendix.

* Three foreign writers have principally contributed to render the character of Sophia extremely odious.

1. The first is Gordon, in his "Life of Peter the Great." But his testimony is extremely exceptionable, as well on account of his partiality to Peter, as because he was prejudiced against prince Vassili Galitzin, Sophia's prime minister, for having degraded his relation and patron general Patrick Gordon. See Korb Diarium, p. 216.

2. The second author is La Neuville, in his "Relation de la Moscovie," who dignifies himself with the title of Envoy from the king of Poland to the court of Moscow, and is generally supposed to have been resident in that city at the time of Sophia's fall. His authority, therefore, is deemed unquestionable, and the enemies of this princess have not failed to cite it in proof of their accusations. Any person, however in the least conversant with the history of Russia will perceive in this work the grossest contradictions, and the most absurd tales. The author, after loading the character of Sophia with more deceit and cruelty than ever disgraced a Tiberius, or a Cæsar Borgia, affects the most perfect knowledge of the secret cabals, between her and prince Galitzin: he asserts their intention of marrying, of re-uniting the Greek and Latin churches, of compelling Peter to assume the monastic habit, or, if that failed, of assassinating him, of declaring the children of Ivan illegitimate and of securing the throne to themselves and their heirs. And as if this chimerical project was sure of success, he adds prince Galitzin had still further views: he hoped, by re-uniting Russia to the Roman catholic church to obtain the pope's permission (if he should survive Sophia) to appoint his son successor to the throne, in preference to those whom he should have by the princess, while his wife was alive. But such absurd accounts carry their own refutation, and the writer who retails them must surely deserve no credit even should he be "le témoin oculaire," as Voltaire styles him, "de ce qui se passa." But the truth is, this envoy to Moscow is a suppositious person: the author was Adrien Baillet, who styled himself de la Neuville, from a village of that name, in which he was born, and was never in Russia. The "Relation de la Moscovie," was published at the Hague in 1699; and was probably compiled by the author from the vague accounts of some of Peter's adherents, who in 1697 accompanied that monarch into Holland.

In Menkeni Bibliotheca, La "Relation de la Moscovie" is mentioned among the works of Adrien Baillet, for an account of whom, see Nicéron, "Hommes Illustres;" article Ad. Baillet.

Sophia was born in October, 1658. Her father, Alexey Michaelovitch, was twice married; by his first wife Maria Ilinitchna, of the family of Milolafski, he had Feodor, Ivan, and several princesses, among whom was Sophia; and Peter the Great by his second wife Natalia Kirilofna, of the family of Nariskin. During Maria's life, her family enjoyed considerable influence; but after her decease, and upon Alexey's marriage with Natalia, their power was eclipsed by the superior ascendancy of the Nariskins. Hence two parties were formed at court, and perpetual quarrels took place between the children of Alexey by his first wife, and their step-mother Natalia. During this period, Ivan Michaelovitch Milolafski, the head of that family, endeavoured secretly to undermine the Nariskins: he attributed to their influence the increase of the taxes, and the delay in paying the troops, and reproached them as the authors of all the grievances which were urged against the government of Alexey. By these and other artifices he laboured to render them unpopular; and having gained a large body of Strelitz,* waited for a favourable opportunity to execute his designs.† On the accession of Feodor, his relations, the family of Milolafski, re-assumed their importance, and the Nariskins were excluded from all share in the administration of affairs.

Sophia gained the affection of her brother Feodor, by the superiority of her understanding, insinuating address, and unwearied attention during his long illness. To her the Tzar, whose infirmities rendered him unfit to govern, resigned the direction of affairs, and at her suggestion, placed his sole confidence in prince Vassili Galitzin, a nobleman who had greatly distinguished himself under the reign of Alexey Michaelovitch, for his political abilities.

Feodor dying without issue, April 1682, Ivan his brother, and rightful heir of the throne, was excluded from the succession on account of his incapacity, and his half-brother Peter declared Tzar. In regard to this event, the partizans of Peter endeavoured to establish two positions: 1. That he was raised to this dignity in consequence of Feodor's express appointment; and 2. By the unanimous voice of the nation.

With respect to the first position, the nomination of Peter;‡ when we consider that Feodor was governed by Sophia and his own family, it is not probable, that he should act in direct opposition to their interests; and ensure, by the nomination of Peter, the administration of affairs to the Nariskins. This state of the case has been lately established by a Russian historian,§ who informs us, from the authority of authentic records that Peter did not owe his elevation to any declaration of Feodor in his favour, but to

3. Voltaire has contributed more than any other writer to spread reports injurious to Sophia; but the truth of his narrative of her rise, administration, and fall, is liable to the strongest objections: he draws many facts, urged against Sophia, from the work of the supposed Polish envoy, La Neuville, which has been shown to be of no authority, and extracts the remainder almost solely from certain memoirs, which were transmitted to him by order of the empress Elizabeth, Peter's daughter.

But the violent prepossessions conceived against the memory of this unfortunate princess begin to subside. Muller has ventured to justify her character in some instances; the author of the "Antidote to the Abbe de Chappes Journey into Siberia," speaks of her in a favourable manner; and L'Evesque has evidently shown, that her character has been grossly misrepresented. I had already finished this chapter, as well as the last, before his history made its appearance, and though the arguments of that judicious historian had no share in forming, they certainly confirmed my opinion in favour of Sophia.

* The Russian regiments of guards were called Strelitz, or Streltsi, until they were suppressed, and the name abolished by Peter the Great.

† Sumorokof's *Aufbruch der Strelitzen*, p. 4.

‡ "Feodor avant d'expirer, voyant que son frere Ivan, trop disgracie de la nature, etait incapable de regner, nomma pour heritier des Russes son second frere Pierre." &c. Voltaire.

§ Prince Sherebatof. See Bach. Russ. Bib. vol. v. p. 502.

the suffrages of those persons in whom the right of nominating the successor was vested.

In regard to the second position, the unanimity of Peter's election; Muller, who has explored the Russian archives with a view of ascertaining this point, can supply us with no better proofs than the following information :*

"Soon after the death of Feodor, all the servants of the court, the officers, and ecclesiastics, who were then at Moscow, assembled in the palace and court-yard to kiss the hand of the deceased monarch; after which ceremony they also kissed the hands of the two princes Ivan and Peter, the former of whom was sixteen, and the latter ten years of age. The ill health of Ivan, the hopeful appearance of Peter, and the well-known prudence and virtue of his mother,† induced all who were present to prefer the younger to the older brother, and unanimously to raise Peter to the throne. The astonishing quiet and unanimity with which this important affair was accomplished, seems to prove, that it was preconcerted by the patriarch and principal nobility. The patriarch Joachim descended from a noble family, was at the head of this transaction. The principal courtiers, ecclesiastics, nobles, officers, merchants, and a great concourse of people being assembled before the imperial palace, he demanded of them whom they would nominate Tzar, Ivan or Peter; the question was extremely unusual, but, being justified by the circumstances, was answered in favour of Peter. Probably the party of Ivan did not foresee that a younger prince, who was a minor, would be preferred to his elder brother; and were therefore not prepared to make any opposition to the appointment of Peter.

"Two contradictory accounts of this nomination are given in two of the most authentic records in the archives of Moscow. The first informs us that Ivan, as the eldest, publicly renounced his right to the crown, before it could be conferred upon Peter: the second makes no mention of this renunciation, but ascribes the appointment of Peter to the general wishes of the nation."

The first record in the office for foreign affairs thus relates the transaction :

"And the patriarch Joachim, and the metropolitans and archbishops, and all the clergy, and the Siberian and Kassimovian princes, and the Boiars and Okolnitshi, and the Doumnie-Diaki, and the Stolnics and Straeptshi, and the nobility of Moscow, and the Shilitsi, and the nobles from the country, and the soldiers and Gosti, and the merchants and people entreated the princes, Ivan and Peter, that one of them would please to ascend the hereditary throne of Russia," &c. And the Tzarovitch Ivan said, "It being advantageous for the public that my brother the Tzarovitch and great-duke Peter should ascend the throne of Russia, because his mother the Tzarina Natalia is alive: I, therefore, the Tzarovitch and great-duke Ivan, resign the throne to the Tzarovitch and great-duke Peter. And the Tzar and great-duke Peter ascended the throne."

According to the other record, which is in the journal of occurrences at court :

"The patriarch demands of the persons assembled for the nomination of the new sovereign, whom they would elect, Ivan or Peter. And the Stolnics and Straeptshi, and the nobles, and the Diaki, and the Shilitsi, and the Dietiboiraski, and the Gosti, and the merchants, and the other people of different ranks, answered unanimously, that the throne of all the kingdoms of the great Russian empire belonged to Peter Alexievitch: then the patriarch addressed the Boiars, Okolnitshi, privy councillors, and principal

* Von Peter's des Grossen erstern Galangung zum Thron. in Jour Pet. for 1780.

† This princess was then scarcely twenty-four years of age, and had given no proofs of prudence and wisdom. L'Evesque more justly styles her "jeune princesse qui n'avoit pu se faire encore aucune reputation."

persons belonging to the court; and the Boiars, &c. answered unanimously, the Tzarovitch and great-duke Peter is, by the choice of all the states and people of the Muscovite empire, Tzar and great-duke of all Great, Little, and White Russia."

We may remark upon these extracts, that being compiled by the friends of Peter, even if they did not contradict each other, their authority would be exceedingly exceptionable; nor could their silence, with respect to any opposition, be considered as a sufficient testimony that the suffrages in favour of Peter were unanimous; because his adherents would never record any particulars tending in the smallest degree to invalidate his pretensions, or support those of Ivan. Besides, when we recollect the power of the family of Milolafski during the reign of Feodor, the influence which prince Vassili Galitzin must have acquired from his office of prime minister, and particularly the insinuating manners and popularity of Sophia (all of whom were bound, not only by the strongest ties of interest, but even for their common security, to support the cause of Ivan) it is not probable, that the nomination of Peter was as unanimous as it is represented. And indeed it is certain,* that a nobleman, named Sumbalof, objected to the validity of the election, because the younger brother was preferred to the elder; that his remonstrance was followed by those of many others, and that even the patriarch Joachim, who is esteemed by Muller a strong advocate of Peter, soon afterwards embraced the party of Ivan: these circumstances seem to imply that Peter was not raised to the throne by the unanimous voice of the nation; but that the suffrages of the assembly had been surprised by the secret machinations of the Nariskins.

Peter, however, by whatsoever means his nomination was obtained, received as sole sovereign, the fealty of his subjects; and the government was entrusted to his mother Natalia. But the party in opposition to Peter was strong and powerful; his election was not as yet confirmed by the whole body of Strelitz, who, to use the spirited expression of a Russian author, possessed above fourteen thousand armed votes;† and their peculiar situation at this important juncture rendered them fit instruments of a new revolution.

Just before Feodor's demise, nine of these regiments, quartered at Moscow, having tumultuously assembled, demanded redress of ill-treatment received from their colonels, and an instant discharge of all their arrears. Prince George Dolgorucki, their chief, having ordered one of the ringleaders to be seized, stripped, and punished with the knout, an immediate insurrection was the consequence; the executioners were insulted, and the prisoners rescued.‡ On the day subsequent to the interment of Feodor, the soldiers proceeded in a large body to the Kremlin, and presented a petition against nine of their colonels, who being delivered to them by the ministry, were publicly whipped and discharged.§ Ivan Milolaski inflamed the discontents of this mutinous body, and though confined to his chamber by a pretended sickness, contrived to hold several interviews with the ringleaders, who assembled at night in his palace. Sophia is also accused of being present at these meetings, of distributing money to the principal insurgents, and of exasperating them against the family of Nariskin. On the morning of the 15th of May, a report being spread that Peter was not unanimously elected, the drums beat to arms by order of Ivan Milolaski, and the Strelitz being tumultuously assembled, two persons of his party entered their quarters, crying, "The hour of vengeance is at hand, Ivan Alexievitch is assassinated, and the Nariskins are masters of Russia; revenge the murder of the Tzarovitch." The soldiers, inflamed to fury by these exclamations,

* Sumorokof, p. 55—57.

† Gordon, p. 70.

‡ 14198 bewaffnete stimme. Sumorokof, p. 19.

§ Gordon, p. 72; and Voltaire.

marched with drums beating and colours flying to the Kremlin, tolled the great bell, surrounded the palace, and demanded the assassins of Ivan. Although the Tzarina immediately produced both Ivan and Peter; yet the insurgents were not appeased, but vehemently required the execution of the Nariskins. Their fury was still further augmented by a rumour industriously circulated, that Ivan Nariskin, the brother of the Tzarina, had seized the diadem and royal robes. In the midst of this tumult, one of the officers ventured to harangue the soldiers; he assured them, that Ivan Alexiavitch was in perfect safety; that all their grievances should be redressed, and exhorted them to disperse. This harangue seemed to make a sensible impression, and the tumult was subsiding; when prince Dolgorucki imprudently threatened them with the severest punishment for their mutiny and rebellion: inflamed by this ill-timed menace, they seized the prince, hurried him into the air, received him upon their pikes, and hewed his body to pieces. This assassination was the prelude to a more general massacre, which continued during three days without intermission. Not only the two brothers of the Tzarina, and a few others most obnoxious to the insurgents, fell victims to their fury, but several persons, by no means unpopular, were sacrificed amidst the general confusion, and Moscow underwent a general pillage.

To close this horrid scene, the principal nobles assembled on the 18th of May, and, by a compromise between the two parties, Ivan and Peter were declared joint sovereigns; but as Ivan was incapable of governing, and Peter in his minority, the administration of affairs was vested in the hands of Sophia. Hence conclusions were drawn unfavourable to that princess: she was accused of having maintained a secret intelligence with the ringleaders of Strelitz, of exciting them by false reports to revolt, of ordering money and spirituous liquors to be distributed among the soldiers, and even of delivering them a list* of forty nobles whom she had proscribed. All her actions are malignantly interpreted: when Ivan Nariskin was led to execution, she publicly accompanied the Tzarina and Patriarch to intercede for his life, placed the image of the Virgin Mary in his hands to stop the fury of the Strelitz, and endeavoured, though in vain, to sooth his assassins.† They who judge unfavourably of her conduct, say, that this compassion was only feigned; and that she secretly instigated his assassination, though she outwardly affected to intercede.‡ Upon this supposition, the whole conduct of Sophia implies such a deep-laid scheme of hypocrisy, artifice, and revenge, as seems rather adapted to a politician grown gray in iniquity, and long practised in the arts of sedition, than to a princess like Sophia, only in the twenty-fifth year of her age.

But the causes which led to this revolution, may be traced from several events in the reign of Alexey Michaelovitch, long before Sophia had the least influence in political affairs, and particularly from the domestic feuds in the imperial family. It appears also that the first insurrection of the Strelitz was casual; occasioned by the arrears of pay, and the unpopularity of the colonels, and cannot, with the least degree of probability, be imputed to the intrigues of Sophia; therefore she can only be accused, even by the most malignant interpretation of her conduct, of availing herself of that mutiny to procure the election of Ivan. But there is surely a wide difference between asserting the injustice of his exclusion from the throne; or, under the mask of moderation and candour, inflaming to

* "Enfin, Sophie," says Voltaire, "fait remettre entre leurs mains une liste de quarante seigneurs qu'elle appelle leurs ennemis, et ceux de l'Etat et qu'ils doivent massacrer." I cannot give credit to this list of forty nobles, which Voltaire compares "aux proscriptions de Sylla et des triumvirs de Rome." Whoever will attentively peruse the account of the ensuing massacre in Gordon, or even in Voltaire, will find that the fury of the Strelitz, except against the Nariskins, was more directed by chance than by design.

† Gordon, p. 81.

‡ Sumorokof.

madness the fury of a disaffected soldiery, and calmly leading them from assassination to assassination.*

But is it not more reasonable to suppose, that Ivan Milolafski, who had, during the reign of Alexey Michaelovitch, formed a party against the Nariskins, should take advantage of the sedition of the Strelitz, with whom he had long entertained a secret intelligence; and that Sophia was the ostensible instrument of his designs? In a word, that she was raised to the regency by the cabals of a powerful party, who foresaw their own ruin in the nomination of Peter; and who, in the midst of an insurrection, held forth to this licentious body the unalienable rights of Ivan. Examples were not wanting to prove that the incapacity of Ivan was no bar to his election: a memorable instance was exhibited in the person of Feodor Ivanovitch, who, notwithstanding his imbecility, was raised to the throne, and a regency entrusted with the administration of affairs.† It must also be considered, that Peter, then only in his eleventh year, had not displayed any instances of that vast superiority of understanding, which afterwards marked his character; and that his mother, who was to sway the reins of empire, was a person of no experience, and extremely unpopular. Nor is it matter of surprise that the care of Ivan and the administration of government should be committed to Sophia. The victorious family would naturally choose a regent devoted from interest and inclination to their party; a person of imperial lineage, popular manners, respectable character, and great abilities; all these requisites centered in Sophia.

However authors may have censured the ambitious designs of Sophia; they unanimously concur in delineating her engaging manners, the beauties of her person,‡ the vigour and wisdom of her administration, and her extensive plans for the advantage of her country.

Sophia reposed her principal confidence in prince Vassili Galitzin, commonly known by the name of the great Galitzin, a most able minister and consummate politician. The scandalous chronicle of those times, or rather of a later period, attributed her partiality to a softer passion, though he was above sixty years of age; and her enemies have not even scrupled to declare,§ that she had formed the plan of assassinating the two Tzars, usurping the throne, and espousing prince Galitzin, who was to obtain a divorce from his wife.

Sophia|| has been also accused not only of neglecting the education of Peter, but of introducing him into the company of the most profligate young men, and encouraging

* "Tandis que les Strelitz commencaient ainsi a se faire craindre, la princesse Sophie, qui les animait sous main, pour les conduire de crime en crime," &c. Voltaire.

† S. R. G. vol. i. p. 19.

‡ Weber, the Hanoverian envoy at St. Petersburg in the beginning of this century, says of Sophia, "the Tzar was frequently heard to declare, that, excepting her inordinate ambition, she was a princess of great personal and mental accomplishments." Ver. Russ. vol. i. p. 143. Voltaire closes a spirited portrait by saying, "une figure agreable relevoit tous ses talens." Perry describes her, at the time of the revolution, as a handsome young lady, then upwards of twenty-three. He came into Russia in 1702, two years before her death; and though he never saw her himself, on account of her imprisonment, must have known many who had been personally acquainted with her. Perry's State of Russia, p. 143. Sumorokof says of her, that she possessed a good understanding and great beauty, p. 10. Many other authors might be quoted to the same purpose, but as there is nothing which party malice will not invent to deprecate an obnoxious character, the suppositious Polish envoy, La Neuville, has misrepresented her person as much as her conduct: "Sophie dont l'esprit & le merite ne tiennent rien de la difformite de son corps, etant d'une grosseur monstrueuse, avec une tete large comme un boisseau, du poil au visage, des loups aux jambes & au moins 40 ans; mais autant que sa taille est large, courte, & grossiere, autant son esprit est fin, delie & politique; & sans avoir jamais lu Machiavel, elle possede naturellement toutes ses maximes," &c. p. 151.

§ Gordon, p. 86.

|| Voltaire.

his propensity to every species of excess which might enervate his frame, weaken his understanding, and render him averse to business. This calumny, however, has been amply refuted by Muller,* who has shewn, from unquestionable authority, that Ivan and Peter had two different courts; the education of Peter was solely entrusted to his mother; and if improper persons were placed about him, the blame must fall upon her, and not upon Sophia. With respect to his propensity to drinking, that vice was extremely common in Russia, and prince Vassili† Galitzin was as remarkable for his sobriety as the favourites of Peter, Le Fort and Boris Galitzin, were notorious for intemperance. "Le Fort," says a writer who was in Livonia when the Tzar and his suite passed through that country in his first journey to Holland, "is a man of good understanding; very personable, engaging, and entertaining; a true Swiss for probity and bravery, but chiefly for drinking. Open tables are kept every where, with trumpets and music, attended with feasting and excessive drinking, as if his Tzarish majesty had been another Bacchus. I have not yet seen such hard drinkers; it is not possible to express it, and they boast of it as a mighty qualification."‡

Thus it appears that Peter had examples of intemperance in his own household; and it cannot be supposed that Le Fort was the creature of Sophia. The evident falsehood of such virulent accusations should induce us not to credit other calumnies; particularly the charge that she attempted to destroy Peter by poison, which, though it failed of its intended effect, disordered his constitution, and occasionally produced melancholy and despair bordering on madness. This report took its rise from his proneness to epileptic fits; a disorder common in his family, which gradually diminished as he grew stronger, but never entirely forsook him. Before an attack, the natural vehemence and savageness of his temper broke out with redoubled violence, and rendered him the terror of all who approached him. The inveterate rancour with which the enemies of Sophia have calumniated her memory, is in no instance more evident than from their absurdly imputing the brutal ferocity of Peter to the effects of poison which she administered.)

But it is time to trace the principal causes of her fall. Sophia, to whom Ivan surrendered the direction of affairs, assumed some exterior marks of homage, which seem to have been hitherto appropriated only to the sovereigns of Russia. While the heads of her two brothers were impressed on one side of the coins, her image, arrayed with

* Journ. of St. Pet. Mar. 1778, p. 168, 169.

† "Galitzin was the only man of quality in Russia who could entertain, without forcing his company to drink to excess. Brandy, the liquor which flowed at every other table, was seldom seen at his, who never drank any himself, but took much delight in rational and ingenious conversation."

Mottley's Life of Peter.

‡ Account of Livonia, p. 293.

§ "Il prenoit quelquefois des acces d'humeur chagrine, ou il semblait frapper de l'idée noire qu'on voulait attenter à sa personne, et où ses amis les plus familiers craignaient ses emportemens. Ces acces etaient un reste fatal du poison, qu'il recut de son ambitieuse soeur Sophie. On en con naissait l'approche à certains mouvemens convulsifs de sa bouche. L'Imperatrice etait avertie. Elle venait lui parler; le son de cette voix le calmait à l'instant. Elle le faisait asseoir, et s'emparait en le cajolant de sa tête, qu'elle grattait doucement. C'était comme un charme, qui l'assoupissait en peu de minutes. Pour ne pas troubler son sommeil, elle soutenait sa tête sur son sein, sans se remuer pendant deux ou trois heures. Alors il se reveillait, entierement rassis et remis, au lieu qu'avant qu'elle eut étudié cette maniere si simple de le soulager, ces acces etaient la terreur de ceux qui l'approchaient, à tant cause, dit on, quelques malheurs, et étant suivi de maux de tête affreux, qui duraient des journées entières." Bassevitz in Bur. H. M. ix. p. 294. Strange effects of poison given in his infancy. Bishop Burnet says, "he was subject to convulsive motions all over his body, and his head seemed to be affected with these."

the crown, sceptre, and imperial robe, was stamped upon the reverse ; in the public acts her name was added to the signature of the two Tzars,* and she appeared in processions decorated with all the ensigns of royalty ;† circumstances which gave umbrage to the rival family, and afforded a specious pretence for inveighing against her ambitious designs.

Peter, as he advanced in years, and felt himself born for empire, beheld with dissatisfaction the power lodged in the hands of a rival party : encouraged by his mother and her adherents, he claimed a share in the administration, and took his seat, for the first time, in the privy council, on the 25th of January, 1688, in the eighteenth year of his age. Sophia, though unwilling to resign any part of her authority, could not withhold her consent ; but as Peter's spirit was above controul, she availed herself of some violent altercations which passed between them, to exclude him from his seat. From this period their dissensions arose to so great an height, as to threaten an open rupture ; and the fall of the one seemed necessary for the security of the other.‡

Things remained in this state of jealousy and variance until September, 1689 ; when the aspiring genius of Peter acquired the ascendancy, and secured his undivided authority by the fall and imprisonment of Sophia. By the advice of Boris Galitzin and the Nariskins, Peter resolved to arrest his sister, and seize the reins of government. It is asserted by his adherents,§ that Sophia and prince Vassili Galitzin, apprised of his intentions, determined to prevent their own ruin by his assassination, that they gained over the chief of the Strelitz and a corps of six hundred men, and actually commissioned them to perpetrate that infamous deed. Peter had retired to sleep at his palace of Preobashenski near Moscow ; when two|| of the conspirators, it is said, struck with horror at their crime, quitted their companions, and hastened to the young Tzar with the information, that a body of Strelitz were upon their march to assassinate him. Peter refused to credit their report, until it was confirmed by Boris Galitzin and one of his uncles, whom he dispatched to reconnoitre : and the conspirators were already so near that he had scarcely time to make his escape.¶ He instantly proceeded to the convent of the Holy Trinity, where troops flocked from all quarters, and in three days he had an army of sixty thousand men under his command.

Meanwhile Sophia, in a state of consternation, denied all intercourse with the conspirators, expressed the utmost horror at their attempt, dispatched repeated messages to her brother to justify her conduct, and even set off in person to assert her innocence ; but was ordered to return to Moscow, and deliver the ringleaders of the mutiny. Soon afterwards Peter himself repaired to the capital : the principal conspirators being tortured in his presence, confessed a design against his life, and suffered the severest punish-

* She did not sign her name in the public decrees until 1687. Bus. Hist. Mag. vol. i. p. 9.

† These circumstances cannot imply a design of usurping the sovereign authority ; for she was only accused, even by her enemies, of secretly conspiring against Peter, and not of an open attempt to seize the crown.

‡ Journ. of St. Pet. for 1778, p. 175, 176.

§ Gordon.

|| It is remarkable, that this same story of two conspirators who were engaged to assassinate Peter, but, repenting, discovered the plot, is again related as happening in 1697. Schmidt, Russ. Gess. vol. ii. p. 90.

¶ Voltaire, though convinced of Sophia's intention to assassinate Peter, and notwithstanding the intelligence he received from the court of Petersburg, can only give us the following scanty information : " La Neuville resident alors a Moscow, et temoin oculaire de ce qui se passa, pretend que Sophie et Galitzin engagerent le nouveau chef des Strelitz a leur sacrifier leur jeune Caar : il parait au moins que six-cent de ces Strelitz devalent s'emparer de sa personne. Les memoires secretes que la cour de Russie m'a confies, assurent que le parti etoit pris de tuer Pierre Premier ; le coup allait etre porte, et la Russie etait privee a jamais de la nouvelle existence, qu'elle " &c.

ment. Vassili Galitzin* was banished into Siberia, and Sophia imprisoned for life in the Devitchei nunnery; Peter alone assumed the reigns of government, and found sufficient scope for his vast and enterprising genius; while the name of Ivan was still inserted, as a matter of formality, in the public acts until his death, which happened in 1696.

Such are the principal circumstances of this extraordinary revolution; but this is the account given by the victorious party, and the cause of Sophia has never undergone a candid examination. It may be impossible to exculpate her entirely from ambitious views: she might be unwilling to relinquish a power which she had long enjoyed, and exercised with great ability; she might esteem the right of Ivan to the throne as superior to that of Peter, and considered Peter's acquisition to the sole sovereignty as the certain prelude to her own destruction; but we have no positive evidence† that she conspired against her brother's life; and perhaps the whole story of the intended assassination was feigned by Boris Galitzin‡ and her enemies. She wanted not opportunities of escaping from Russia, and never would have imprudently demanded admittance into Peter's presence, to assert her innocence, had the proofs of her guilt been as strong as her adversaries pretended. In a word, the conflict between Peter and Sophia was the conflict of two rivals impatient of controul, and striving for pre-eminence; the cause of the successful party was deemed just and equitable, and the vanquished faction loaded with every species of enormity.

The restless spirit of Sophia, brooding in the solitude of a convent, is said to have excited fresh troubles and insurrections; and, during her life, no conspiracy was formed against Peter, in which she was not suspected of being concerned. She was more particularly accused of being privy to the rebellion in 1697; when eight thousand Strelitz, seizing the opportunity of Peter's absence upon his travels, rose in arms on the frontiers of Lithuania, and marched towards Moscow. The rebels were defeated by the address and courage of general Patrick Gordon; many were put to the sword, and the remainder surrendered at discretion. The Tzar received at Vienna the account of the mutiny and defeat of the Strelitz, and instantly hastened to Moscow to examine the delinquents in person.

Peter was anxious to discover the causes of the rebellion; to learn by whose intrigues it was excited, and, above all, to convict Sophia, whom he charged with fomenting the public discontents, and holding a correspondence with the rebels. But as no persons could give immediate and pertinent answers to his questions, he entertained suspicions of all his courtiers, and determined to institute a court of inquiry at his palace of Preobrazhenski, where the instruments of torture were brought. The Tzar, himself examined the accused, urged them to confession, and ordered those who maintained silence to be racked in his presence. The cruelty of the tortures employed on this occasion was inexpressibly dreadful; human nature shudders at the recital; but it is necessary to mention them in justification of Sophia. Some of the rebels were repeatedly whipped;

* This able minister survived his fall twenty-four years; he was released from prison in 1711, and died at his own estate in 1713.

† We have no certain proofs that any of the conspirators accused Sophia of being privy to any design upon Peter's life; and, even if they did name her as an accomplice, their evidence, extorted by the rack, is by no means to be depended on.

‡ It appears from the following passage, that the discovery of Sophia's designs came from that quarter: "prince Boris Galitzin, a faithful subject of the Tzar Peter, coming timely to penetrate into his kinsman's prince Basil's designs, put the Tzar upon his guard, advising him, without delay, to take the government into his hands." Gordon, vol. i p. 89.

others had their shoulders dislocated by a cord and pulley, and in that painful posture received the knot: many after undergoing the knot, were roasted over a slow fire, the raw parts being exposed to the flame.* Physicians were present to ascertain the degree of pain which the unhappy convicts were capable of supporting, and to recover those who had fainted, that the application of fresh tortures might recommence with the renewal of their strength. This dreadful inquisition was continued, without intermission, throughout the whole month of October. Not only every species of punishment, the most refined which human cruelty could devise was inflicted in order to extort an accusation of Sophia; but promises of pardon, and even of great promotion, were offered for the same purpose to the wretched sufferers in the midst of the most excruciating agonies.†

At length a few of the Strelitz,‡ overcome by the severity of the torments, or seduced by hopes of pardon and the promise of promotion, confessed an intention to set fire to the suburbs of Moscow, to massacre all foreigners, to banish or assassinate the principal nobility, to raise the Tzarovitch Alexey to the throne, and to appoint Sophia regent during his minority; others declared that the ringleaders had drawn up a petition, which they intended to present to that princess, praying her to accept the administration of affairs.

Although none of the rebels charged Sophia with being accessory to their insurrection, yet Peter was so prejudiced against her that he put to the torture one of her female attendants; and when no evidence of guilt could be procured by that horrid expedient, even examined her in person. The princess, whose high spirit was subdued by her misfortunes, and worn out by a long confinement, could not refrain from weeping at the sight of her obdurate brother; and even extorted tears from Peter himself, though without melting his resentment.§ But neither this, nor every other effort employed to convict her, was attended with success; and the only proof of her secret correspondence with the rebels was derived from the confession of a boy belonging to an officer of the Strelitz, who declared, that letters inclosed in loaves of bread had passed between Sophia and his master.|| The officer, however, peremptorily denied the fact even upon the rack, and was led to execution, persisting to the last moment in this asseveration. The case seems to be, that the innovations of Peter created a considerable number of malcontents; that the introduction of the European discipline, and his partiality to the foreign regiments, inflamed the dissaffection of the Strelitz to such a degree as to account for their rebellion, without supposing any cabals on the part of Sophia; that she had long been the object of affection to all the enemies of Peter, and was naturally the person to whom they would consign the administration had the revolt been attended with success.

* It appears from Olearius, and other travellers into Russia, that these tortures were ordinarily used in that country for the purpose of forcing confession.

† This account is extracted from the Diary of Korb (vol. i. p. 149) secretary of the Austrian embassy to Russia in 1697, who was present at Moscow during these horrid proceedings. He received information from several German officers in the service of Peter, who were eye-witnesses. Korb's authority is also to be depended on in this instance, because he speaks highly in favour of Peter, and condemns the ambition of Sophia. Gordon also, though so partial to Peter, informs us, that the rebels were tortured and examined in his presence. ‡ "Quorundam pertinacia denum victa." Korb.

§ "Ad monasterium Neo virginum discessit Tzarus, ut sororem suam Sophiam, dicto monasterio inclusam, examinaret; publice enim nuperi tumultus vulgo rea habebatur; primus utriusque introitus uberrimas amorum lacrymas excivisse dicitur." Korb.

|| Gordon, vol. i. p. 129, 130.

Peter was extremely exasperated against Sophia, and once determined to put her to death; but having changed his resolution, compelled her to assume the veil. To strike her with terror, and announce to the public that he thought her privy to the rebellion, two hundred and thirty Strelitz were hanged within sight of the nunnery in which she was confined, and three of the ringleaders suspended upon a gibbet erected close to the window of her apartment;* they held in their hands petitions similar to that which, according to the confession of the Strelitz, was to have been presented to Sophia.

From this period history is silent in relation to Sophia: she was confined under a strict guard in the monastery until her death, in July 1704. She was interred in the church of the convent; the tomb is covered with a black cloth, and contains this inscription: "A. M. 7212 (or 1704 of the Christian æra) on the third of July, died Sophia Alexiefna, aged forty-six years, nine months, and six days; her monastic name was Susanna. She had been a nun five years, eight months, and twelve days: she was buried the fourth in this church, called the Image of Smolensko. She was daughter of Alexey Michaelovitch, and of Maria Ilinitchna."

Although Peter always suspected the intrigues of his sister, yet he never failed paying a just tribute to her genius and abilities. "What a pity," he was frequently heard to say, "that she persecuted me in my minority, and that I cannot repose any confidence in her! otherwise, when I am employed abroad, she might govern at home."†

One striking feature in Sophia's character, which I had no opportunity of mentioning, while my inquiry was chiefly confined to her political conduct, must not be omitted. She deserves the veneration of posterity for patronising persons of genius and learning, and encouraging, by her own example, the introduction of polite literature into Russia, then plunged in the deepest ignorance. At a period when there was no national theatre, and when the lowest buffooneries, under the name of moralities, where the sole dramatic representations even at court, this elegant princess translated the *Medecin malgré lui* of Moliere into her native tongue, and performed one of the characters herself. She also composed a tragedy, probably the first extant in the Russian language; and she composed it at a time when the most violent cabals were excited against her ministry, and when the most weighty affairs seemed to engross her sole attention.

* Gordon, p. 95, 130. Korb, who saw them hanging, says, "Tam prope ad ipsas Sophiani cubiculi fenestras, ut Sophia eodem manu facile posset attingere." On this occasion above two thousand Strelitz suffered capital punishment. Peter broke at the same time the whole body of Strelitz, and abolished their name.

† This anecdote, which I received from Volkonski, is confirmed by a passage in Perry's state of Russia. "I remember that upon a certain occasion, when mention was made of her [i. e. Sophia] the Czar himself gave her this character, that she was a princess endowed with all the accomplishments of body and mind to perfection, had it not been for her boundless ambition, and insatiable desire of governing." Vol. i. p. 138.

CHAPTER IX.

Journey from Moscow to Novogorod....Production of the neighbouring country....Quadrupeds....Birds....Fish....Description of the Sterlet....Torshok....Vishnei-Voloshok....Valdai hills and lake....Bronitza....Wooden road....Further account of the peasants....Yamshics, who furnish post horses....Songs of the peasants.

We quitted Moscow on the 14th of September, traversed a gently rising country, partly open, and partly overspread with forests, passed the night at the village of Purski, in a peasant's cottage, as usual, and changed horses the next morning at Klin, situated upon the Sestra, a broad rivulet. This village had been lately burnt, and the peasants were engaged in rebuilding their huts: near it we observed a saw-pit, which, in this country, was too rare an object not to attract our notice. Beyond Savidof we crossed a rivulet, and soon after reached the banks of the Volga, which we coasted to Gorodna. The next morning the springs of our carriage being ready to start, and one of the wheels in a crazy state, we left it to the care of our servants, and hired the carts of the country, called kibitkas, which we filled with hay. After a considerable degree of jolting, we arrived at Tver, which is magnificently situated upon the elevated banks of the Volga.

Tver* owes its origin to Vlodimir Georgivitch, great duke of Vlodimer, who in 1182 raised a small fortress at the junction of the Tvertza and Volga, to protect his territories against the incursions of the inhabitants of Novogorod. Afterwards, in 1240, the great duke Yaroslav II, built another citadel on the spot now occupied by the present fortress, and laid the foundation of a new town, which increasing in population and wealth, became the metropolis of an independent sovereignty, called from the town the dutchy of Tver. Yaroslav III, son of Yaroslav II, and brother of Alexander Nevski, received this dutchy as his inheritance, and transmitted the succession to a long train of descendants. The last sovereign of this line was Michael Borisovitch, whose sister Maria espoused the great duke Ivan Vassilievitch I. Notwithstanding this alliance, an open rupture ensued, and in 1486, Ivan besieged Tver with a large army, and compelled Michael to abandon the town, and retire into Lithuania. On his retreat, Ivan Vassilievitch bestowed the town and dutchy as a fief on his eldest son Ivan, and on his death in 1490, annexed them to his other dominions.

Tver is divided into the old and new town; the former, situated on the opposite side of the Volga, consists almost entirely of wooden cottages; the latter was scarcely superior; but in 1763, being destroyed by a dreadful conflagration, has risen with lustre from its ashes. The empress ordered a regular plan of a new town to be sketched by an eminent architect, and enjoined that all the houses should be re-constructed in conformity to this model. She raised, at her own expence, the governor's house, the bishop's palace, courts of justice, the new exchange, prison, and other public edifices; and offered to every person, who would build a brick house, a loan of 300l. for twelve years without interest. The money advanced on this occasion amounted to 60,000l.; and one third of this sum has been since remitted. The streets, which are broad and long, issue in a straight line from an octagon, in the centre: the houses are of brick stuccoed white, and form a magnificent appearance. Part only of the new town was finished: when completed, it will consist of two octagons, with several streets leading to them, and

* See Hist. Geog. Beschreibung der Stadt Twer, &c. Journ. Pet. for November 1780.

intersecting each other at right-angles; and would be no inconsiderable ornament to the most opulent and civilized country.*

There is an ecclesiastical seminary at Tver, under the inspection of the bishop, which admits six hundred students. In 1776, the empress founded a school for the instruction of two hundred burgher's children; and in June 1779, an academy for the education of the young nobility of the province.

Tver is a place of considerable commerce; and both the Volga and the Tvertza were covered with boats. It owes its principal trade to the advantageous situation, near the conflux of the two rivers, which convey all the goods and merchandise sent by water from Siberia and the southern provinces towards Petersburg.

The Volga, the largest river in Europe, rises in the forest of Volkonski, at the distance of eighty miles from Tver, and begins to be navigable a few miles above the town. By means of the Tvertza, a communication is made between the Caspian and the Baltic; as will be explained in a future chapter. The number of barges which passed by the town in 1776 amounted to two thousand five hundred and thirty-seven; in 1777, to two thousand six hundred and forty-one, and the average number is generally computed at two thousand five hundred and fifty. The boats are flat-bottomed, on account of the frequent shoals, and are constructed with new planks. The rudders have a singular appearance; the handle being a tree of fifty feet long, with a pole fixed to a broad piece of timber floating on the surface. The pilot stands upon a kind of scaffold, at the distance of thirty or forty feet from the stern, and turns the rudder by means of the long handle. These boats are only built for one voyage, and on their arrival at Petersburg are sold for fuel.

I have already mentioned the prodigious waste of wood arising from the custom of forming planks with the axe. To prevent this practice, which was no less usual among the shipwrights than among the peasants, orders were issued by government, that each vessel passing the Tver, in which was one plank fashioned with the hatchet, should pay a fine of 6l. In consequence of this decree the officer, who levied the fine, collected the first year 6000l. the second 1500l. the third 100l. and the fourth nothing. By this judicious regulation the use of the saw has been introduced among the Russian shipwrights, and will probably in time recommend itself to the carpenters and peasants.

The rising spirit of commerce has added greatly to the wealth and population of the town. It contains at present ten thousand souls, and the number of inhabitants in the government of Tver has increased in a surprising degree: a circumstance which shews the advantages arising from the new code of laws. Tver was the first province in which that code was introduced, and has already experienced the beneficial effects of these excellent regulations.

Tver being a large town, we concluded that we should find no difficulty in obtaining the necessary repairs for the carriage, so as to enable it to convey us, during two or three days, without requiring further assistance. Trusting, therefore, to the workmanship of a Russian smith, we set off at six in the evening with the expectation of reaching in four hours the next post, where we purposed to pass the night; but we had scarcely proceeded ten miles, before we perceived that the wheel, instead of being strengthened, was weakened by the smith's unskillfulness. In this situation we stopped at a small village, where it was not possible to procure any assistance, nor even a candle to smear the

* According to Heym, the circumference of Tver is fourteen versts, and it contains two thousand one hundred and sixty-three houses, mostly wooden, twenty-six churches, and a monastery. The population is eight thousand and fourteen males, and seven thousand and eighty-one females.

wheel, which required a constant supply of grease to prevent it from taking fire; and as the next place in our route, likely to afford a new wheel, was above sixty miles, we prudently returned to Tver. I consoled myself for this delay; as it gave us an opportunity to pay more attention to the town and environs, than our transient stay had permitted. We took up our abode at the same house we had just quitted, an inn kept by a German, and one of the new magnificent brick edifices lately erected, but almost without furniture or beds.

On the following day we made an agreeable excursion into the adjacent country: after crossing the Volga over a bridge of boats, and the Tvertza over a raft, we rode between the banks of those two beautiful rivers. We then left the Volga to pursue its course towards the Caspian Sea, watering, as it passes, the most fertile provinces in Russia, and bathing the walls of Casan and Astracan, and made a circuit in the environs of Tver: we frequently stopped to admire several delightful views of the new town, proudly seated upon the steep bank of the Volga, the country gently sloping towards the river.

Tver lies in the midst of a large plain, interspersed with gentle acclivities. The country produces in great abundance wheat, rye, barley, oats, buck-wheat, hemp and flax, and all sorts of vegetables. The forests yield oak, birch, alder, poplar, mountain-ash, pines, firs, and junipers. The quadrupeds, which rove in the neighbouring country, are elks, bears, wolves, and foxes; wild goats and hares; also badgers, martens, weasels, ermines, ferrets, squirrels, and marmottes. The principal birds are eagles and falcons, cranes, herons, swans, wild-geese and ducks, partridges, quails, woodcocks and snipes, black game; also crows and ravens, magpies and blackbirds, sparrows and starlings; together with nightingales, linnets, larks, and yellow-hammers. The fish caught in the Volga are salmon, sterlet, tench, pike, perch, groundlings, gudgeons, and sometimes, but rarely, sturgeon and beluga.

The sterlet, *acipenser ruthenus* of Linnæus, is probably peculiar to the northern parts of the globe, and is a species of sturgeon highly esteemed for flavour, and for its roe, from which the finest caviare is made. It is distinguished from the other sturgeons by its colour and inferior size, being seldom more than three feet in length.* The top of the head and back are of a yellowish gray, the sides of the body whitish, the belly white, mixed with rose-colour, especially towards the mouth and vent, the eyes are of a sky-blue, encircled with white. The snout is long and pointed, compressed and fluted. The mouth is transverse, with thick prominent lips, which it has the power of drawing inwards, with a beard, consisting of four small and soft cirrhi, or wattles. It has five rows of pointed bony imbricated scales, one upon the back, two along the sides, and two under the belly; the row upon the back begins from the neck, and reaches to the dorsal fin; the number,† by which Linnæus ascertains the species, and fixes at fifteen, varies from fourteen to seventeen. The two side rows begin from the upper angle of the gill-covers, and reach to the middle of the tail; their form is flat in the middle, with dentated margins turning towards the tail; their number varies from sixty to seventy. The two rows, which lie under the belly, reach from the pectoral towards the ventral fins; they are four-sided, much smaller than those upon the back, and thicker than those on the sides. Besides these five rows, there are also some adipose bony scales between the tail and the vent; their number invariably five. The rest of the skin is

* Lepekin's Reise, vol. ii. p. 154. and Pallas's Reise, part ii. p. 446.

† *Acipenser Ruthenus cirris 4. squamis dorsilibus 15.* Mus. Fred. I. p. 54. and Taun. Sue. 272. In the Syst. Nat. p. 403, he defines it, *Acipenser ordinibus 5. squamarum ossearum, intermedio ossiculis 15.*

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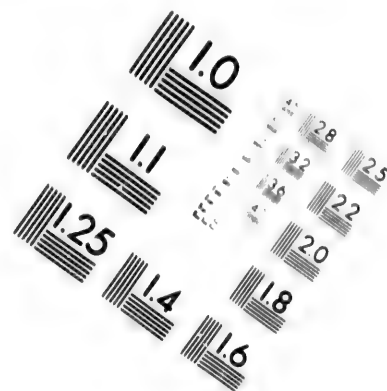
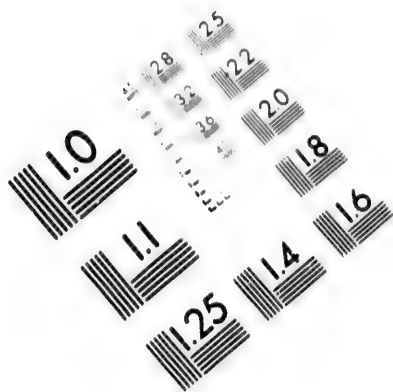
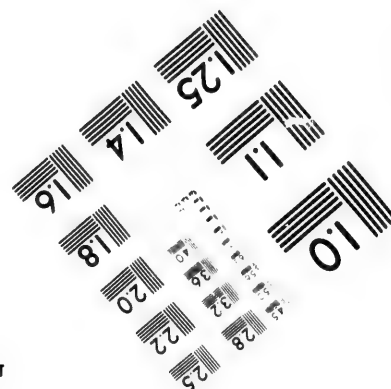
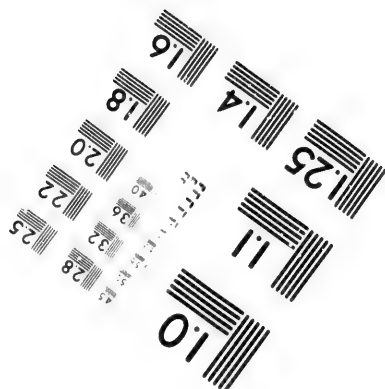
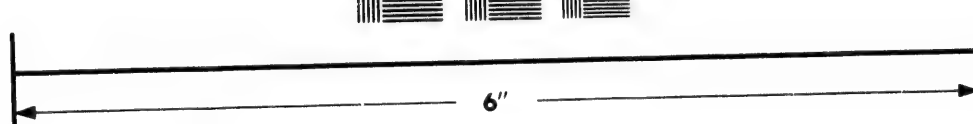
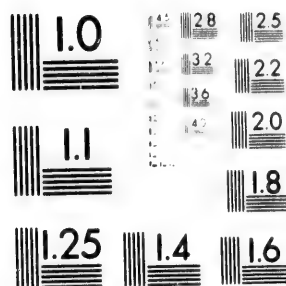


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without scales, but extremely rough to the touch. It has, like most other fish, two pectoral fins, two ventral, one anal, one dorsal, and the tail is forked.* Many authors have erred in supposing this fish to be peculiar to the Volga and the Caspian Sea, for they frequent many other rivers, lakes, and seas, of the Russian empire. According to Muller, they are caught in the Dnieper, and several rivers falling into the Frozen Ocean, particularly the Lena.† Lange asserts, that they are found in the Yenisei; Pallas describes them as inhabiting the Irtysh, Oby, and Yaik; Georgi mentions them among the fish of the lake Baikal, and sometimes in the Angara. We learn from Linnæus, that by order of Frederic I, king of Sweden, some live sterlets, procured from Russia, were thrown into the lake Mæler, where they propagated.‡ They have been sometimes caught in the Gulf of Finland, and even in the Baltic; yet are not supposed natives of those seas, but stray fish, which escaped from some vessels dashed to pieces in passing the falls of the river Masta.§

Sept. 19. Having obtained the valuable acquisition of a new wheel, we proceeded on our journey in the afternoon, and reached before the close of the evening, Torshok, which is situated upon the banks of the Tvertza. It is a large straggling place, consisting chiefly of wooden buildings, intermixed with a few public structures, and brick houses, lately erected at the expence of the empress.

Although Torshok was only forty miles distant from Tver, we esteemed it a fortunate circumstance, that, during that space, no accident happened to our carriage. But we were not so successful on the ensuing day; for the axle-tree breaking about six miles from Vidropusk, we walked to the village, and having procured a temporary axle-tree to support our infirm vehicle, again proceeded in kibitkas as far as Vishnei-Voloshok; a place remarkable for the canal, which, by uniting the Tvertza and the Masta, connects the inland navigation between the Caspian and the Baltic.

Vishnei-Voloshok, one of the imperial villages enfranchised by the empress, and endowed with considerable privileges, has already reaped many benefits from its new immunities. The inhabitants, raised from the situation of slaves to that of freemen, have shaken off their former indolence, and caught a new spirit of emulation and industry: they have turned their attention to trade, and are awakened to a sense of the commercial advantages possessed by the place of their abode. The town is divided into regular streets, and is already provided with a large range of shops and warehouses, which line each side of the canal. All the buildings are of wood, excepting the court of justice erected at the charge of the empress, and four brick houses belonging to a rich burgher. During our stay at Vishnei-Voloshok, we did not fail to examine, with great attention, every part of the celebrated canal, of which an account will be given in a future chapter.||

Having procured a new axle-tree, we quitted, on the 21st, Vishnei Voloshok, crossed the river Shlina, and continued along a timber road, carried over extensive morasses,

* The reader will find an engraving of the sterlet in the Museum Fred. I, of Linnæus, in le Bruyn's Travels, vol. i. p. 89; and in Lepekin's Reise, Table 9.

† S. R. R. G. ix. p. 4. Haygold's Russland, vol. ii. p. 416, Pallas's Reise, part i. p. 284, part ii. p. 446, Georgi Reise, vol. i. p. 177.

‡ Faun. Sue. No. 272.

§ Bruce relates in his Memoirs, that some vessels "going for Petersburg with live fish, called Sterlit, in passing the falls of Ladoga, were beat to pieces, by which accident the fish regained their liberty, and some of them were afterwards taken at Cronstadt, and one caught at Stockholm, which were considered as great curiosities, as none of them had ever been seen in those seas before." P. 112.

|| On the inland Navigation of Russia, book vi. c. 7.

and abounding with innumerable small bridges, without railing, and mostly in a shattered state. I observed several villages, as well as fields and gardens, surrounded with wooden pallisadoes, about twelve feet in height, which presented a picturesque appearance. The custom of encircling villages in this country with stakes is very ancient; for among the earliest laws of Russia, one enjoins* the peasants, under pain of the knout, to surround the towns and villages with pallisadoes. These enclosures were intended as a defence against the desultory incursions of the Tartar hordes before the invention of gunpowder; and the practice has been preserved among a people tenacious of old usages.

The country was for some way almost a continued bog, covered with forest, and the villages were built on eminences of sand rising out of the morass. We passed the night at Kholiloff, a small village, which had been lately consumed by fire. These repeated conflagrations will by no means appear a matter of wonder, when it is considered that the cottages are built with wood, and that the greater part of the peasants, like those in Poland, use, instead of candles, long slips of lighted deal, which they carry about the house, and even into hay lofts, without the least precaution. The next morning, the bad roads having shattered our new wheel, which was awkwardly put together, and already discovered symptoms of premature decay, we stopped to repair: but the repairs were as treacherous as the original fabric; for, before the end of the stage, it again broke, and we were delayed some hours at Yedrovo before we could venture to continue our journey. We now thought ourselves blessed with the assistance of a very masterly mechanic, as his workmanship lasted to Zimagor, a small village, prettily situated upon the borders of the lake Valdai. The surrounding country is the most agreeable and diversified which we traversed since our departure from Moscow. It rises into gentle eminences, and abounds with beautiful lakes, prettily sprinkled with woody islands, and skirted with forest, corn-fields, and pastures. The largest of these lakes is called Valdai, and seems about twenty miles in circumference; in the middle is an island containing a convent, which rises with its numerous spires among clusters of surrounding trees.† Valdai, which gives its name to the lake, and to the range of hills, contains several new brick buildings, and even the wooden houses are more decorated than the generality of Russian cottages; it lies upon an agreeable slope, and commands a pleasant view of the lake. The Valdai hills, though of no considerable elevation, are the highest in this part of the country; and separate the waters which flow towards the Caspian from those which take their course to the Baltic. From their termination, the country was no longer diversified with hill and dale, and enlivened with lakes; but presented an uniform flat, with a vast extent of morass.

On the 24th, in the afternoon, we arrived at Bronitza, a village upon the Masta, within 20 miles of Novogorod. We took up our abode in the house of a Russian priest, which in no wise differed from the other buildings. It was however clean and comfortable; having a chimney, and being provided with plenty of wooden and earthen utensils. The priest, not being attired in his clerical habit, was dressed like the peasants, and only distinguished by his long and flowing hair. He, his wife, and the rest of his family, were busily employed in extracting the roe from large quantities of fish, which are caught in the Masta, and with which an excellent caviare is prepared. Having obtained from our landlady the choicest of these fish, and procured in the village a brace of ptarmigans, a

* Haygold, vol. i. p. 357.

† In this convent the unfortunate Ivan, who was deposed by Elizabeth, suffered a temporary confinement. See book v. chap. ii.

bird of the partridge species, we sauntered out while supper was preparing, towards a neighbouring hill, which attracted our attention.

Two miles from the village, in the middle of a vast plain, rises, in a circular form, an insulated hill of sand and clay; the lower parts are thickly strewn with detached pieces of red and gray granite, similar to many others which appear about the adjacent country. I measured one of these masses, and found it twelve feet broad, eight thick, and five above the surface of the ground.*

On the summit stands a brick white washed church, which is a pleasing object from the adjacent grounds.† From the top we had a singular and extensive prospect. Beneath, the country is somewhat open, and divided into large enclosures of pasture and corn; towards the south rise the Valdai hills, skirting an immense plain, which stretches towards the north, east, and west, as far as the eye can reach; a vast expanse without a single hillock to obstruct the view; it seemed an endless forest, dotted with a few solitary wooden villages, which appeared so many points in a boundless desert. Beyond, at a great distance, we observed the spires of Novogorod, and the lake Ilmen scarcely discernible through the thick gloom of the trees.

The forwardness of the harvest in this northern climate has been already mentioned: it had been some time taken in, and the new corn was springing up in many places. The corn remains, during winter, buried under snow; at the melting of which, in spring, it shoots up speedily in these countries, where vegetation is rapid, on the returning warmth of the season. But as the shortness of the summer does not always allow the grain time to ripen, the peasants use the following method of drying it. They raise a wooden building, without windows, similar to the shell of the cottages; under this structure is a large cavity, in which a fire being made, the corn is laid upon the floor and dried; it is then hung upon frames in the open air, and afterwards threshed.

In this part of our journey, we passed numberless herds of oxen, moving towards Petersburg; most of them were driven from the Ukraine, the nearest part of which country is distant eight hundred miles from the metropolis. During this long progress the drivers seldom enter any house; they feed their cattle upon the slips of pasture on each side of the road, and have no other shelter in bad weather than the foliage of the trees. In the evening the still silence of the country was interrupted by the occasional lowing of the oxen, and carols of the drivers; while the solitary gloom of the forest was enlivened with the glare of numerous fires, surrounded by different groups of herdsmen in various attitudes; some were sitting round the flame, some employed in dressing their provisions, and others sleeping upon the bare ground. They resembled, in dress and manners, a rambling horde of Tartars.

The route from Moscow to Petersburg is continued during a space of five hundred miles, almost in a straight line cut through the forest, and is extremely tedious: on each side the trees are cleared to the breadth of forty or fifty paces, and the whole way runs chiefly through endless tracts of wood, only broken by villages, round which, to a small distance, the grounds are open and cultivated.

The road is of an equal breadth, and formed by trunks‡ of trees laid transversely, and bound down in the centre, and at each extremity, by long poles, or beams, fastened

* See some curious conjectures upon these granite stones of Bronitz, in Pallas's travels; and also in *Histoire des Decouvertes dans plusieurs Contrees de la Russie*, &c. vol. i. p. 42, &c.

† This eminence was remarkable, in the times of idolatry, for an oracular temple, built in the place now occupied by the church.

‡ Mr. Hanway makes a curious calculation of the number of trees employed to make a road of one hundred and fifty versts. "Allowing one tree with another to be nine inches diameter, and the length

into the ground with wooden pegs; these trunks are covered with layers of boughs and the whole is strewed over with sand or earth. When the road is new it is remarkably good; but as the trunks decay or sink into the ground, and as the sand or earth is worn away or washed off by the rain, it is broken into innumerable holes; and the jolting of the carriage over the bare timber can better be conceived than described. In many places the road is a perpetual succession of ridges, and the motion of the carriage a continual concussion, much greater than I ever experienced over the roughest pavement.

The villages which occasionally line this route are extremely similar, consisting usually of a single street, with wooden cottages; a few only being distinguished by brick houses. The cottages in these parts are superior to those between Tolitzan and Moscow; they seemed, indeed, well suited to a rigorous climate; and although constructed in the rudest manner, are comfortable habitations. The site of each building is an oblong square, enclosed by a high wooden wall, with a penthouse roof, and appears on the outside like a large barn. In one angle of this enclosure stands the house, fronting the street of the village, with the staircase on the outside, and the door opening underneath the penthouse roof: it contains one, or at most two rooms.

I have frequently observed, that beds are by no means usual in this country; inasmuch that, in all the cottages I entered in Russia, I only observed two, each of which contained two women at different ends with their clothes on. The family slept generally upon the benches, on the ground, or over the stove;* occasionally men, women, and children, promiscuously, without discrimination of sex or condition, and frequently almost in a state of nature. In some cottages I observed a kind of shelf, about six or seven feet from the ground, carried from one end of the room to the other; to which were fastened several transverse planks, and upon these some of the family slept with their heads and feet occasionally hanging down, and appearing to us, who were not accustomed to such places of repose, as if on the point of falling to the ground. The number of persons thus crowded into a small space, sometimes amounting to twenty, added to the heat of the stove, rendered the room intolerably warm, and produced a suffocating smell, which nothing but use enabled us to support. This inconvenience was still more disagreeable in the cottages not provided with chimnies, where the smoke loaded the atmosphere with additional impurities. If we opened the lattices to admit fresh air, such an influx of cold wind rushed into the room, that we preferred the heat and effluvia to the keenness of the northern blasts.

In the midst of every room hangs from the ceiling a vessel of holy water, and a lamp, lighted on particular occasions. Every house is provided with a picture of a saint coarsely daubed on wood, which frequently resembles more a Calmuc idol than a human head: to this the people pay the highest marks of veneration. All the members of the family, the moment they rose in the morning, and before they retired to sleep in the evening, never omitted their adoration to the saint: they crossed themselves during several minutes upon the sides and forehead, bowed very low, and sometimes even prostrated themselves on the ground. Every peasant also, on entering the

twenty three feet, and supposing the foundation and sides to be only half so many more as the bridge is composed of, and the road to be forty-six feet wide, here is an expence of two million one hundred thousand trees." *Hanway's Travels*, vol. i. p. 92. If we extend this calculation over the whole Russian empire, reaching four thousand miles in length, and take in the different cross roads, the expence of wood must be amazing, but the forests are also boundless and inexhaustible.

* The stove is a kind of brick oven; it occupies almost a quarter of the room, and is flat at top.

room, paid his obeisance to this object of worship, before he addressed himself to the family.

The peasants, in their common intercourse, are remarkably polite to each other: they take off their cap at meeting, bow ceremoniously and frequently, and usually exchange a salute. They accompany their ordinary discourse with much action and innumerable gestures, and are exceedingly servile in their expressions of deference to their superiors: in accosting a person of consequence, they prostrate themselves, and even touch the ground with their heads. We were often struck at receiving this kind of eastern homage, not only from beggars, but frequently from children, and occasionally from some of the peasants themselves.

In the appearance of the common people, nothing surprised us more than the enormous thickness of their legs, which we at first conceived to be their real dimensions; but the bulk, which created our astonishment, proceeded from the coverings with which they swaddle their legs, in summer as well as winter. Beside one or two pair of thick worsted stockings, they envelope their legs with wrappers of coarse flannel or cloth, several feet in length, and over these frequently draw a pair of boots, so large as to receive their bulky contents with the utmost facility.

The peasants are well clothed, comfortably lodged, and seem to enjoy plenty of wholesome food. The rye-bread, whose blackness at first disgusts the eye, and whose sourness the taste of a delicate traveller, agrees well with the appetite; but as I became reconciled to it from use, I found it no unpleasant morsel: this bread is rendered more palatable by stuffing it with onions and groats, carrots, or green corn, and seasoning it with oil. The other articles of their food I have enumerated on a former occasion, in addition to which I shall only observe, that mushrooms are so exceedingly common in these regions as to form a very essential part of their provision. I seldom entered a cottage without seeing great abundance; and in passing through the markets, was often astonished at the prodigious quantity exposed for sale: the variety was no less remarkable than the number; they were of many colours, amongst which I particularly noticed white, black, brown, yellow, green, and pink. The common drink of the peasants is quass, a fermented liquor, somewhat like sweet-wort, made by pouring warm water on rye or barley-meal, and deemed an excellent antiscorbutic. They are extremely fond of whisky, a spirituous liquor distilled from malt, which the poorest can occasionally command, and which they often use to great excess.

The backwardness of the Russian peasants in the mechanical arts, when compared with those of the other European nations, is visible to a superficial observer. As we approached Petersburg, and nearer the civilized parts of Europe, the villagers were better furnished with the conveniences of life, and further advanced in the knowledge of the necessary arts, than those who fell under our notice between Tolitzin and Moscow. The planks were less frequently hewn with the axe, and saw-pits, which we had long considered as objects of curiosity, often occurred: the cottages were more spacious and convenient, provided with larger windows, and generally had chimnies; they were also more amply stored with household furniture, and with wooden, and sometimes even earthen utensils. Still, however, their progress towards civilization is very inconsiderable, and many instances of the grossest barbarism fell under our observation.

The inhabitants of different villages on the roads, who furnish post-horses, are called yamshics, and enjoy some peculiar privileges. They are obliged to supply all couriers and travellers at a moderate price, in the dearest parts at 1½d. and in many other

parts at $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per verst* for each horse; and, in compensation, are exempted from the poll-tax, and supplying recruits: notwithstanding these immunities, the price they receive for their horses is so inconsiderable that they frequently produce them with the greatest reluctance. The instant a traveller demands a supply of fresh horses, the yamshics assemble in crowds, and frequently wrangle to such a degree, as to afford amusement to a person who is not impatient to depart. Their squabbles on this occasion have struck all travellers who have given any account of this country. Chancellor, the first Englishman who landed at Archangel, and went from thence to Moscow, could not fail to observe this circumstance, which equally prevailed at that period as at present.† “*Expresse commandement* was given, that post-horses should be gotten for him and the rest of his company, without any money. Which thing was, of all the Russes in the rest of their journey, so willingly done, that they began to quarrel, yea, and to fight also, in striving and contending which of them should put their post-horses to the sledde.”

In this description, however, Chancellor has made a ludicrous mistake: for the object of their squabbles was not to obtain, but to decline, the honour of furnishing him with horses. The same scene is often renewed at present, and the post-master not unusually settles the intricate contest by compelling the yamshics to draw lots. Indeed, as I have before remarked, it is absolutely necessary for a foreigner, who wishes to travel with expedition, not only to provide himself with a passport, but also to procure a Russian soldier, who, instead of attending to the arguments of the peasants, or waiting for the slow mediation of the post-master, summarily decides the business by the powerful interposition of his cudgel. The boors, quickly silenced by this dumb mode of argumentation,‡ find no difficulty in adjusting their pretensions, and the horses almost instantly make their appearance.

In our route through Russia I was surprised at the propensity of the natives to singing. Even the peasants who acted in the capacity of coachmen and postillions, were no sooner mounted than they began to warble an air, and continued it, without the least intermission, for several hours. But what still more astonished me was, that they performed occasionally in parts. I frequently observed them engaged in a kind of musical dialogue, making reciprocal questions and responses, as if chanting (if I may so express myself) their ordinary conversation. The postillions sing from the beginning to the end of a stage; the soldiers sing during their march; the countrymen sing amid their most laborious occupations; the public-houses re-echo with their carols; and in a still evening I have frequently heard the air vibrate with the notes of the surrounding villages.

An ingenious author,§ long resident in Russia, who turned his attention to the study of the national music, gives the following information upon this subject. The general music that prevails among the common people in Russia, from the Duna to the Amoor and the Frozen Ocean, consists in one species of simple melody, which admits of infinite variation, according to the ability of the singer, or the custom of the several provinces in this extensive empire. The words of the songs are mostly in prose, and often extempore, according to the immediate invention or recollection of

* Three quarters of a mile. The price however has been since increased.

† Hackluyt's Voyages, vol. i. p. 247.

‡ Argumentum baculinum.

§ Staehlin. See his Nachrichten von der Musik in Russland, in Haygold's Beylagen, vol. ii. p. 60 to 65; where specimens of this air are given.

the singer; perhaps an ancient legend, the history of an enormous giant, a description of a beautiful girl, a dialogue between a lover and his mistress, or the account of a murder. Sometimes they are merely letters and syllables taken from an old accidence, metrically arranged, and adapted to this general air. These words are chiefly used by mothers in singing to their children; while the boors perform their national dance to the same tune, accompanied with instrumental music. The subject of the song also frequently alludes to the adventures of the singer, or to his present situation; and the peasants adapt the topics of their common discourse and their disputes with each other, to this general air; which, altogether, forms an extraordinary effect, and led me to conjecture, that they charted their ordinary conversation.

CHAPTER X.

Novogorod.....Antiquity, Power, Grandeur, Independence, Decline, Subjection, and Downfall....Present State....Cathedral of St. Sophia....Early Introduction of Painting into Russia....Price of Provisions....Incidents of the Journey to Petersburg.

At Bronitza we crossed the Masta upon a raft composed of seven or eight trees rudely joined together, which scarcely afforded room for the carriage and two horses. We then continued our route, through a level country, to the banks of the Volkovetz, or little Volkof, which we passed in a ferry; and, after mounting a gentle rise, descended into the open marshy plain of pasture, which reaches, without interruption, to the walls of Novogorod. That town, at a small distance, exhibited a most magnificent appearance, and, from the great number of churches and convents, which on every side presented themselves to view, announced our approach to a considerable city; but our expectations were by no means realized.

No place ever filled me with more melancholy ideas of fallen grandeur, than Novogorod. It is one of the most ancient cities in Russia; and was formerly called Great Novogorod, to distinguish it from other Russian towns of a similar appellation.* According to Nestor, the earliest of the Russian historians, it was built at the same time with Kiof, in the middle of the fifth century, by a Slavonian horde, who issued from the banks of the Volga. Its antiquity is proved by a passage in the Gothic historian, Jordanes, in which it is called Civitas Nova, or New Town.† We have little insight into its history before the ninth century, when Ruric, the first great-duke of Russia, made it the metropolis of his vast dominions. The year subsequent to his death, in 879, the seat of government was removed, under his son Igor then an infant, to Kiof; and Novogorod continued above a century under the jurisdiction of governors nominated by the great dukes. At length, in 970, Svatoslaf, the son of Igor, created his third son Vlodimir duke of Novogorod: Vlodimir, succeeding his father in the throne of Russia, ceded the town to his son Yaroslaf; who, in 1036, granted to the inhabitants considerable privileges, that laid the foundation of their liberty. From this period Novogorod was for a long time governed by its own dukes: these sovereigns were at first subordinate to the great dukes, who resided at Kiof and Volodimir; but afterwards, as the town increased in population and wealth, gradually usurped an absolute independency.‡

* Nishnei Novogorod, and Novogorod Severskoi.

† Slavini a Civitate Nova et Slavino Rumunensi, et lacu qui appellatur Musianus, &c. The lake is the Ilmen, and the Civitas Nova, Novogorod. S. R. G. Vol. v. p. 383.

‡ S. R. G. Vol. v. p. 397.

But while they thus shook off the yoke of a distant lord, they were unable to maintain their authority over their own subjects. Although the succession continued in the same family; yet, as the dukes were elected by the inhabitants, they gradually bartered, as the price of their nomination, all their most valuable prerogatives. They were also so frequently deposed, that, for near two centuries, the list of the dukes resembles more a calendar of annual magistrates, than a regular line of hereditary princes, and, in effect, Novogorod was a republic under the jurisdiction of a nominal sovereign. The privileges enjoyed by the inhabitants, however unfavourable to the power of the dukes, proved extremely beneficial to the real interests of the town: it became the great mart of trade between Russia and the Hanseatic cities, and made rapid advances in opulence and population. At this period its dominions were so extensive,* its power so great, and its situation so impregnable, as to give rise to a proverb, "Who can resist the Gods and great Novogorod?"†

It continued in this flourishing state until the middle of the fifteenth century, when the great dukes of Russia, who still retained the title of dukes of Novogorod, having transferred their residence from Kiof to Volodimir, and afterwards to Moscow, laid claim to its feudal sovereignty; a demand which the inhabitants sometimes evaded by composition, sometimes by resistance, but were sometimes compelled to acknowledge. At length, in 1471, Ivan Vassilievitch I, having secured his dominions against the inroads of the Tartars, and extended his empire by the conquest of the neighbouring principalities, asserted his right to the sovereignty of Novogorod, and enforced his pretensions by a formidable army. He vanquished the troops of the republic, and having forced the citizens to acknowledge his claims, appointed a governor, who was permitted to reside in the town, and exercise the authority formerly vested in their own dukes.‡ This power, however, being exceedingly limited, left them in the entire possession of their most valuable immunities: they retained their own laws, chose their own magistrates, and the governor never interfered in public affairs, except by appeal.

Ivan, by no means contented with this limited species of government, watched a favourable opportunity of extending his authority, and, in 1477, laid siege to the town. His designs being abetted by internal feuds, the inhabitants were constrained to subscribe to the conditions imposed by the haughty conqueror. The gates were thrown open; the great duke entered the place in the character of sovereign, and the people, tendering the oath of allegiance, delivered into his hands the charter of their liberties, which unanimity would still have preserved inviolate. One circumstance, recorded by historians as a proof of unconditional subjection, was the removal of an enormous bell from Novogorod to Moscow, denominated by the inhabitants eternal, and revered as the paladium of their liberty and the symbol of their privileges. It was suspended in the market-place; the sacred sound drew the people instantly from the most remote parts, and tolled the signal of foreign danger or intestine tumult. The great duke peremptorily demanded this object of public veneration, which he called "The larum of sedition;" and the inhabitants considered its surrender as the sure prelude of departing liberty.

From this period the great duke became in effect absolute sovereign of Novogorod, although the ostensible forms of government were still preserved; to ensure the obedience of his new subjects, he transplanted above a thousand of the principal citizens to

* Its territory extended to the north as far as the frontiers of Livonia and Finland, and comprised great part of the province of Archangel, and a large district beyond the north western limits of Siberia.

† Quis contra Deos et Magnam Novogardiam?

‡ The government was similar to that of the German republics, who acknowledge the emperor as their liege lord, but are under the jurisdiction of their own magistrates.

Moscow, and other towns; and secured the Kremlin of Novogorod with strong walls of brick. Notwithstanding the despotism to which the inhabitants were subject, and the oppression which they experienced from Ivan and his successors, yet Novogorod still continued the largest and most commercial city in all Russia, as will appear from the description of Richard Chancellor, who passed through it in 1554 in his way to Moscow. "Next unto Mosco the city of Novogorod is reputed the chiefest of Russia; for although it be in majestie inferior to it, yet in greatnesse it goeth beyond it. It is the chiefest and greatest mart town of all Moscovie; and albeit the emperor's seate is not there, but at Mosco, yet the commodiousnesse of the river, falling into that gulf which is called Sinus Finnicus, whereby it is well frequented by merchants, makes it more famous than Mosco itself."*

Its population, during this period, was so great, that in 1508, above fifteen thousand persons died of an epidemical disorder;† more than double the number of the present inhabitants. In its most flourishing condition it contained at least four hundred thousand souls.‡ Under the reign of Ivan Vassilievitch II, the prosperity of Novogorod experienced a fatal downfall; that monarch having, in 1570, discovered a secret correspondence between some of the principal inhabitants and Sigismund Augustus king of Poland, relative to a surrender of the city into his hands, punished them in the most inhuman manner. He repaired in person to Novogorod, and appointed a court of inquiry, justly denominated the tribunal of blood. Contemporary historians relate that its proceedings continued during the space of five weeks, and that on each day of this fatal period more than five hundred inhabitants fell victims to the vengeance of incensed despotism. According to some authors, twenty-five thousand, according to others, more than thirty thousand persons perished in this dreadful carnage. Those writers, who were the Tzar's enemies, have probably exaggerated the number of these executions; and it is but justice to add, that some circumstances in their relations are unquestionably false: but though we ought not to give implicit credit to all the accounts recorded by his adversaries; yet, even by the confession of his apologists, there still remains sufficient evidence of his savage ferocity in this barbarous transaction, which equals if not surpasses in cruelty, the massacre at Stockholm under Christian II.

This horrid catastrophe and the subsequent oppressions which the town experienced from that great though sanguinary prince, impaired its strength; and it is described as a place of desolation by Uhlfield, the Danish ambassador. But although the splendour of this once flourishing town received a considerable diminution; yet it was not totally obscured until the foundation of Petersburg, whither Peter the great transferred all the commerce of the Baltic, which before centered in Novogorod.

The present town is surrounded by a rampart of earth, with a range of old towers at regular distances, forming a circumference of scarcely a mile and an half; and even this inconsiderable circle includes much open space, and many houses which are not inhabited. As Novogorod was built after the manner of the ancient towns of this country, in the Asiatic style, this rampart, like that of the Semlainogorod at Moscow, probably enclosed several interior circles: without it was a vast extensive suburb, which reached to the distance of six miles, and included all the convents and churches, the

* Hackluyt, vol. i. p. 251.

† S. R. G. vol. v. p. 494.

‡ According to Heym, Novogorod in 1783 contained sixty-two churches, six convents, and exclusive of twelve public buildings, one thousand five hundred and twelve houses, of which only thirty-nine were of brick. The population amounted to three thousand three hundred and forty-two males, and three thousand seven hundred and eighty-four females.

ancient ducal palace, and other structures, that now make a splendid but solitary appearance in the adjacent plain.

Novogorod stretches on both sides of the Volkof, a beautiful river of considerable depth and rapidity, and somewhat broader than the Thames at Windsor. This river separates the town into two divisions; the trading part, and the quarter of St. Sophia, which are united by means of a bridge, partly of wood and partly of brick.

The first division, or the trading part, is, excepting the governor's house, a rude cluster of wooden habitations, and in no other respect distinguished from the common villages than by numerous brick churches and convents, melancholy monuments of former magnificence. In all parts I was struck with these remains of ruined grandeur; while half-cultivated fields enclosed within high palisadoes, and large spaces covered with nettles, attested present desolation. Towards its extremity a brick edifice, and several detached structures of the same materials, erected at the empress's expence, for a manufacture of ropes and sails, exhibited a splendid figure when contrasted with the surrounding hovels.

The opposite division, denominated the quarter of St. Sophia, derives its appellation from the cathedral, and comprehends the fortress or Kremlin erected for the purpose of curbing the inhabitants, and preventing frequent insurrections. It is of an oval form, and surrounded by a high brick wall, strengthened with round and square towers: the wall is similar to that which encloses the Kremlin at Moscow, and was also built in 1490 by the Italian architect Solario, of Milan, at the order of Ivan Vassilievitch I, soon after the conquest of Novogorod. The fortress contains the cathedral of St. Sophia, the old archiepiscopal mansion with the staircase on the outside, part of a new palace not finished, and a few other brick buildings; but the remaining space is a waste, overspread with weeds and nettles, and covered with ruins.

The cathedral of St. Sophia, one of the most ancient churches in Russia, was begun in 1044 by Vlodimer Yaroslavitch, duke of Novogorod, and completed in 1051.* It was probably constructed soon after Christianity was introduced into Russia by the Greeks, and called St. Sophia, from the church of that name in Constantinople. It is a high square building, with a gilded cupola, and four tin domes. We entered this venerable pile through a pair of brassen gates ornamented with various figures in alto relievo, representing the passion of our Saviour, and other scriptural histories. According to tradition, these gates were brought from the ancient town of Cherson, where Vlodimir the Great was baptised, are supposed to be of Grecian workmanship, and are in consequence of this persuasion called Korsunskie Dveri, the doors of Cherson. But if we admit the truth of this tradition, how shall we account for the Latin characters with which they are inscribed.

p. e. WICKMANNVS MEGIDEBVRGENSIS
ALEXANDER ^{ep̄s} DEBLVCICH.
AVE MARIA GPACIAPLEHS DHS EECVGI.

THE first part of this inscription seems to prove rather, that they came from Magdeburgh in Germany; a circumstance by no means improbable, as the inhabitants of Novogorod maintained; in those early times, a no less frequent intercourse with Germany than with Greece.

* S. R. G. vol. v. p. 398. A wooden church of the same name was constructed about the year 1000 by Joachim, the first bishop of Novogorod, on the spot where this cathedral now stands. Ibid. p. 394

In the inside of this cathedral are twelve massy piers, white-washed, which, as well as the walls, are thickly covered with the representations of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and of various saints. Some of these paintings are of very high antiquity, and probably anterior to the revival of the art in Italy. Many of the figures are finished in a hard flat style of colouring upon a gold ground, and exactly similar to those of the Greek artists, by whom, according to Vasari, painting was first introduced into Italy.

Towards the latter end of the thirteenth century, some Greek artists invited to Florence, painted a chapel in the church of Santa Maria Novella. Although their design and colouring were hard and flat, and they chiefly represented the figures on a field of gold; yet their productions were much admired in that ignorant century. Cimabue, who was then a boy, struck with their performance, was accustomed to pass all the time he could steal from school in contemplating the progress of their work. His enthusiasm being thus kindled, he turned his whole attention to the study of an art to which his genius seemed inclined. His first compositions had all the defects of the masters whom he imitated; but he gradually improved as he advanced, and laid the first rude foundation of that astonishing excellence which the schools of Italy afterwards attained.

As painting was brought into Italy from the Greek empire, when there was scarcely any connection between those two countries, we may be well assured it was introduced at a more earlier period into Russia, from the same quarter; not only because a constant intercourse had been long maintained between the great dukes and emperors of Constantinople, and because the patriarch was formerly the head of the church established in Russia; but likewise because the Russians being converted to christianity by the Greeks, were accustomed, after their example, to decorate their temples with various figures, and must have received from them many portraits of saints, which form in their religion a necessary part of divine worship. We may conclude, therefore, that the cathedral of St. Sophia, which was built in the eleventh century, and is one of the most antient churches of Russia, was ornamented with figures of saints by the Greek artists, whom the great dukes of Novogorod drew from Constantinople. The representations in question, indeed, are such mere daubings, as not to deserve a particular inquiry, if it did not assist in illustrating the progress of the liberal arts, and ascertaining the early introduction of painting into this country, at a period when it was probably unknown even in Italy.*

Several princes of the ducal family of Russia are interred in this cathedral. The first is Vlodimir Yaroslavitch, who was born in 1020, died in 1051,† and buried in this church which he had just completed. Besides his tomb, are those of his mother Anne, daughter of the eastern emperor Romanus, his wife Alexandra, his brother Micslislaf, and lastly, of Feodor, brother of Alexandra Nevski, who died in 1228. The most antient of these sepulchres are of carved wood gilt, silvered, and surrounded with iron rails; the others are of brick and mortar. Within the sanctuary the walls are covered with mosaic compartments, of coarse workmanship, but curious from their antiquity.

Our landlord is a German, and his inn, though small, one of the most commodious we had hitherto met with in Russia; it was neatly furnished, and afforded beds, an article of singular luxury in this country, which we had no small difficulty to procure, even in the city of Moscow.

* Jam diu pingunt Rutheni, et quis credat? seculo duodecimo, says Falconi. See *Essai sur la Bib.* &c. p. 19.

† S. R. G. vol. v. p. 399.

By the assistance of our landlord we obtained the price of provisions in these parts :*

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Butcher's meat per Russian pound,†	0	1½	to 0	2
Black bread per ditto,	0	0½		
White common ditto,	0	1		
French ditto,	0	2		
Butter ditto,	0	4		
Ten eggs from	0	1½	to 0	5
Pair of fowls from	1	3	to 1	8
Fatted goose,	1	0		
Couple of wild ducks,	0	6		
Tame ditto,	1	3		
Brace of partridges,	0	10		
Black game, cock and hen,	1	6		
Hare	0	7½		
Quart of milk,	0	1½		
Best spirituous liquors per quart,	1	5½		
Worst sort,	0	8½		
Pair of peasant's leather shoes,	1	3		
Boots,	4	10		
Round hat,	1	3		
Peasant's shirt, no collar or wristband, and very short,	1	3		

Our coach being much shattered by the bad roads, we left it at Novogorod, and continued our journey in kibitkas, the common carriages of the country. A kibitka is a small cart, capable of containing two persons abreast, while the driver sits upon the further extremity close to the horse's tails. It is about five feet in length, and the hinder half is covered with a semi-circular tilt, open in front like the top of a cradle, made of laths interwoven and covered with birch or beech bark. There is not a piece of iron in the whole machine. It has no springs, and is fastened by means of wooden pins, ropes, and sticks, to the body of the carriage. The Russians, when they travel in these kibitkas, place a feather-bed in the bottom, admirably calculated to break the intolerable jolts and concussions, occasioned by the uneven timber roads. With this precaution, a kibitka, though inferior in splendour, equals in comfort the most commodious vehicle. The traveller stretches himself at length upon the feather-bed, and if inclined, may dose away the journey in perfect tranquillity. But being novices in the method of equipping this species of conveyance, we suffered a layer of trunks and other hard baggage to be substituted in the place of feather-beds: these substances, so much more bulky, and so much less yielding than down, obliged us either to sit under the tilt in a sloping posture, or upon the narrow edge of the carriage; in the alternate enjoyment of which delectable positions we passed twelve hours without intermission, and with no refreshment. Those who have ever regaled themselves amidst a pile of loose trunks and boxes in the basket of a heavy-leaden stage coach, over the roughest pavement, would esteem that mode of conveyance luxury to what we experienced. Our impatience, however, to reach Petersburg beguiled in some measure the bruises we received from our kibitkas and their contents, and induced us to persevere in our route till after ten at night; when, being deposited in a small village, I had scarcely strength remain-

* A Russian pound—14½ English ounces.

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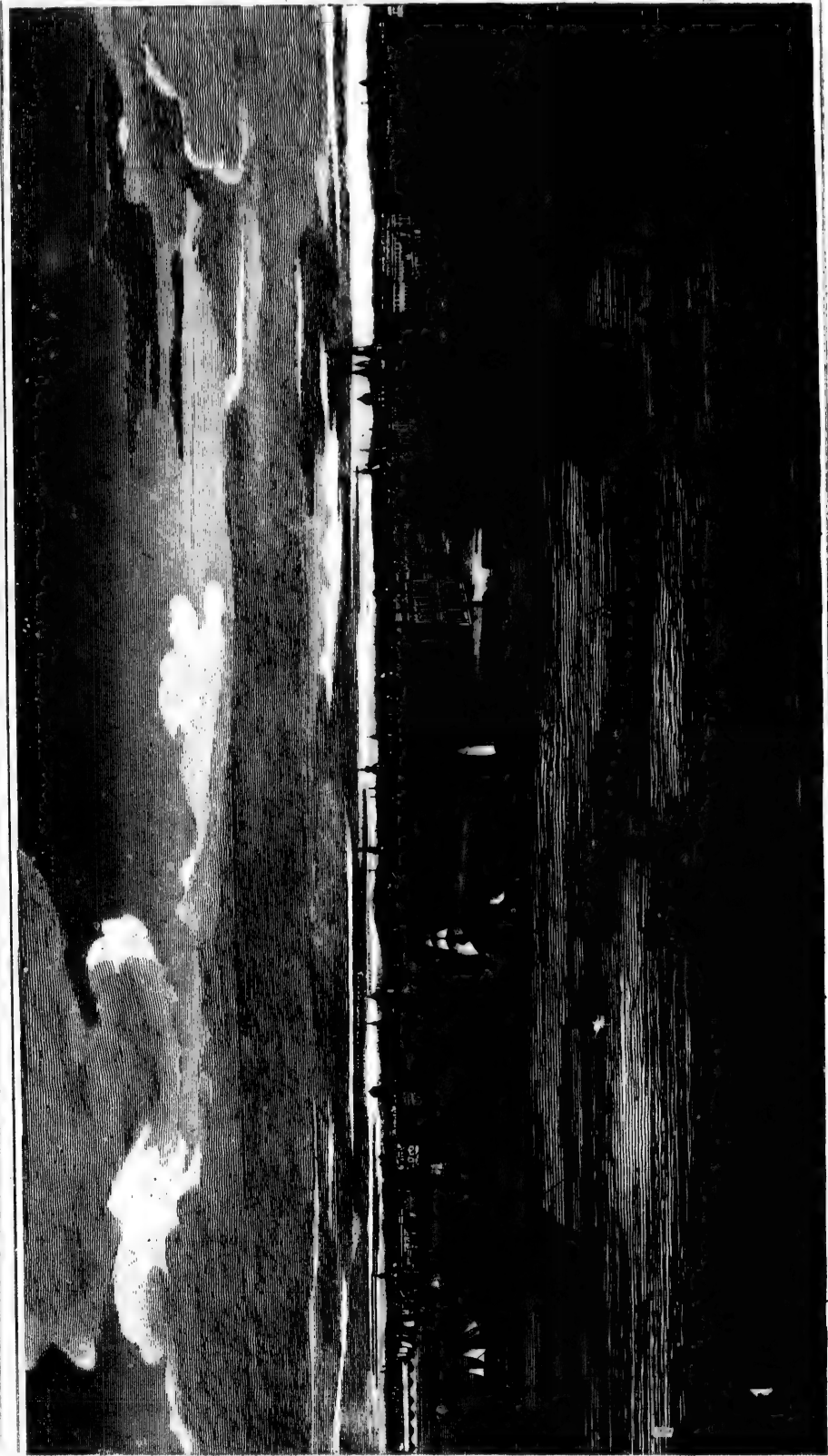
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And so.

View of Philadelphia

Engraved by permission from a drawing of W. H. Whistler

ing to crawl to some fresh straw spread for our beds in the corner of an unfurnished inn. With the comforts of this delightful place of repose I was so enamoured, that I could not be prevailed upon to relinquish it even for a few minutes, for the enjoyment of an excellent ragout prepared by our servant, which a constant fasting since nine in the morning tended greatly to recommend.

A tolerable night's rest, and the prospect of only fifty miles between us and Petersburg, induced us to re-assume our former stations, and to brave a repetition of our fatigue. The country we passed through was ill calculated to alleviate our sufferings, by transferring our attention from ourselves to the surrounding objects. Excepting the environs of Novogorod, which were tolerably open, the road made of timber, and as straight as an arrow, ran through a perpetual forest, without the least intermixture of hill or dale, and with few slips of cultivated ground. Through this dreary extent, the gloomy uniformity of the forest was only broken by a few solitary villages, at long distances from each other, without the intervention of a single house. Itchora, the last village at which we changed horses, though but twenty miles from the capital, was small and wretched, and the adjacent country as inhospitable and unpeopled as that we had already passed. About ten miles from Itchora we suddenly turned to the right, and the scene instantly brightened: the woods gave way to cultivation, the country began to be enlivened with houses, the inequalities of the timber road were succeeded by the level of a spacious causeway, equal to the finest turnpikes of England, the end of each verst* was marked with superb mile-stones of granite and marble, and a long avenue of trees was closed at the distance of a few miles with a view of Petersburg, the object of our wishes, and the termination of our labours.

CHAPTER III.

Justification of Peter the Great for transferring the Seat of Empire from Moscow to St. Petersburg....Description of the new Metropolis....Foundation and Progress....Circumference and Population....Inundations of the Neva....Remarkable Flood in 1777....Bridge of pontoons....Plan for a Bridge of a single Arch across the Neva....Colossal Statue of Peter the Great....Account of the Pedestal, and its Conveyance to Petersburg....General Observations on the Weather during the Winter....Precautions against the Cold....Diversions and Winter Scenes upon the Neva....Ice Hills....Annual Fair.

SAINT Petersburg is situated in the latitude of 59° 56' 23" north, and longitude 30° 25' east, from the meridian of Greenwich. It stands upon the Neva, near the gulf of Finland, and is built partly on some islands in the mouth of that river, and partly on the continent. The principal divisions are: 1, The Admiralty quarter. 2, The Vassili Ostrof.† 3, The fortress. 4, The island of St. Petersburg; and 5, The various suburbs, called the suburbs of Livonia, of Moscow, of Alexander Nevski, and of Wiburgh. Their respective situation will be better explained by the annexed plan of the town, than by the most elaborate description.

Peter the Great incurred considerable censure for transferring the seat of empire from Moscow to St. Petersburg; it has been urged, with some degree of plausibility, that he was in effect more an Asiatic than an European sovereign; that Moscow, lying

* Throughout all the high roads of Russia, each verst (or three quarters of a mile) is marked by a wooden post, about twelve feet in height, painted red.

† Ostrof signifies Island.

Engraved by permission from a drawing of M. P. H. H. H.

nearer to the center of his dominions, was better calculated for the imperial residence ; and that, by removing his capital, he neglected the interior provinces, and sacrificed every consideration to his predilection for the settlements upon the Baltic.

But although Petersburgh is situated at the extremity of Russia, he did not neglect any other part of his vast dominions. On the contrary, he was no less attentive to his Asiatic than to his European provinces ; his repeated negotiations with the Chinese, his campaigns against the Turks, and his conquest of the Persian provinces, which border upon the Caspian, prove the truth of this assertion. It is no less obvious, that Europe was the quarter from whence the greatest danger to his throne impended ; that the Swedes were his most formidable enemies, and from them the very existence of his empire was threatened with annihilation. It was not by leading his troops against the desultory bands of Turks or Persians, that he acquired a solid military force ; but by training them to endure the firm attack of regular battalions, and to learn to conquer from repeated defeats ; with this design, the nearer he fixed his seat to the borders of Sweden, whose veterans had long been the terror of the north, the more readily his troops would imbibe their military spirit, and learn their well regulated manœuvres. Add to this, that the protection of the new commerce, which he opened through the Baltic, depended upon the creation and maintenance of a naval force, which required his immediate and almost continual inspection. To this circumstance alone is owing the rapid and respectable rise of the Russian power, its preponderance in the north, and political importance in the scale of Europe. In a word, had not Peter transferred the seat of government to the shores of the Baltic, the Russian navy had never rode triumphant in the Turkish seas ; and Catharine II, had never stood forth the arbitress of the north, and the mediatrix* of Europe.

The internal improvement of the Russian empire, the great object of Peter's reign, was considerably advanced by approaching the capital to the more civilized parts of Europe ; by this means he drew the nobility from their rude magnificence and feudal dignity at Moscow, to a more immediate dependence upon the sovereign, to more polished manners, to a greater degree of social intercourse. Nor did any other cause, perhaps, so much tend to promote his plans for the civilization of his subjects, as the removal of the imperial seat from the inland provinces to the gulf of Finland.

In opposition, therefore, to the censurers of Peter, we cannot but esteem this act as extremely beneficial, and might even venture to assert, that if, by any revolution of Europe, this empire should lose its acquisitions on the Baltic ; if the court should repair to Moscow, and maintain a fainter connection with the European powers before an essential reformation in the manners of the people takes place ; Russia would soon relapse into her original barbarism, and no traces of the memorable improvements introduced by Peter I, and Catharine II, be found but in the annals of history.

In walking about this metropolis I was filled with astonishment on reflecting, that so late as the beginning of this century, the ground on which Petersburgh now stands was a morass occupied by a few fishermen's huts. The first building of the city is so recent as to be almost remembered by persons now alive, and its gradual progress is traced without difficulty. Peter the Great having wrested Ingria from the Swedes, and advanced the boundaries of his empire to the shores of the Baltic, determined to erect a fortress upon a small island in the mouth of the Neva, for protecting his conquests, and

* It must be remembered, that Catharine II, mediated the peace of Teschen, in 1799, between the emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia.

opening a new channel of commerce.* As a prelude to this undertaking, a small battery was raised on another island of the Neva, upon the spot now occupied by the academy of sciences, and was commanded by Vassili Demitrievitch Kotshmin. All the orders of the emperor sent to this officer being directed Vassili na Ostrof, To Vassili upon the island, this part of the town was called Vassili Ostrof, or the island of Vassili.

The fortress was begun on the 16th of May, 1703; and, notwithstanding the obstructions arising from the marshy nature of the ground, and the inexperience of the workmen, a small citadel, surrounded with a rampart of earth, and strengthened with six bastions, was completed in a short time. An author,† who was in Russia at that period, informs us, "that the labourers were not furnished with the necessary tools, as pick-axes, spades and shovels, wheel-barrows, planks and the like; notwithstanding which, the work went on with such expedition, that it was surprising to see the fortress raised within less than five months, though the earth, which is very scarce thereabouts, was, for the greater part, carried by the labourers in the skirts of their clothes, and in bags made of rags and old mats, the use of wheel-barrows being then unknown to them."

Within the fortress a few wooden habitations were erected. For his own immediate residence, Peter also ordered, in the beginning of 1703, a small hut to be raised in an adjacent island, which he called the island of St. Petersburg, and from which the new metropolis has derived its name: this hut was low and small, and is still preserved in memory of the sovereign who condescended to dwell in it. Near it was soon afterwards constructed another wooden habitation, but larger and more commodious, in which prince Mentchikof resided, and gave audience to foreign ministers. At a small distance was an inn, much frequented by the courtiers and persons of all ranks; to which Peter frequently repaired on Sundays after divine service, and caroused with his suite and others who happened to be present, as spectators of the fire-works and diversions exhibited by his orders.

On the 30th of May, 1706, Peter demolished the small citadel, and began the foundation of the new fortress on the same spot. In 1710, count Golovkin built the first edifice of brick, and in the following year the Tzar, with his own hand, laid the foundation of a house, to be erected with the same materials.‡ From these small beginnings rose the present metropolis of Russia; and in less than nine years, the seat of empire was transferred from Moscow to Petersburg.

The despotic authority and zeal of Peter for the improvement of the new capital, will appear from his mandates. In 1714 he enjoined, that all buildings upon the island of St. Petersburg, and in the admiralty quarter, particularly those on the banks of the Neva, should be constructed after the German manner, with timber and brick; that the nobility and principal merchants should be obliged to have houses in Petersburg; that every large vessel navigating to the city, should bring thirty stones, every small one ten, and every peasant's waggon three, towards the construction of the bridges and other public works; that the roofs of the houses should be no longer covered with birch planks and bark, so dangerous in case of fire, but with tiles or clods of earth. In 1716 a regular plan§ for the new city was approved by Peter; the principal part of the new metropolis was to be situated in the island of Vassili-Ostrof; and, in imitation of the

* See Hist. Geog. and Top. Beschreibung der Stadt. S. Pet. in the Journal of St. Pet. for 1779.

† Perry's State of Russia, vol. i. p. 300.

‡ Journal of St. Petersburg, 1799.

§ The reader will find a delineation of this plan in Perry's State of Russia.

Dutch towns, canals were to be cut through the principal streets, and lined with avenues of trees; but it has never been carried into execution; and under the empress Anne, the imperial residence was removed to the Admiralty quarter. The nobility soon followed the example of the sovereign; and, excepting some public edifices, and the row of houses fronting the Neva, the Vassili-Ostrof is the worst part of the city, and contains more wooden buildings than all the other quarters.

Succeeding sovereigns have continued to embellish Petersburg, but none more than the present empress, who may be called its second founder. Notwithstanding, however, all these improvements, it bears every mark of an infant city, and is still "only an immense outline, which will require future empresses and almost future ages to complete."* The streets in general are broad† and spacious; and three of the principal streets, which meet at the Admiralty, and reach to the extremities of the suburbs, are at least two miles in length. Most of them are paved; but a few are still suffered to remain floored with planks. In several parts of the metropolis, particularly in the Vassili-Ostrof, wooden houses and habitations, scarcely superior to common cottages, are blended with the public buildings; but this motley mixture is far less common than at Moscow.

The brick houses are ornamented with a white stucco, which has led several travellers to assert that they are built with stone; whereas, unless I am mistaken, there are only two stone structures in all Petersburg; the one the church of St. Isaac, of hewn granite, and marble columns, not yet finished; the other the marble palace, constructed at the expence of the empress, on the banks of the Neva. Her imperial majesty gave this superb edifice to prince Orlof; and, at his death, purchased it from his executor for 2,000,000 of roubles. The style of architecture is magnificent but heavy; the front is composed of polished granite and marble, and finished with such nicety, and in a style so superior to the contiguous buildings, that it seems to have been transported to the present spot, like a palace in the Arabian tales, raised by the enchantment of Aladdin's lamp.‡ It contains forty rooms upon each floor, and is fitted up in a style of such splendour, that the expence of the furniture amounted to 1,500,000 roubles.

The mansions of the nobility are vast piles of building, but not in general upon so magnificent a scale as several I observed at Moscow: they are furnished with great cost, and as elegantly as those at Paris or London. They are situated chiefly on the south side of the Neva, either in the Admiralty quarter, or in the suburbs of Livonia and Moscow, which are the finest parts of the city.

The views upon the banks of the Neva exhibit the most grand and lively scenes I ever beheld. That river is in many places as broad as the Thames at London; it is also deep, rapid, and as transparent as crystal; and the banks are lined with handsome buildings. On the north side, the fortress, the academy of sciences, and academy of arts, are the most striking objects: on the opposite side are the imperial palace, the Admiralty, the mansions of many Russian nobles, and the English line, so called, because the whole row is principally occupied by the English merchants. In the front of these buildings, on the south side, is the Quay, which stretches for three miles, except where it is interrupted by the Admiralty; and the Neva, during the whole of that space, has been lately embanked by a wall, parapet, and pavement of hewn granite; a magnificent and durable monument of imperial munificence. The canals of Catherine, and of

* Wraxall's Tour, p. 231.

† They are mostly as broad as Oxford-street, those with canals much broader.

‡ In this palace Stanislaus, the abdicated king of Poland, died.

the Fontanka,* which are several miles in length, have been recently embanked in the same manner, and add greatly to the beauty of the metropolis.

The quantity of polished granite used in these public works is sufficient to astonish an European architect, who considers the hardness of the stone, and the difficulty with which it is polished. I have frequently viewed with surprise the process employed by the Russian workmen, in smoothing the granite. They batter the stone with an iron hammer edged with steel; the quantity which flies off at each stroke is almost imperceptible; but by repeatedly striking the same place, the prominent parts are worn away, and the stones become smooth. To this gradual attrition may be applied the proverb,

Gutta cavat lapidem, non vi sed sæpe cadendo.

Petersburgh, though more compact than other Russian cities, with the houses in many streets contiguous to each other, still bears a resemblance to the towns of this country, and is built in a very straggling manner. By an order lately issued from government, the city has been enclosed within a rampart, the circumference whereof is twenty-one versts, or fourteen English miles.

The average population of Petersburgh may be collected from the lists of births and deaths during seven years.

BIRTHS.				DEATHS.			
1771	Males	-	2459	Males	-	-	3137
	Females	-	2322	Females	-	-	1642
			4781				4779
1772	-	-	4759	-	-	-	4727
1773	-	-	5483	-	-	-	5031
1774	Males	-	2839	Males	-	-	2899
	Females	-	2598	Females	-	-	1559
			5437				4458
1775	-	-	4961	-	-	-	3107
1776	Males	-	2816	Males	-	-	2694
	Females	-	2581	Females	-	-	1769
			5397				4463
	Natives.				Natives.		
	Males	-	2717	Males	-	-	3117
	Females	-	2618	Females	-	-	2043
1777	Foreigners.				Foreigners.		
	Males	-	265	Males	-	-	265
	Females	-	254	Females	-	-	235
			5854				5660
Total of births for seven years			36,672	Total of deaths.			32,165
Annual average of births, omitting small fractions			-	-			5238
of deaths			-	-			4594

By multiplying the births five thousand two hundred and thirty-eight by twenty-five, the sum is one hundred and thirty-four thousand nine hundred and fifty; and the deaths four thousand five hundred and ninety-four by twenty-six, the sum is one hundred and nineteen thousand four hundred and forty four. By taking the medium, therefore,

* And the Moika since my departure.

between these two sums, we have one hundred and twenty-six thousand six hundred and ninety-seven for the number of inhabitants.*

Petersburgh, from its low and marshy situation, is subject to inundations, which sometimes threaten the town with a total submersion. These floods are chiefly occasioned by a west or south-west wind, which, blowing directly from the gulf, obstructs the current of the Neva, and causes an accumulation of the waters. On the 16th of November we had nearly personal experience of this dreadful calamity. Being invited to a masquerade at the Cadet's in the Vassili Ostrof, on our approach to the bridge we perceived that a stormy west wind had swelled the river so considerably as to elevate the pontoons; and the bridge was in danger of being carried away. Instead, therefore, of repairing to the masquerade, we returned home, and waited for some hours in awful expectation of an immediate deluge. Providentially a sudden change of wind preserved Petersburgh from the impending catastrophe, and the inhabitants from an almost universal consternation, which recent sufferings impressed upon their minds. I allude to the flood in the month of September 1777, whose effects are thus described: "† In the evening of the 9th a violent storm of wind blowing at S. W. and afterwards W. raised the Neva and its various branches to so great a height, that at five in the morning the waters poured over their bank, and suddenly overflowed the town, but more particularly the Vassili Ostrof and the island of St. Petersburgh. The torrent rose in several streets to the depth of four feet and an half; and overturned, by its rapidity, various buildings and bridges. About seven, the wind shifting to N. W. the flood fell suddenly; and at mid-day most of the streets, which in the morning could only be passed in boats, became dry. For a short time the river rose ten feet seven inches above its ordinary level."

The divisions of Petersburgh, on each side of the Neva, are connected by a bridge on pontoons, which was usually removed when the large masses of ice driven down the stream from the lake Ladoga,‡ first made their appearance, and for a few days, until the river was frozen sufficiently hard to bear carriages, there was no communication between the opposite parts of the town. The depth of the river renders it extremely difficult to build a stone bridge: and if one should be constructed, it would probably be destroyed by these vast shoals of ice. To remedy this inconvenience, a Russian peasant projected the sublime plan of throwing a wooden bridge of a single arch across the river, which in its narrowest part is nine hundred and eighty feet in breadth. The artist has executed a model ninety-eight feet in length, which I examined with great attention, as he explained the proportion and mechanism.

* Susslick estimates the population of Petersburgh at one hundred and thirty-three thousand one hundred and ninety-six, by multiplying the births by twenty-eight; and one hundred and thirty-two thousand nine hundred and ninety, by multiplying the deaths by twenty-six; neither of which numbers differ essentially from the average number in the text: he adds, that Petersburgh is the only large town in which there are more births than deaths. The population of Petersburgh is continually increasing, as well from the excess of the births above the deaths, as from the influx of natives and foreigners. According to a census taken in 1784, it contained one hundred and twenty-six thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven males, and sixty-five thousand six hundred and nineteen females, including about twenty-seven thousand eight hundred and ninety foreigners; in all one hundred and ninety-two thousand four hundred and forty-six persons.

According to professor Heym (*Encyclopædie des Russischen Reichs*) Petersburgh was twenty-four versts in circumference in 1784, and contained seventy-one churches, and three thousand four hundred and thirty-one houses, of which one thousand two hundred and ninety-one were of brick, and two thousand one hundred and forty of wood. † Journ. St. Pet. Sept. 1777.

‡ This bridge was, in December 1779, replaced for the first time, and continued during the winter, a practice which has been since renewed, and renders the communication more convenient.

The bridge is constructed on the same principle as that of Schaffhausen, excepting that the mechanism is more complicated, and the road not so level. I shall attempt to describe it by supposing it finished, as that will convey the best idea of the plan. The bridge is roofed at the top, and enclosed at the sides: it is formed by four frames of timber, two on each side, composed of beams or trusses, which support the whole fabric. The road is not carried over the top of the arch, but suspended in the middle.

	Feet.
Length of the abutment on the north end	658
Span of the arch	980
Length of the abutment on the south end	658
Length of the whole structure	2296
The plane of the road upon its first ascent makes an angle of five degrees with the ordinary surface of the river	
Mean level of the river to the top of the bridge in the center	168
Ditto to the bottom of the bridge	126
Height of the bridge in the center	42
Height from the bottom of the bridge in the center to the road	7
Height from the bottom of the bridge to the water	84
Height from the water to the spring of the arch	56

There is a difference of thirty-five feet between the road at the spring of the arch, and the road at the center; in other words, an ascent of thirty-five feet in four hundred and ninety, which is little more than eight tenths of an inch to a foot.* The bridge is broadest towards the sides, and diminishes towards the center.

In the broadest part it is	168 feet.
In the center or narrowest	42
The breadth of the road is	28

The artist informed me, that to construct the bridge would require forty-nine thousand six hundred and fifty iron nails, twelve thousand nine hundred and eight large trees, five thousand five hundred beams, and that it would cost 300,000 roubles, or 60,000*l*. He speaks of this bold project with the warmth of genius, and is convinced that it is practicable. I must own, I am of the same opinion, though I hazard it with great diffidence. What a noble effect would be produced by a bridge springing across the Neva, with an arch nine hundred and eighty feet wide, and towering one hundred and sixty-eight feet from the surface of the water! the description of such a bridge seems almost chimerical; and yet, on inspecting the model, we are reconciled to the idea. But whether the execution of this stupendous work may be deemed possible or not, the model itself is worthy of attention, and reflects high honour on the inventive faculties of untutored genius: it is so compact, that it has supported three thousand five hundred and forty pood, or one hundred and twenty-seven thousand four hundred and forty pounds, without swerving from its direction, which is far more, in proportion to its size, than the bridge, if completed, would have occasion to sustain from the pressure of the carriages added to its own weight.

* The ascent of the road of the bridge of Schaffhausen is barely four tenths of an inch in a foot.

The projector of this plan was apprenticed to a shopkeeper at Nishnei Novogorod; and, like the Swiss carpenter who built the bridge of Schaffhausen,* unacquainted with the theory of mechanics. Opposite to his dwelling was a wooden clock, which excited his curiosity; by repeated examinations he comprehended the internal structure, and, without assistance, formed one exactly similar. His success in this essay urged him to undertake the construction of metal clocks and watches. The empress, acquainted with these wonderful exertions of native genius, took him under her protection, and sent him to England; from whence, on account of his ignorance of the language, he soon returned to Russia. I saw a repeating watch of his workmanship at the academy of sciences: it is about the bigness of an egg; in the inside is represented the tomb of our Saviour, with the stone at the entrance, and the centinels upon duty; suddenly the stone is removed, the centinels fall down, the angels appear, the women enter the sepulchre, and the chant performed on Easter-eve is heard. These are trifling, although curious performances; but the plan of the bridge was a sublime conception. This person, whose name is Kulibin, bears the appearance of a Russian peasant; he has a long beard, and wears the common dress of the country; he receives a pension from the empress, and is encouraged to follow the bent of his mechanical genius.

The noblest monument of the gratitude and veneration paid to Peter I, is his equestrian statue in bronze, of colossal size; it is the work of Falconet, the celebrated French statuary, cast at the expence of Catharine II, in honour of her great predecessor, whom she reveres and imitates. The monarch is represented in the attitude of mounting a precipice, the summit of which he has nearly attained. His head is uncovered, and crowned with a laurel; he wears a loose vest in the Asiatic style, with half-boots, and sits on a housing of bear-skin; the right hand is stretched out, as in the act of giving benediction to his people, and the left holds the reins. The design is masterly, and the attitude bold and spirited. The flat position of the right hand is deficient in dignity, and has an unpleasing effect; for which reason, the view of the left side is most striking, where the figure is graceful and animated. The horse is springing upon the hind legs and the tail, which is full and flowing, appears slightly to touch a serpent, artfully contrived to assist in supporting the vast weight.† The artist has, in this noble essay of genius, represented Peter as the legislator of his country, without allusion to conquest and bloodshed: wisely preferring his civil qualities to his military exploits.‡ The contrast between the composure of Peter (though perhaps not characteristic) and the fire of the horse, eager to press forwards, is very striking. The simplicity of the inscription corresponds to the sublimity of the design.

PETRO PRIMO.§
CATHARINA SECUNDA
1782.

PETRU PERVOMU
EKATHERENA VTORAIYA
1782.

* For the account of the bridge of Schaffhausen, see *Travels in Switzerland*, Letter II.

† The height of the hero is eleven feet; of the horse seventeen; the bronze in the thinnest part is only three lines, but increases gradually towards the hind feet of the horse to one inch; the weight of the whole (exclusive of the counterpoise of ten thousand pounds) is forty-four thousand and forty-one Russian, or thirty-six thousand six hundred and thirty-six English pounds.

‡ Falconet has ably refuted the censures urged against his statue on this account. See his *Letter to Diderot*, in "pieces written by Mons. Falconet," translated by Mr. Tooke, p. 47. Where the reader will also find an engraving of the statue.

§ Catherine II, to Peter I.

Falconet having conceived the design of placing the statue on a huge rock* instead of a pedestal, carefully examined the environs of Petersburg, for a detached mass of granite, of magnitude correspondent to the dimensions of the equestrian figure; and after considerable research, he discovered, near the village of Lachta, a stupendous crag, half buried in the midst of a marshy forest. The expence and difficulty of transporting it were no obstacles to Catherine II.; the morass was drained, the forest cleared, and a road four versts in length formed from the shore to the Gulf of Finland. It was set in motion on large friction balls, and grooves of metal, by means of pulleys and windlasses, worked by four hundred men. In this manner it was conveyed, with forty men seated on the top, twelve hundred feet a day to the shore, then embarked on a nautical machine,† transported eight versts by water, and landed at Petersburg near the spot where it is now erected. This more than Roman work was accomplished in less than six months; the rock when landed was forty-two feet long at the base, thirty-six at the top, eleven broad and seventeen high, and weighed fifteen hundred tons.

The pedestal, however, though still of prodigious magnitude, is far from retaining the original dimensions; as, in order to form a proper station for the statue, and represent an ascent, the bulk has been much diminished. But I could not observe without regret, that the artist had refined too much upon nature; and in order to produce a resemblance of an abrupt precipice, had been too lavish of the chissel. Art is too conspicuous; and the effect would have been more sublime had the stone been left as much as possible in its rude state, a vast, unwieldy, stupendous mass.

The statue was erected on the pedestal on the 27th of August 1782, near the admiralty, and the pontoon bridge over the Neva. The ceremony was performed with great solemnity, and accompanied with a solemn inauguration.

Having passed several months in Russia, I shall throw together several facts and observations concerning the state of the weather, and the effects of the cold in this severe climate.

During our journey from Moscow to Petersburg, in the month of September, we found the weather very changeable, the autumnal rains being extremely frequent and heavy.‡ The mornings and evenings were extremely cold; and, whenever it did not rain, we generally observed the grass and trees covered with a hoar frost. On our arrival at Petersburg on the 29th of September, the winter was not yet set in: in

* "Pour marqueur a posterite, d'our cet heros legislateur etoit parti, et quels obstacles il avoit surmonte." Description d'une Pierre pour servir de Piedestal, &c. in Haygold's Russland, vol. ii. p. 211.

† This nautical machine was constructed on the principle of the camel, which is used to convey ships over the bars, both at Amsterdam and St. Petersburg. It was hollow, and being sunk to the water level, the stone was placed upon it, the water was then pumped out of it, and it rose and floated. The stone, supported by this machine, appeared like a moving mountain on the surface of the gulf.

‡ The machinery for the transport of this enormous mass was constructed under the direction of count Carburi, who was known in Russia under the name of the chevalier Lascaris, and the process is described in a superb work, illustrated with engravings, under the title of "monument eleve a la glorie de Pierre le Grand, 1777."

§ In thirty days it rained twenty-four; and the quantity of water which fell at St. Petersburg in the month of September, O. S. was equal to 2½ English inches in depth.

From accurate observations, during fourteen years, to ascertain the quantity of rain and snow which fell at St. Petersburg, the result was, that the average annual duration of snowy and rainy weather was equal to forty-two times twenty-four hours, or something less than the ninth part of the year. From a course of ten years' observations it appeared, that rain fell during some part of one hundred and three days, and snow during some part of seventy-two; and that if the year was divided into twelve parts, a fourth was fine weather, a third rain, and a fifth snow.

October the weather, for the first twenty days, was the most part rainy; the mercury, in Fahrenheit's thermometer, was seldom below freezing point, and mostly fluctuated between 32 and 44.

The snow made its first appearance in sleet on the 9th, and the following day came down in flakes and in large quantities; on the 24th the mercury suddenly sunk to 25, rose the next morning above the freezing point, a sudden thaw ensued, and all the snow disappeared in a few hours. The summer and winter are not, as in our climate, gradually divided by spring and autumn, but seem almost to succeed each other.

On the 15th of November the Neva* was entirely frozen:† soon afterwards the

The whole quantity of rain and snow water, taken together, which fell in the course of a year, was the following proportion.

	Inches.		Inches.
January, - - -	0,979	July, - - -	2,760
February, - - -	0,979	August, - - -	2,671
March, - - -	0,801	September, - - -	3,473
April, - - -	1,246	October, - - -	2,493
May, - - -	1,333	November, - - -	1,513
June, - - -	3,116	December, - - -	0,979
			22,345

The average quantity of rain which falls in London in the course of a year is equal to nineteen thousand two hundred and forty-one.

* The freezing of the Neva is not attended with any peculiarities which distinguish it from other rivers. The following circumstances, which fell under my observation, are extracted from my journal.

Monday morning, Nov. 9. On Saturday the 7th, small pieces of ice, which came from the lake Ladoga, were first observed floating with the stream: the same day in the evening the bridge of boats was removed, as in these cases they collect and would carry it away. Yesterday the pieces of ice were more frequent and massy; to-day they are small floating islands, which almost cover the river: the sides of the Neva are frozen only a few feet from the banks; all the canals are covered with ice, and people are skating upon them.

Nov. 12 and 13. The Neva is frozen above the place where the bridge was stationed, by the pieces of ice which have united and barred the passage: below it the stream is open for boats, which are continually passing to and fro.

Nov. 14. The bridge of boats is again replaced, as there is no longer any danger of its being carried away by the floating masses of ice; and will continue during the whole winter, a circumstance which has not happened since the foundation of Petersburg.

Nov. 15. The river about and below the bridge is entirely frozen, and I saw persons walking across it. I am informed that yesterday the ice was strong enough to bear foot passengers; this will convey some idea of the severity of the weather in this climate; as the rapid current was open on the 13th, and on the next day was frozen.

Table of the freezing and thawing of the Neva for five successive years, from professor Kraft's observations.

	1773.	1774.	1775.	1776.	1777.
April, New Style.	16	April 21	22	25	30
Old Style	27	May 2	3	6	11
Nov.	19	7	12	12	26
	30	18	23	23	Dec. 7
Open 217 days.		200	204	201	210

See Nov. Ac. Pet. for 1777. P. II. p. 73.

† In 1784, the Neva was not finally frozen until the night of the 5th of December, N. S.

The thickness of the ice is from twenty-four to thirty-eight feet; the average about twenty-eight.

gulf of Finland was covered with ice, and sledges began to pass from Petersburg to Cronstadt, the road being marked over the surface by rows of trees.

Even during the months of December and January, the weather was extremely changeable; it shifted in a sudden manner from a severe frost to a thaw; the mercury in the thermometer often rose within the course of twenty hours from 20 to 34, and sunk again as rapidly in the same space of time.*

When the frost was not severe, namely, when the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer was not below 10, I frequently walked out in a common great coat. When the cold was more intense, I was dressed in the manner of the natives; and wore, in my daily excursions, a pelisse, or large fur cloak, fur boots or shoes, a black velvet or fur bonnet, that prevented the frost from nipping my ears, the part which I found the most liable to be affected. During the 9th, 10th, and 11th of January, the frost was nearly as intense† as it was ever felt at Petersburg; the mercury in the thermometer falling at one time to 63 below freezing point, or—31. This cold, however, did not detain me at home; but I walked out, as usual, with my pelisse, and boots, and found it by no means unpleasant, the sun shining with great brightness. As I traversed the city on the morning of the 12th, I observed several persons whose faces had been bitten by the frost; their cheeks had large scars, and appeared as if singed with a hot iron. As I was walking with an English gentleman, who, instead of a fur cap, had on a common hat, his ears were suddenly frozen; he felt no pain, and would not have perceived it for some time, had not a Russian informed him,‡ and assisted him in rubbing the part affected with snow, by which means it was instantly recovered. This, or friction with flannel, is the usual remedy; but should the person in that state approach the fire, or dip the part in warm water, it immediately mortifies and drops off.

The common people continued at work as usual, and the drivers of sledges plied in the streets, seemingly unaffected by the frost; their beards were incrustated with clotted ice, and the horses covered with isicles. Even during this extreme cold, the people

* Although I examined the thermometer every day; yet I did not attempt to form a series of regular observations, which I now much regret. I occasionally, indeed, made a few remarks, which I shall insert, as I find them scattered in my journal: they will tend to confirm the truth of what I have advanced in relation to the change of weather observable at Petersburg, and will serve to contradict those authors, who assert that, as soon as the hard frost commences, the cold continues with uniform severity, and with little variation, during the whole season. Nov. 16. To-day a thaw; the thermometer mounted to 40: in the evening sharp frost again; the mercury falling to 20. Nov. 23. The thermometer at 4, 5, and 6. Dec. 3. It has been these few days mostly a thaw and changeable weather. Dec. 6 The thermometer fell almost suddenly from 33 to 10. Dec. 11. Thermometer at -10. Dec. 14. A sudden thaw, which continued the 15th and 16th. Dec. 17. Thermometer -7. Dec. 18. Thermometer at -5, and a fog at the same time. Dec. 19. Windy, thaw, thermometer above freezing point. Dec. 21. Changeable weather all this week, from sharp frost to sudden thaw. Jan. 1. 1779. Weather very changeable, the thermometer one morning at -8, the next above freezing point; this winter it has not as yet been lower than -13. Jan. 6. Thermometer at -14. Jan. 9. Thermometer at -7½; the barometer mounted suddenly very high since last night. Jan. 10. Early this morning the thermometer at -23, and at 11 at 20½. Barometer at 30½. The smoke of the chimnies was pressed down to the ground. Jan. 11. Thermometer at -28, according to my own observation, at ten in the morning; but earlier the mercury had sunk to -31½ or 63½ below freezing point. Jan. 15. Thermometer, since the 11th, rose gradually: on the 12th in the morning it stood to -13; from thence it fell to 0, to 15; and to-day it is above freezing point.

I made the same observations during the second winter which I passed at Petersburg, and found the weather equally uncertain.

† The winter in which professor Braun congealed quicksilver, the cold was so intense, that De Lisle's thermometer sunk to 204—in Fahrenheit's to—33, or 63 below freezing point.

‡ The part frozen always turns quite white, a symptom well known, and immediately perceived by the natives.

did not add to their ordinary clothing, which is at all times well calculated for the severities of the climate. They are careful in preserving the extremities against the cold, by covering the legs, hands, and head, with fur. The upper garment of sheep-skin, with the wool turned inwards, is tied round the waist with a sash; but the neck is bare, and the breast only covered with a coarse shirt: these parts, however, are well guarded by the beard. I observed, with much surprise, several women engaged in washing upon the Neva or on the canals. They cut holes in the ice with a hatchet, dipped their linen into the water with bare hands, and then beat it with flat sticks. During this operation the ice continually formed again, and they were constantly employed in clearing it away. Many of them passed two hours without intermission at this work, when the thermometer was at 60 below freezing point; a circumstance which proves that the human body may be brought to endure all extremes.

It sometimes happens that coachmen or servants, waiting for their masters, are frozen to death. To prevent as much as possible these dreadful accidents, great fires of whole trees, piled one upon another, are kindled in the court-yard of the palace, and the most frequented parts of the town. As the flames blazed above the tops of the houses, and cast a glare to a considerable distance, I was much amused with contemplating the picturesque groups of Russians with their Asiatic dress and long beards, assembled round the fire. The centinels upon duty, having no beards, which are of great use to protect the glands of the throat, generally tie handkerchiefs under their chins,* and cover their ears with small cases of flannel.

Nothing can be more lively and diversified than the winter scenes upon the Neva; and scarcely a day passed that I did not take my morning walk, or drive in a sledge upon the river. Many carriages and sledges, and numberless foot passengers perpetually crossing, afford a constant succession of moving objects; the ice is also covered with different groups of people, dispersed or gathered together, and variously employed as their fancy leads them. In one part are several long areas railed for the purpose of skating; a little further is an enclosure, where a nobleman is training his horses, and teaching them the evolutions of the manege. In another part the crowd and spectators of a sledge race. The course is an oblong space about the length of a mile, and sufficiently broad to turn the carriage. It can hardly be denominated a race, for there is only a single sledge drawn by two horses, and the whole art of the driver consists in making the shaft horse trot fast, while the other is pushed into a gallop.

The ice-hills afford a perpetual fund of amusement to the populace. A scaffolding is raised upon the river thirty feet in height, with a landing place on the top to which the ascent is by a ladder. From this summit a sloping plain of boards, four yards broad and thirty long, supported by strong poles, gradually decreasing in height, descends to the superficies of the river, and the sides are defended by a parapet of planks. On these boards are laid square blocks of ice chipped with the axe, and sprinkled with water, by which means they coalesce, become smooth, and form an inclined plane of pure ice. At the bottom the snow is cleared away for the length of two hundred yards and the breadth of four, and the sides of this course, as well as the sides and top of the scaffolding, are ornamented with firs and pines. Each person being provided with a small sledge,† mounts the ladder to the summit, seats himself on his sledge and glides down the inclined plane; when the velocity acquired by the descent, carries the sledge above one hundred

* The women also use this precaution.

† Something like a butcher's tray, as Dr. King justly observes in his ingenious pamphlet on the effects of cold in Russia.

yards on the level ice of the river. At the end of this course, is usually a similar ice-hill, nearly parallel to the former, which begins where the other ends; thus the diversion may be perpetually renewed without intermission. The chief difficulty consists in poising the sledge in its rapid descent down the inclined plane, for if the pilot is not steady, but totters either through inadvertence or fear, he is liable to be overturned, and incurs no small risk of breaking his bones, if not his neck. I have frequently stood above an hour at the bottom of these ice-hills, observing the sledges follow each other with inconceivable rapidity; but never had sufficient courage to try the experiment,* as one failure might have proved fatal.

Boys also continually amuse themselves in skating down these hills; they glide chiefly upon one skate, being better able to preserve their balance on one leg than on two. These ice-hills exhibit a pleasing appearance, as well from the trees with which they are ornamented, as from the moving objects descending without intermission, which Richter, in his sketch of Moscow, not unaptly compares to a cataract of human figures.

Another striking object is the market on the Neva. At the conclusion of the long fast which closes on the 24th of December, O. S. the Russians lay in their provisions for the remainder of the winter. For this purpose an annual market, which lasts three days, is held on the river near the fortress. A long street, above a mile in length, was lined on each side with an immense store of provisions, sufficient for the supply of the capital during three months.

Many thousand carcasses of oxen, sheep, hogs, pigs, together with geese, fowls, and every species of frozen food, were exposed for sale. The larger quadrupeds were grouped in various circles upright: their hind legs fixed in the snow, with their heads and fore legs turned towards each other; next to them succeeded a regular series of animals, descending gradually to the smallest, intermixed with poultry and game hanging in festoons, and garnished with heaps of fish, butter, and eggs. I soon perceived, from the profusion of partridges, pheasants, moor-fowl, and cocks of the wood, that no laws in this country prohibit the disposal of game. I observed also the truth of what has been frequently asserted, that many of the birds, as well as several animals, in these northern regions, become white in winter, many hundred black cocks being changed to that colour; and some taken before they had completed their metamorphosis, exhibited a variegated mixture of black and white plumage.

The most distant quarters of the empire contributed to supply this vast store of provisions, and the finest veal was sent by land carriages from Archangel, which is eight hundred and thirty miles from Petersburg; yet every article of provision is surprisingly cheap: beef was sold at one penny the Russian pound,† pork at five farthings, and

* Timid persons, or those unaccustomed to this exercise, are occasionally accompanied by a conductor, who directs the sledge. A mode well described in the "Voyage de deux Francois," &c.

† "Le traîneau consiste en une petite planche plus longue que large, et peu élevée: une seule personne peut s'y tenir, encore n'est elle point à son aise. Le conducteur du traîneau est assis, les jambes ouvertes, entre lesquelles se place celui qui veut descendre (chaque course coûte cinq copecks;) l'un et l'autre ont l'attention de tenir les jambes fort élevées et le corps très en arrière; ainsi placés, et le traîneau étant parfaitement droit, on le conduit au bord de la descente, et on le laisse aller: le conducteur le dirige avec les mains qu'il tient écartées du corps, et qui sont garanties par des mitaines d'un cuir fort épais. La rapidité de la course est prodigieuse, et le traîneau arrive sur le terrain plat, parcourt encore une assez grande étendue: dans le premier moment la respiration est fort gênée; il faut avoir l'attention de ne faire aucun mouvement d'un côté ou d'un autre; on seroit bientôt culbuté, ce qui est fort ordinaire, mais il arrive très peu d'accidens, par le peu de hauteur de la chute."

Voyage de deux Francois au Nord de l'Europe, tom. iii. p. 353.

† A Russian pound contains fourteen ounces and a half.

mutton at three half-pence per pound; a goose for ten-pence, and a pig for eight pence, and all other articles equally reasonable.*

To render this frozen food fit for dressing, it is first thawed in cold water. Frozen meat, however, loses much of its flavour; and the tables of persons of condition, and those of the English merchants, are supplied with fresh killed meat, which is sold from four-pence to six-pence a pound.

CHAPTER IV.

Presentation to the empress....Court....Balls....Masquerades....Public entertainments....Orders of knighthood....Account of the place called the Hermitage....Distribution of the empress's time....Russian nobility....Their hospitality....Politeness....Assemblies....English merchants....Club.

ON the first of October, in the morning, between eleven and twelve, we attended our minister, sir James Harris,† to the drawing-room, impatient to behold Catharine II. It was fortunately the name-day, or, as we term it, the birth-day of the great duke, in honour of whom a most brilliant court was assembled. At the entrance into the drawing-room stood two centinels of the guards; their uniform was a green coat, with a red cuff and cape, white waistcoat and breeches; they had silver helmets fastened under the chin with silver clasps, and ornamented with an ample plume of red, yellow, black, and white feathers. Within the drawing-room, at the doors of the passage leading to the royal apartments were stationed two soldiers of the knight's body guard; a corps perhaps more sumptuously accoutred than any in Europe. They wore casques, like the ancients, with a rich plumage of black feathers, and chains and broad plates of solid silver were braided over their uniforms, representing a splendid coat of mail.

In the drawing-room we found a numerous assembly of foreign ministers, Russian nobility, and officers waiting the arrival of the empress, who was attending divine service in the chapel of the palace, whither we also repaired. Amid a prodigious concourse of nobles, I observed Catharine standing singly behind a railing; the only distinction by which her place was marked. Next to her stood the great duke and dutchess, and behind an indiscriminate throng of courtiers. The empress repeatedly bowed, and crossed herself, according to the forms used in the Greek church, with great appearance of devotion. Before the conclusion of the service we returned to the drawing-room, and took our station near the door, in order to be presented at her majesty's entrance.

About twelve, the chief officers of the household, the mistress of the robes, the maids of honour, and other ladies of the bed-chamber, advancing two by two in a long train, announced the approach of their sovereign. Her majesty came forward with a slow and solemn pace, walking with great pomp, holding her head high, and perpetually bowing to the right and left. She stopped near the entrance of the drawing-room, and spoke with great affability to the foreign ministers, while they kissed her hand. She then advanced a few steps, and we were singly presented by the vice chancellor count Osterman, and had the honour of kissing her majesty's hand. The empress wore, according to her usual custom, a Russian dress, a robe with a short train, and a vest with sleeves reaching to the wrist, like a Polonaise; the vest was of gold brocade, and the robe of light green silk; her hair was dressed low, and lightly sprinkled with powder; her cap ornamented with a profusion of diamonds, and she wore much rouge. Her

* In 1778.

† Now earl of Malmesbury.

person, though rather below the middle size, is majestic, and her countenance, particularly when she speaks, expresses both dignity and sweetness. She walked slowly through the drawing-room, to her apartment, and entered alone. The great duke and dutchess followed the empress to the door, and then retired to their own drawing-room, where they had a levee; but as we had not yet been presented to them at a private audience, we could not, according to the etiquette of the Russian court, follow them. The great dutchess leaned upon the arm of his imperial highness, and they both inclined their heads on either side to the company, as they passed along.

In the afternoon, at six, we repaired to a ball at court. The private as well as the state apartments of the empress are on the third story, and the whole suite is remarkably grand and splendid. We found the company assembled in the anti-chamber, who, as soon as the great duke and dutchess made their appearance, all entered a spacious ball-room.

The great duke opened the ball by walking a minuet with his consort, at the end of which he handed out a lady, and the great dutchess a gentleman, with whom they each performed a second minuet at the same time. They afterwards successively conferred this honour in the same manner upon many of the principal nobility, while several other couples were dancing minuets in different parts of the circle: the minuets were succeeded by Polish dances, and followed by English country-dances. When the empress entered, she was more richly appareled than in the morning, and wore a small crown of diamonds.

On her appearance the ball was suspended; while the great duke and dutchess and the most considerable persons hastened to pay their respects to their sovereign. Catharine having addressed a few words to some of the principal nobility, ascended an elevated seat, and the dancing being again resumed, she, after a short time, withdrew into an inner apartment. We, in company with several courtiers, through ourselves into the suite, and formed a circle round a table, at which she had sat down to cards. Her party consisted of the dutchess of Courland, countess Bruce, sir James Harris, prince Potemkin, marshal Razomofski, count Panin, prince Repnin, and count Ivan Tchernichef. The game was Macao, the pieces in circulation were imperials,* and a player might win or lose two or three hundred pounds.

In the course of the evening the great duke and dutchess presented themselves, and stood by the table about a quarter of an hour, during which time her majesty occasionally entered into conversation with them. The empress paid little attention to the cards; conversed familiarly and frequently with great vivacity, as well with the party at play as with the persons of rank standing near her. About ten she retired, and soon after the ball concluded.

On the 6th we had the honour of being presented at a private audience to the great duke and dutchess; both of whom conversed with us in the most affable and condescending manner; according to the etiquette of this court, we kissed her imperial highness's hand.

There is a drawing room at court every Sunday morning at twelve, and on other particular festivals, at which the ambassadors are usually present, and which all foreigners who have been presented, are permitted to attend. The ceremony of kissing the empress's hand is repeated every court day by foreigners in the presence chamber, and by the Russians in another apartment, who bend their knee on this occasion; an ex-

* An Imperial = 21.

pression of homage not exacted from foreigners. No ladies, excepting those of the empress's household, make their appearance at the morning levees.

Every court day the great duke and dutchess have also separate levees at their own apartments in the palace. And on particular occasions, such as her own and the empress's birth-day, &c. foreigners have the honour of kissing her imperial highness's hand.

In the evening of a court-day, there is always a ball at the palace, which begins between six and seven; the foreign ladies kiss the empress's hand, who salutes them in return on the cheek. Her majesty, unless indisposed, generally makes her appearance at seven; and if the assembly is not numerous, plays at macao in the ball-room; the great duke and dutchess, after dancing, sit down to whist. Their imperial highnesses, after a short interval, rise, approach the empress's table, pay their respects, and then return to their game. When the ball happens to be crowded, the empress forms her party in an adjoining room, which is open to all persons who have been presented.

The richness and splendour of the Russian court surpasses description. It retains many traces of the Asiatic pomp, blended with European refinement. An immense retinue of courtiers always preceded and followed the empress; the costliness and glare of their apparel, and a profusion of precious stones, created a splendour, of which the magnificence of other courts gives a faint idea. The court-dress of the men is in the French fashion; that of the ladies is a gown and petticoat, with a small hoop; the gown has long hanging sleeves and a short train, and is of a different colour from the petticoat. The ladies wore, according to the fashion of the winter of 1778 at Paris and London, lofty head-dresses, and were not sparing in the use of rouge. Amid the sumptuous articles which distinguish the Russian nobility, none perhaps is more calculated to strike a foreigner than the profusion of diamonds and other precious stones, which sparkle in every part of the dress. In most other European countries these costly ornaments are principally appropriated to the ladies; but here the men vie with the fair sex in the use of them. Many of the nobility were almost covered with diamonds; their buttons, buckles, hilts of swords, and epaulets, were set with diamonds, their hats were frequently embroidered, if I may use the expression, with several rows, and a diamond star on the coat was scarcely a distinction. This passion for jewels seems to pervade the lower ranks of people, for even private families abound with them, and the wife of a Russian burgher will appear with a head-dress or girdle of pearls, and other precious stones, of the value of two or three hundred pounds.

On days of high ceremony, the empress generally wears a crown of diamonds, and appears with the ribbands of the order of St. Andrew and St. George, both thrown over the same shoulder, with the collars and the two stars emblazoned upon her vest.

On certain anniversaries the empress dines in public; two of these days occurred during our stay at Petersburgh. The 2d of December being the feast of the Ismailof regiment of guards, her majesty, who as sovereign, is colonel of the corps, gave, according to annual custom, a grand entertainment to the officers. She was dressed in the uniform of the regiment, which is green trimmed with gold lace, made in the form of a lady's riding habit. The officers having kissed her hand, a salver with wine was brought in by one of the lords in waiting, and the empress presented a glass to each officer, who after a low obeisance, drank it off. At the conclusion of this ceremony her majesty led the way, at one o'clock, into an adjoining apartment, in which a sumptuous dinner was spread: she took her place in the middle of the table, and the officers were

ranged on each side according to their respective ranks. The empress helped the soup, and during the whole repast, which lasted an hour, paid great attention to her guests.

On a subsequent occasion we attended an entertainment given to the knights of the order of St. Andrew. The empress wore a robe of green velvet, lined and faced with ermine, and a diamond collar of the order. The dress of the knights is splendid, but gaudy and inelegant: they are habited in a green velvet robe, lined with silver brocade, a coat of silver brocade, waistcoat and breeches of gold stuff, red silk stockings, a hat à la Henry IV, ornamented with a plume of feathers, and interspersed with diamonds. This order* being the most honourable in Russia, is confined to a few persons of the first rank and consequence; and only twelve sat down at the imperial tables: prince Potemkin, prince Orlof, marshal Galitzin, counts Alexey Orlof, Panin, Razomofski, Tchernichef, Voronzof, Alexander and Leon Nariskin, Munic, and Betskoi. Before dinner, the empress presented each knight with a glass of wine; at table she was distinguished by a chair ornamented with the arms of Russia, and presided with her usual dignity and

* The order of St. Andrew, or the Blue Ribband, the first ever known in this country, was instituted by Peter I, in the year 1698, soon after his return from his first expedition into foreign countries. Weber's Ver. Russ. part iii. p. 38. 161.

That of St. Alexander Nevski, or the Red Ribband, was founded by the same sovereign, but never conferred until the reign of Catharine I, in 1725.

The order of St. Anne of Holstein, was instituted in 1735, by Charles Frederick duke of Holstein, in memory of his wife Anne, daughter of Peter the Great, and introduced into Russia by her son Peter III. It is in the disposal of the great duke as sovereign of Holstein. The knights wear a red ribband bordered with yellow.

The military order of St. George, called also the order of Merit, and which has the precedence over that of St. Anne, was created by the present empress in 1769. It is appropriated to persons serving by land or by sea, and excepting the small cross of the fourth class, never bestowed in time of peace. The knights wear a ribband with black and orange stripes.

This order is divided into four classes. The knights of the first class, called the Great Cross, wear the ribband over the right shoulder, and the star upon the left side. Each receives an annual salary of 700 roubles = 140l. The knights of the second class wear the star upon their left breast, the ribband with the cross pendent round their neck. Each receives 400 roubles = 80l. per ann. The knights of the third class wear the small cross pendent round their neck. Each receives 200 roubles, or 40l. per ann. This class admits fifty. The knights of the fourth class wear the small cross fastened by a ribband to their button-hole like the French Croix de St. Louis. Each receives 100 roubles, or 20l. per ann. The fund of this order, assigned by the empress for the payment of their salaries and other expences, is 40,000 roubles = 8,000l. per ann. Of this 1,680 is destined for the first class, and 2,000 for each of the remaining three. The number of knights is unlimited. In 1778 the first class, which is confined to commanders in chief, contained only four: namely, marshal Romanzof, for his victories over the Turks; count Alexey Orlof, for burning the Turkish fleet at Tchesme; count Panin, for the taking of Bender; and prince Dolgorucki, for his conquests in the Crimea. The second class comprised only eight knights; the third forty-eight; and the fourth two hundred and thirty-seven. No person can obtain this order without having performed some gallant exploit, or having served with credit in the rank of officer twenty-five years by land, or eighteen by sea. See Ukase ueber die Stiftung de St. Georg's-Ordens, in Schmidts Beytrage.

The order of St. Catharine, appropriated to the ladies was instituted in 1714 by Peter, in honour of his wife Catharine. The motto of "Love and fidelity" was intended to commemorate the display of those virtues in her behaviour on the banks of the Pruth. This order is extremely honourable, as besides the empress, the great dutchess, and a few foreign princesses, only five Russian ladies were decorated with it.

The first and most distinguished of these several orders is the order of St. Andrew, which, beside the sovereign princes and foreigners, comprised, in 1778, twenty-six Russians; that of St. Alexander Nevski, one hundred and nine; and that of St. Anne two hundred and eight. The empress may also be said to have the disposal of the Polish orders of the White Eagle and of St. Stanislaus.

Catharine founded, on the 4th of October, 1782, a new order, called St. Vladimir, in favour of those who serve in civil employments; and it is nearly on the same footing as that of St. George with respect to the salaries annexed to the different classes. There are to be ten great crosses, twenty of the second class, thirty of the third, and sixty of the fourth, beside a fifth for those who have served thirty-five years, which gives them a right to wear it.

condescension. The foreign ministers and a splendid train of courtiers stood spectators of the entertainment, and several were occasionally noticed by the empress.

Two or three times in the winter there are masquerades at court, to which persons of all ranks are admitted. At one of these entertainments which we attended, eight thousand tickets were distributed; and a magnificent suite of twenty apartments, handsomely illuminated, was opened on this occasion. One of these, a large oblong room, the same in which the common balls at court are held, had a space in the middle enclosed with a low railing, appropriated to the nobility who danced. An elegant saloon of an oval form, called the great hall of Apollo, nearly as spacious as the rotunda at Ranelagh, but without support in the middle, was allotted for the dances of the burghers, and other persons who had not been presented. The remaining rooms, in which tea and other refreshments were served, were filled with card tables, and crowded with persons continually passing and repassing. The company either retained their masks, or took them off at their pleasure. The nobles in general wore dominos; the natives of inferior rank appeared in their own provincial clothes, perhaps embellished with occasional ornaments. An exhibition of the several dresses actually used by the different inhabitants of the Russian empire, afforded a greater variety of motley figures, than the wildest fancy ever invented in the masquerades of other countries. Several merchants' wives were decked with large quantities of valuable pearls, many of which were split in halves for the purpose of making more show.

At seven the empress made her appearance at the head of a superb quadrille, consisting of eight ladies led by as many gentlemen. Her majesty and the ladies of the select band were sumptuously appareled in Greek habits, and the gentlemen were accoutred in the Roman military garb, their helmets richly studded with diamonds; among the ladies I distinguished the dutchess of Courland, princess Repnin, and countess Bruce; among the gentlemen, prince Potemkin, marshal Razomofski, and count Ivan Tchernichef. The empress led the way, leaning upon the arm of marshal Razomofski, and passing in great state through the several apartments, walked two or three times round the hall of Apollo, and then sat down to cards in an adjoining saloon; the company flocked thither in crowds without distinction, and arranged themselves round the table at a respectful distance. The empress withdrew as usual before eleven.

A separate edifice called the Hermitage, communicates with the palace by means of a covered gallery. It takes this appellation because it is the scene of imperial retirement; but bears no resemblance to a hermitage, the apartments being extremely spacious, and decorated in a style of regal magnificence. To this favourite spot the empress usually repairs an hour or two every day, and on a Thursday evening gives a private ball and supper to the principal persons who form her court; ambassadors and foreigners being seldom invited. At this entertainment all ceremony is banished, as far as is consistent with the respect due to a great sovereign. The attendance of servants being excluded, the supper and various refreshments are presented on small tables, which rise and fall through trap-doors. Many directions for the regulation of this select society are disposed in the various apartments; and their general tendency was to encourage freedom, banish etiquette, and invite the most unrestrained ease. One written in the French language I comprehended, and retained. "*Asseyez vous ou vous voulez, et quand il vous plaira, sans qu'on le repete mille fois.*"*

* Sit down where you choose, and when you please, without its being repeated to you a thousand times.

A winter and summer garden, comprised within the site of the building, are singular curiosities, and such as do not perhaps occur in any other palace in Europe. The summer garden, in the true Asiatic style, occupies the whole level roof of the edifice : but at this season of the year was buried under the snow. The winter garden is roofed and surrounded with glass frames ; it is a high and spacious hot house, laid out in gravel walks, ornamented with parterres of flowers, orange trees, and other shrubs, and peopled with several birds of sundry sorts and various climates, which flitted from tree to tree. The whole exhibited a pleasing effect, and was more delightful as being contrasted with the dreary season of the year.

A magnificent range of buildings has been recently added to the imperial palace ; it joins the Hermitage, and is so extensive that it may be called another palace. A superb suite of apartments, chiefly occupied by the empress, contains the cabinet of pictures, principally composed of the following collections :

1. The celebrated collection of Crozat, at Paris, which vied with that of the duke of Orleans ; it consisted of more than three hundred and seventy pieces, including various sketches.

2. The small but well chosen collection of counsellor Tronchin, of Geneva ; in which may be noticed several by Teniers, and a Christ bearing the cross, by Ludovico Caracci, half length, of the natural size ; the countenance expressive of that meek dignity by which the founder of the Bolognese school peculiarly characterised the Saviour of mankind.

3. The collection of count Bruhl, remarkable for twelve Woverman's ; a Holy Family, by Watteau ; an Ecce Homo, by Caravagio ; a painter who succeeded in delineating simple nature and low life, but was extremely deficient in treating dignified subjects.

4. Part of the collection of the chevalier Bardouin, purchased at Paris ; the possessor reserving to himself several landscapes by the Dutch masters, and Vernet. Among the pictures which came to the empress, I observed some excellent paintings by Rubens and Vandyke, particularly an inestimable head of Henry the Fourth, by Rubens, a Study after Nature, for the Luxemburgh gallery, greatly expressive of that vivacity and bon-homme which characterised that amiable monarch ; two, by Ferdinand Bol ; several, by Rembrandt, in his strong but uncouth manner, and two lovely groupes of children's heads, in the characters of angels, by the inimitable Corregio.

5. The collection of Houghton-house, the loss of which all lovers of the arts must sincerely regret, and upon which I need not enlarge, as the pictures are well known, from the catalogue published by Horace Walpole, and from the engravings by Boydel.

6. A collection from Venice, containing several, by old Palma, Titian, Paul Veronese, and the Bassans ; many of which are, perhaps, not originals.

Of the Roman school the empress possesses three capital pictures, by Raphael, which belonged to the cabinet of Crozat : a Holy Family, in that great master's best manner, and in the highest preservation ; a portrait of cardinal Pole, also in his best manner ; and a St. George, of which there is an engraving by Vosterman. I must not omit an old and excellent copy of the School of Athens, of which the original fresco painting in the Vatican, for composition, correctness of design, and just delineation of character, is unrivalled.

Several fine landscapes by Claude Lorraine, the painter of nature, and two by Gaspar Poussin, in which that poetical painter, so remarkable for his picturesque pencil, has delineated towers and battlements,

" Bosom'd high in tufted trees ;"

and realizes the beautiful imagery in the *Penseroso* of Milton :

" And when the sun begins to fling
His flaming beams, me, goddess bring
To arched walks of twilight groves,
And shadows brown that Sylvan loves
Of pine, or monumental oak,
Where the rude axe with heaved stroke
Was never heard the nymphs to daunt,
Or fright them from their hallow'd haunt."

By Salvator Rosa, the well-known picture of the *Prodigal Son* from the Houghton collection, Democritus and Protagoras, not less celebrated, and several fine landscapes.

Of the Bolognese school, two Guercinos, and several invaluable pieces by Guido. Besides the celebrated picture of the doctors consulting on the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, from the Houghton collection, I could not sufficiently admire that delightful painting, known by the name of *Les Couseuses*, from the Crozat collection. This charming picture represents an aged governess superintending several young women at work, who are models of perfect beauty, unaffected grace, and serene innocence. These two paintings are sufficient to exculpate Guido from the censures of those connoisseurs, who, judging hastily from a few specimens, indiscriminately accuse him of always sacrificing too much to the graces, and of introducing affected attitudes.

The cabinet contains also a few pictures by Battoni and Mengs, with whom the genius of the Roman school seems to have expired. Of Battoni, *Thetis approaching Charon* with her infant Achilles asleep is not without merit.

Three pictures by Mengs deserve notice : *Perseus and Andromeda*, in which the painter has erred against costume, by representing the hero naked, and *Andromeda* half clothed. The *Judgment of Paris*, a fine picture, and *St. John preaching in the wilderness*, a single figure ; the air and motion are dignified.

The ordinary distribution of the empress's time at Petersburg, as it concerns so great a princess, cannot be unacceptable to the reader.

Catharine usually rises at six, and is engaged till eight or nine in public business with her secretary. At ten she generally begins her toilet, and while her hair is dressing, the ministers of state and aid-de-camps in waiting, receive their orders. Being dressed about eleven, she sends for her grand-children the young princes Alexander and Constantine, or visits them in their own apartment. Before dinner she receives the great duke and dutchess, and sits down to table rather before one. She has always company at dinner, usually nine persons, consisting of the generals and lords in waiting, a lady of the bed-chamber, a maid of honour, and two or three of the Russian nobles, whom she invites. Their imperial highnesses dine with her three times in the week, on which days the party is increased to eighteen. The lord of the bed-chamber in waiting, who sits opposite to the empress, carves one dish and presents it to her ; a ceremony, which having once politely accepted, she afterwards dispenses with. Her majesty is remarkably temperate, and is seldom at table more than an hour. From thence she retires to her own apartment, and at three frequently repairs to her library in the Hermitage. At five she visits the theatre,* or a private concert ; and when there is no court in the evening,

* An Italian opera, a company of Russian and another of French players were, in 1778, maintained at her majesty's expence, at which the spectators were admitted gratis.

has a small party at cards. She seldom sups; generally retires at half past ten, and is usually in bed before eleven.

The great duke is extremely fond of the manage; and two or three times in the week takes the diversion of a tournament, which is thus described in my friend colonel Floyd's Journal: "count Orlof having obtained the great duke's permission for me to attend the manage of the court, I went this morning to see a tournament. His imperial highness and eleven of his nobles, dressed in uniforms of buff and gold, and armed with lances, swords, and pistols, were assembled by nine o'clock, although it was yet dusk. The great duke drew them up by pairs; and on the sound of the trumpet, himself and the knights mounted their horses, and retired in due order without the rails. Two rings were suspended, on opposite sides of the walls on each side of the manage; at each corner was a moor's head of paste-board, or an apple fixed upon a pole, and between them two heads with a squib in the mouths. These were all placed upon stands almost as high as a man on horseback, and at some paces from the wall; at each end was also an helmet of paste-board raised upon a stand about a foot from the ground, and about four from the wall. The two judges, with lord Herbert and myself, who were the only spectators, took our station on the outside of the rail. Upon a second signal from the trumpet, two knights entered at opposite ends of the manage. A band of music played a quick air, while each knight, galloping his horse to the right, and making a volt saluted with their lances at the same time, then continuing their course round the manage, each ran with his lance, first at the rings suspended from the walls, and next at the moor's head; after which they delivered their lances, as they went on, to their servants on foot. The knights then drew their pistols, and each making a second volt round the other heads, discharged them in order to set fire to the squib; then pursuing their course round the manage, drew their swords, and making a third volt round the apple, endeavoured to strike it to the ground. They finished their career by stooping down, and as they galloped by, thrusting their swords through the helmets; then poising them in the air, they met in the middle, and riding towards the judge, saluted him, related the attempts in which they had succeeded, and demanded their prizes: the prize was about four shillings for each achievement, and an equal fine was paid for every failure. The whole was performed on a continued gallop, and always to the right. In running at the ring, the head, or the helmet, it is esteemed honourable to put the

* Catharine was as fortunate in her death as she was in her life, having reached her sixty-ninth year, and the thirty-sixth of her reign, without experiencing the infirmities of age. A few days before her demise she complained slightly of an occasional giddiness; her physician recommended bleeding; she replied, I will reserve that remedy for a serious illness.

In the evening which preceded her death, she was unusually cheerful, slept well, rose early as usual, drank coffee, wrote till half past nine, and sent a note to prince Zuboff, ordering him to bring at noon the subsidiary treaty with Great Britain against France, for her signature. The messenger on returning, did not find the empress either in her cabinet, or in any of the apartments.

After waiting some time, he opened the door which led from her apartments to that of the bedchamber-woman, and found the empress half leaning with her head and back against the wall, near the water closet, and quite speechless. She had not made the least exclamation, for the door of one of the apartments occupied by her female attendants was open, and the lady who was warning herself by the fire, heard nothing.

The empress was immediately blooded and blistered, but continued speechless, though breathing, for twenty-four hours, and expired the next morning.

An express being sent by the first minister prince Besborodko, the great duke came from Gatchina about nine in the evening, and succeeded with great tranquillity. In a few hours the imperial palace exhibited a wonderful metamorphosis, and was transformed from an elegant magnificent place of residence to the appearance of a garrison; numerous centinels were stationed at all the avenues, and in all the passages, and the new sovereign, with the officers of his household and his servants, appeared in jack-boots and kevenhuller hats.

horse into full career, which increases the difficulty. The judge having bestowed the rewards, or taken the forests, ordered the two knights to retire. The trumpets again sounding, two others made their appearance, and performed the same manœuvres. This exercise was repeated twice by each pair of knights. The whole troop then entered at the same time, marched, charged, formed, drew and returned their swords, and dismounted by word of command from the great duke. At the conclusion they adjourned to the fire; chocolate was brought in, and after a short conversation, the great duke bowed and retired."

The nobles of Petersburgh are no less than those of Moscow distinguished for hospitality to foreigners. We were no sooner presented to a person of rank and fortune, than we were regarded as domestic visitants. Many of the nobility keep an open table, to which the first invitation was considered as a standing passport of admission. The only form necessary on this occasion, was to make inquiry in the morning if the master of the house dined at home; and if he did, we presented ourselves at his table without further ceremony. The oftener we appeared at these hospitable boards, the more acceptable guests we were esteemed, and we always seemed to confer instead of receiving a favour.

The tables are served with great profusion and taste. Though the Russians have adopted the delicacies of French cookery, yet they neither affect to despise their native dishes, nor squeamishly reject the solid joints which characterise an English repast. The plainest, as well as the choicest viands, are collected from the most distant quarters: I have frequently seen at the same table sterlet from the Volga, veal from Archangel, mutton from Astrachan, beef from the Ukraine, and pheasants from Hungary and Bohemia. The common wines are claret, Burgundy, and Champagne; and I never tasted English beer and porter in greater perfection and abundance. Before dinner, even in the houses of persons of the first distinction, a small table is spread in the corner of the drawing room, covered with plates of caviare, dried and pickled herrings, smoked ham or tongue, bread, butter, and cheese, together with bottles of different liqueurs; and few of the company of either sex omitted a prelude of this kind to the main entertainment.

This practice has induced many travellers to relate, that the Russians swallow bowls of brandy before dinner. What are the usages of the vulgar in this particular I cannot determine; but among the nobility I never observed the least violation of extreme sobriety; and this custom of taking liquor before dinner, considering the extreme smallness of the glasses, is an innocent refreshment, and will not convey the faintest idea of excess. Indeed, the Russians in nowise differ from the French in this instance, than in tasting a glass of liqueur before their repast, which the French defer till after dinner. The usual hour of dining is at three; and the entertainments are mostly regulated according to the French ceremonial; the wine is circulated during meals, and the dishes are no sooner removed than the company retire into another room, and are served with coffee. Nor do the gentlemen, as in England, continue wedded to the bottle while the ladies withdraw into a separate apartment.

Several of the nobility also receive company every evening in the most easy manner: the parties usually meet at seven, some sit down to whist, macao, loo, and other games, some converse, others dance. Amid the refreshments tea is handed round no less frequently than in England. At ten supper is brought in, and the party generally break up between eleven and twelve. It is no exaggeration to say, that during our continuance in this city, not one evening passed but we had it in our power to attend an assembly of this sort; and had we always frequented the same, we should always have found

the greatest cordiality of reception. From these circumstances, perhaps no metropolis in Europe, excepting Vienna, is rendered more agreeable to foreigners than Petersburg.

The houses of the nobility are furnished with great elegance; and the suit of apartments in which they receive company is uncommonly splendid. They are fitted up in the style of London and Paris, and the new fashions make their appearance as soon as in those two capitals.

Having, on a former occasion, described the modes of salutation practised by the peasants and common people; I shall here mention those which I observed in use among persons of higher rank. The gentlemen bow very low, and the ladies incline their heads instead of curtsying. Sometimes the gentlemen kiss the ladies hands as a mark of respect, which is usual in many countries: if the parties are well acquainted, or of equal condition, or if the lady means to pay a compliment, she salutes his cheek while he is kissing her hand. Frequently, while she stoops to touch his cheek, he takes that opportunity of saluting her. I have often observed this ceremony performed and repeated, as well in the drawing-room at court, as at the different assemblies. If the gentleman is a person of high rank, the lady offers first to kiss his hand, which he prevents by saluting her cheek. The men, and particularly relations, exchange salutes in this manner, each kissing the other's hand at the same instant, and afterwards their cheeks.

The Russians, in the usual mode of address, never prefix any title or appellation of respect to their names; but persons of all ranks, even those of the first distinction, call each other by their christian names, to which they add a patronymic. These patronymics are formed in some cases by adding Vitch* to the christian name of the father, in others by OF or EF; the former applied only to persons of condition, the latter to those of inferior rank. Thus,

Ivan Ivanovitch	}	is Ivan the son of Ivan.
Ivan Ivanof.		
Peter Alexievitch	}	Peter the son of Alexey.
Peter Alexeof		

The female patronymic is Efna or Ofna, as Sophia Alexefna, or Sophia the daughter of Alexey; Maria Ivanofna, or Maria the daughter of Ivan.

Great families are also in general distinguished by a surname, as those of Romanof, Galitzin, and Sheremetof.

Travellers who have experienced the great politeness and taste, which distinguish the Russian nobility, both in their entertainments and assemblies, must be surprised to find, that scarcely sixty years ago Peter the Great† thought it necessary to establish the following regulations by authority:

Regulations for Assemblies at Petersburg in 1719.

"Assembly is a French term, which cannot be rendered in Russian in one word: It signifies a number of persons meeting together, either for diversion, or to talk about their own affairs. Friends may see each other on that occasion to confer together on business or other subjects, to inquire after domestic and foreign news, and so to pass

* Vitch is the same as our Fitz, as Fitzherbert, or the son of Herbert.

† Perry's State of Russia, vol. i. p. 186.

their time. After what manner we will have those assemblies kept, may be learned from what follows :

" 1, The person at whose house the assembly is to be in the evening, is to hang out a bill or other sign, to give notice to all persons of either sex. 2, The assembly shall not begin sooner than four or five in the afternoon, nor continue later than ten at night. 3, The master of the house is not obliged to go and meet his guests, to conduct them out, or to entertain them; but though himself is exempt from waiting on them, he ought to find chairs, candles, drink, and all the necessaries asked for, as also to provide for all sorts of gaming, and what belongs thereto. 4, No certain hour is fixed for any body's coming or going; it is sufficient if one makes his appearance in the assembly. 5, It is left to every one's liberty to sit, walk, or play, just as he likes; nor shall any body hinder him, or take exception at what he does, on pain of emptying the great eagle (a bowl filled with wine or brandy.) As for the rest, it is enough to salute at coming and going. 6, Persons of rank, as for instance, noblemen, superior officers, likewise merchants of note, and head-masters (by which are understood ship-builders) persons employed in the chancery, and their wives and children, shall have liberty of frequenting the assemblies. 7, A particular place shall be assigned to the footmen, (those of the house excepted) that there may be sufficient room in the apartments designed for the assembly."

The English merchants live in a social and even splendid manner. Besides constant meetings at their respective houses, they have once a fortnight a regular assembly to which they obligingly invite all their countrymen who happen to be at Petersburg, and occasionally some Russian ladies. There is a ball, cards, and supper; twelve or fourteen couple usually dance at these meetings, which are perfectly cheerful and agreeable.

A traveller who frequents the houses of the Russian nobility will be struck with the variety of complexions and faces which are observable among the retainers and servants: Russians, Fins, Laplanders, Georgians, Circassians, Poles, Tartars, and Calmucs. He will be no less surprised on being informed, that many of the servants, who belong to the English and other foreigners, are Mahometans, of whom numerous colonies are still resident in this vast empire.

Fortress of Petersburg....Cathedral of St. Peter and Paul....Tomb of Peter the Great, and the succeeding sovereigns....Mint....History of the boat called the Little Grand-sire, which gave rise to the Russian navy on the Black Sea.

THE origin of the fortress, which occasioned the foundation of this capital, has been related in the general description of Petersburg. Massive walls of brick, faced with hewn granite, and strengthened with five bastions, encircle a small island not more than half a mile in circumference, formed by the Great and Little Neva. Within the governor's house are barracks for a small garrison, several wards used as a common jail, and dungeons for the confinement of state prisoners.

In the centre stands the cathedral of St. Peter and Paul, in a different style of architecture from that usually employed in the construction of churches for the service of the Greek religion. Instead of domes, it is surmounted with a spire of copper gilt, two hundred and forty feet in height. The interior decorations are more elegant and less gaudy than those in the churches of Novogorod and Moscow, and the paintings are executed in the modern style of the Italian school.

In this cathedral are deposited the remains of Peter the Great, and of all the successive sovereigns, excepting those of Peter II, buried at Moscow, and of the late unfortunate Peter III,* interred in the convent of St. Alexander Nevski. The tombs are of marble, in the shape of a square coffin; and one excepted, have inscriptions in the Russian tongue: when I saw them, they were covered with gold brocade, bordered with silver lace and ermine.

I viewed, not without peculiar veneration and awe, the sepulchre which contains the body of Peter I.; the sternness, or rather the ferocity of whose disposition, neither spared age nor sex, nor the dearest connections; and who yet, with a strong degree of compunction, was accustomed to say, "I can reform my people, but I cannot reform myself." A † royal historian has justly observed of Peter, that he redeemed the cruelties of a tyrant by the virtues of a legislator. We must readily allow that he considerably reformed and civilized his subjects; that he created a navy, and new-modelled his army; that he encouraged the arts and sciences, promoted agriculture and commerce, and laid the foundation of Russian grandeur. But, instead of exclaiming in the language of panegyric,

*Erabesce, ars! Hic vir maximus tibi nihil debuit:
Exulta, natura! Hoc stupendum tuum est:**

we may, on the contrary, venture to regret that he was not taught the lessons of humanity; that his sublime but unruly genius was not controuled and improved by proper culture; nor his savage nature corrected and softened by the refinements of art. And if Peter failed in enlightening the mass of his subjects equal to his wishes, the failure was occasioned by his own precipitate temper, by the chimerical idea of introducing the arts and sciences by force, and of performing in a moment what can only be the gradual work of time; by violating the established customs of his people, and in contradiction to the dictates of sound policy, requiring an immediate sacrifice of prejudices sanctified by ages. In a word, his failure was the failure of a superior genius wandering without a guide; and the greatest eulogium we can justly offer to his extraordinary character, is to allow that his virtues were his own, and his defects those of education and country. Peter the Great was born at Moscow on the 30th of May, 1672, and died at Petersburg on the 28th of January, 1725, in the fifty-third year of his age, and in the forty-fourth of a glorious reign.

I observed near the tomb of Peter some Turkish colours: they were taken in the naval engagement of Tchesme, displayed during a solemn procession, and placed by the hand of the empress, at the tomb of the sovereign who founded the Russian navy.

* Catharine the Second was interred in this cathedral. On the accession of Paul, the remains of his father Peter the Third were removed from the church of the monastery, and after lying in state, interred with regal pomp in the cathedral, in the same sepulchre as the body of Catharine the Second. By order of the new emperor, count Alexey Orloff, and prince Baratynski, to whom the death of Peter the Third was attributed, were stationed on each side of the body while it lay in state, and compelled to follow the funeral procession.

† Pierre I, mourut dans ces circonstances, laissant dans le monde plutôt la réputation d'un homme extraordinaire, que d'un grand homme, & couvrant les cruautés d'un Tiran des vertus d'un législateur. Hist. de la Maison de Brandebourg.

† Blush art! this hero owed thee nothing.

Exult nature! for this prodigy is all thy own.

*See Gordon's Life of Peter. Vol. II.

Near the ashes of Peter are deposited those of his second wife and successor Catharine I, the beautiful Livonian, who, by a train of singular events, was exalted from a cottage to unbounded sovereignty.*

In the vault of this church, but without tomb or inscription, lies Alexey, son of Peter I, who fell a sacrifice to the arts of the designing Mentchikof, and to the resentment of an inhuman, though perhaps justly offended father. The recollection of his fate makes a strong impression on a feeling mind, and must still more forcibly strike a subject of the British empire; where will is not law, where the heir apparent is as secure as the sovereign himself, and where the right of succession stands irrevocable, not to be altered by the caprice or jealousy of a reigning monarch. The speculative theorist may indeed argue for Peter, that a power ought to be vested in the sovereign to exclude an unworthy successor. But, in effect, this is rendering the fate of a whole empire dependent upon the will of one person, who, during his life, may change his heir as often as he changes his opinion; or who, like Peter, may expire without nominating his successor, and leave the throne open to every claimant who can secure the concurrence of the army. The exclusion of Alexey, the decree† subsequent to his death, and the unsettled ideas concerning the right of succession introduced by that fatal mandate, occasioned frequent revolutions in the government; and the disposal of the sceptre has depended on the regiments of guards stationed in the capital. The re-establishment of hereditary right, therefore, may be justly classed among the foremost of those excellent regulations which distinguish the reign of Catharine the Second.

In the same vault, which contains the body of the unfortunate Alexey, is placed that of Charlotte Christina Sophia, princess of Brunswick, his no less unfortunate wife, whose fate is more afflicting, because she deserved it less. She was born in 1694; married the Tzarevitch in 1711, and died on the first of November, 1715, partly of a broken heart occasioned by her husband's ill-treatment, and partly by the consequences of her delivery of Peter II.‡

Among the imperial sepulchres is that of Anne of Holstein, eldest daughter of Peter and Catharine, who, though far more deserving of notice, is less known than her sister the empress Elizabeth, because her virtues were not ennobled by a diadem. Anne is described as a princess of majestic form and expressive features, of an excellent and improved understanding, and of irreproachable morals. While she was very young, count Apraxin, a Russian nobleman, paid his addresses to her, but was rejected with scorn. Not daunted with this repulse, he continued his courtship, and finding her one day alone, threw himself at her feet, offered his sword, and entreated her to put an end to his life and misery. "Give me the sword," said the princess, stretching out her hand, "you shall see that the daughter of your emperor has strength and spirit sufficient to rid herself of a wretch that insults her." The count, apprehensive that she might execute her threat, withdrew the sword, and demanded instant pardon; and, as the princess told the story with great humour, became the derision of the court.§

* See an account of Catharine I, in chap. viii. of this book.

† "In the month of February, 1722, a proclamation was made by the sound of trumpet, requiring every natural-born subject of the Russian empire, and all foreigners then residing there, to swear and sign an oath, 'that they will acknowledge, as successor to the empire, the person whom his majesty shall nominate for their sovereign, after his death.' This order struck a damp on the spirits of every body, when they reflected on the undoubted title of the young prince Peter, his majesty's grandson, and only remaining heir of the imperial family." Bruce's Memoirs, p. 226.

‡ See an account of this princess in chap. viii. of this book.

§ Bassewitz, 371.

Anne espoused, in 1725, Charles Frederick, duke of Holstein-Gottorp, to whom she had been long betrothed. Bred up with the expectation of two crowns,* she was disappointed of both; nominated by her mother, Catharine I, one of the council of regency during the minority of Peter II, excluded from that council after once taking her seat, by the despotism of prince Mentchikof, whom she herself had promoted with all her influence; driven from Russia by the mandate of that arrogant minister, she retired with her husband to Kiel, where she died in 1728, in the twenty-second year of her age, leaving one son, the unfortunate Peter III.

Her cousin, the empress Anne, second daughter of Ivan Alexievitch, is interred in the same cathedral. She was widow of the duke of Courland, and resided at Mittau, when she was unexpectedly called to take possession of the empire. On the death of Peter II, without issue, the sceptre, according to Catharine's will, ought to have reverted to her grandson, afterwards Peter III, son of Anne of Holstein; but a hereditary right was abolished by Peter's decree, and no successor appointed by Peter II, a privy council of seven nobles, in whom the regal power was vested at the decease of the emperor, formed a plan for limiting the prerogative of the crown, leaving the title and pomp of royalty to the reigning monarch, but reserving to themselves the supreme authority. Having drawn up certain conditions for the ratification of the future sovereign, they chose the princess Anne, in preference to the family of Peter the Great, and to her eldest sister Catharine of Mecklenburgh, because having no legal claim, she would more readily agree to the terms which might secure her the succession. Anne signed the articles without hesitation, only for the purpose of breaking them, and had scarcely arrived at Moscow before she was enabled, by the assistance of the guards, to annul the act of renunciation, to dissolve the privy council itself, and to re-assume the imperial

* Those of Sweden and Russia; the former by marriage, and the latter by her father's nomination.

With respect to the crown of Sweden, her husband, the only son of Hedwige, eldest sister of Charles XII, was undoubted heir of the Swedish crown, but was set aside by the Swedes, who preferred Ulrica Eleonora, Charles's youngest sister. See Genealogical table of the house of Vasa, and the chapter on the death of Charles XII, both in the fourth volume.

As to her expectation of the Russian crown, Bassevitz, her husband's minister, positively asserts, that Peter I, had formed the resolution of raising her to the throne. "C'étoit dans les mains de cette princesse, que Pierre le Grand souhaitoit de voir passer son sceptre." Bus. His. Mag. ix. p. 371.

A short time before his last illness, he explained to her and the duke of Holstein the system he had pursued during his reign, and instructed them in the details of government. While he lay upon his death-bed, having recovered his understanding by a momentary intermission of the delirium (see chap. viii. on Catharine I) he called for Anne to dictate his last sentiments, but upon her arrival he relapsed into his former state of insensibility. Ibid. p. 372.

It also appears, from Sir Luke Schaubé's dispatches, in the possession of the earl of Hardwicke, that Peter had even taken some steps towards settling the crown upon his daughter Anne.

"Le Cardinal [Dubois] ne paroit guere touche de l'injustice qui seroit faite au fils du Czarowitz; et il dit, que si le Czar regleroit la succession en faveur de la fille, il faudroit bien que ceux qui voudroient se lier avec lui de son vivant, promissent de la maintenir apres sa mort, apres laquelle toutefois il arriveroit vraisemblablement de cette disposition comme si elle n'avoit jamais existe." Sir Luke Schaubé to lord Carteret, Paris, Jan. 20, 1722.

Ce que les ministres Moscovites disoient au Mons. de Campredon que le Czar voulut se procurer une garantie pour la succession a ses etats de la maniere qu'il se propose de l'establir, paroit fort singulier, &c. Par rapport a l'exclusion de son petits-fils en faveur de sa fille, sans marquer en meme temps, a quel prince il la destine." Lord Carteret to Cardinal Dubois, Paris, Jan. 1721-2.

The decree which he issued in February 1722, seemed a prelude to this appointment, which was probably prevented by the suddenness of his death.

Catharine I, was no less inclined to appoint Anne her successor, and a strong party was formed in her favour; but that empress was prevented from following her inclinations in this instance by the shortness of her reign, and the danger of excluding Peter Alexievitch; who, as the grandson of Peter the Great was supported by a still more powerful party.

authority in as unlimited a form, as had ever been enjoyed by any of her predecessors. This empress resigned herself implicitly to the direction of Biren, a native of Courland, who rose from the lowest extraction, and regulated all her councils with the most arbitrary sway. Anne has generally been censured for her severity, and is said to have ruled the Russians with the knout in her hand; but the cruelties which tarnished her reign, must be attributed to the brutal temper of Biren. The empress herself was of a humane disposition: she frequently opposed the sanguinary measures of her favourite, and in vain endeavoured to soften his merciless disposition, by submitting to entreaties, and interceding even with tears, for the unfortunate objects of his resentment.* But, in effect, the sovereign who permits cruelties is, and ought to be, equally guilty in the eyes of the world with the sovereign who commands them; and posterity justly imputes to the mistress the vices of the servant, who is uncontrouled in his abuse of power. Anne died on the 17th of October 1740, after nominating for her successor her nephew Ivan, then an infant; with a view of prolonging the reign of Biren, whom she appointed regent during the minority.

Viewing the tomb of Elizabeth, I recollected the motley character of that indolent and voluptuous empress, who, by the revolution of 1741, renewed in her person the line of Peter the Great upon the throne of Russia. Elizabeth was born in 1709, and, when arrived at years of maturity, was extremely admired for her personal attractions.

Her beauty, as well as rank and large dowry, occasioned several offers, none of which were accepted, and she died single. During the reign of her father, a negotiation had commenced for her marriage with Louis XV. By the will of Catharine, Elizabeth was betrothed to Charles Augustus, bishop of Lubeck, and brother of Adolphus Frederic, king of Sweden; but he died before the completion of the ceremony. In the reign of Peter II, she was demanded by Charles, margrave of Anspach; in 1741, by the Persian tyrant Kouli Khan; and at the time of the revolution, the regent Anne endeavoured to force her to espouse prince Lewis of Brunswick.† From the period of her accession she renounced all thoughts of the connubial state, and adopted her nephew Peter. Her dislike to marriage, however, did not proceed from any disinclination to man; for she freely owned to her confidants, that she was never happy but when in love,‡ if we may dignify by that name a capricious passion ever changing its object. The same characteristic warmth of temper hurried her no less to the extremities of devotion: she was scrupulously exact in her annual confessions of the wanderings of her heart, in expressing the utmost contrition, and in punctually adhering to the minutest ceremonies and ordinances of the church.

With respect to her disposition, she is generally styled the humane Elizabeth, as she made a vow never to inflict any capital punishments§ during her reign; and is

* "J'ai ete present," writes count Munc "lorsque l'imperatrice pleuroit a chaudes larmes sur ce que Biron fulminoit & menacoit dene vouloir plus servir si l'imperatrice ne sacriroit Volinski & ainsi des autres." Ebauche, &c. p. 119.

Mrs. Vigor says of her, "I have often seen her melt into tears at a melancholy story, and she shows such unaffected horror at any mark of cruelty, that her mind to me seems to be composed of the most amiable qualities that I have ever observed in any one person; which seems a particular mark of the goodness of Providence, as she is possessed of such power." Letters from Russia, p. 89.

† See Manstein's Memoirs, p. 25. 285. 309.

‡ "Elle etoit voluptueuse a l'exces, nee de sang voluptueux, & elle disoit souvent a ses confidentes, qu'elle n'etoit contente que tant qu'elle etoit amoureuse; mais elle etoit avec cela fort inconstante & changeoit souvent de savoris." Ebauche, p. 170.

§ See remarks on her celebrated edict, which abolished capital punishments, in the chapter on the Penal Laws of Russia, in a subsequent passage.

reported to have shed tears upon the news of victories gained by her troops, from the reflection that they were not obtained without great bloodshed. But although no criminal was executed in public, yet the state prisons were filled with wretched sufferers, many of whom, unheard of and unknown, perished in damp and unwholesome dungeons: the state inquisition, or secret committee, appointed to judge persons suspected of high treason, had constant occupation during her reign; many upon the slightest surmises were tortured in secret; many underwent the knout, and expired under the infliction. But the transaction which reflects the highest disgrace on her reign, was the public punishment of two ladies of fashion, countesses Bestuchef and Lapookin: each received fifty strokes of the knout in the open square of Petersburg; their tongues were cut out, and they were banished into Siberia. One of these ladies, madame Lapookin, esteemed the handsomest woman in Russia, was accused of holding secret correspondence with the French ambassador; but her real crime was having commented too freely on the empress's amours. Even the mere relation of such an affecting scene, as that of a woman of great beauty and high rank publicly scourged by the common executioner, must excite the strongest emotions of horror, and forbid us to venerate the memory of a princess, who, with such little regard to her own sex, could issue those barbarous commands. But let us lament the inconsistency of human nature; and in considering the character of Elizabeth, let us not deny that her heart, perhaps naturally benevolent, was occasionally corrupted by power, and steeled with suspicion; that although mercy might predominate whenever it did not interfere with her passions and prejudices, yet she by no means deserves the appellation of humane, the most noble* attribute of a sovereign, when it interposes to temper the severity of justice. Elizabeth died in 1761, in the twenty-first year of her reign, and in the fifty-third of her age: she expired in December, the same month in which she was born, and in which she acceded to the throne.

In the fortress is a small arsenal, which among other military stores, contains some cannon, cast in the middle of the sixteenth century, under the reign of Ivan Vassilievitch II. I had occasion to mention in a former chapter, that the art of casting cannon was introduced into Russia under Ivan Vassilievitch I, by Aristotle of Bologna. Ivan II, did not fail to imitate the example of his grandfather in procuring, by means of foreign artists, the best artillery; and to this judicious policy both monarchs were chiefly indebted for their successes in war, and for the conquest of several provinces, which they annexed to their hereditary dominions.

In a separate building of the fortress is the mint. The gold and silver are sent from the mines of Siberia, and the metals are refined in this laboratory. We surveyed the whole process from the first melting of the ore to the coining. Among the silver we observed a large quantity of Dutch dollars, which were melting to be recoined in roubles. Peter I, wanting silver for the new coinage, issued a decree, that all the customs should be paid in Dutch dollars: at present half the duties are still discharged in that money by all foreign merchants, excepting the English, who are exempted by treaty. But as the gold and silver obtained from the mines of Siberia, with the addition of the dollars, are by no means sufficient for the circulation, a considerable quantity of both metals is annually imported. The coinage, in its present debased

* I was informed from undoubted authority, that it was impossible to obtain Elizabeth's consent for the execution of a felon who had even committed the most horrid species of premeditated murder, and that the master of the police used secretly to order the executioner to knout to death those delinquents who were found guilty of the most atrocious crimes. It is a pity she did not reserve her humanity, which in this instance was cruelty to her people, for more respectable objects.

state must be very advantageous, as in the gold there is so much alloy, that a profit of 48 per cent. is gained, and in the silver of 37.* This state of the coinage renders useless the prohibition against the exportation, and produces the mischievous effect of promoting the contraband introduction of false coin from foreign countries.

Among the remarkable objects in the mint, the machine for stamping the coin deserves to be mentioned; because it was invented by her present majesty, and is esteemed an ingenious and simple piece of mechanism.

Within the fortress is a four-oared boat, secured with great veneration, in a brick building, and preserved as a memorial to future ages, of its being the origin of the Russian fleet. Peter I, used to call it the Little Grandsire, and, in the latter part of his reign, ordered it to be transported to Petersburg: it was conducted in solemn procession, to excite the admiration of the people, and exposed to view that they might compare the former condition of the marine, with the improved state in which he left it. The history of this little boat is worthy of notice; not only as it comprehends the first rise of the navy, but because, during the course of the narrative, I shall be enabled to point out sundry errors advanced by several historians of Peter the Great.

There is not the least foundation for the report that Peter was naturally afraid of the water, and had the utmost difficulty in surmounting this aversion: on the contrary, he always expressed a strong attachment to that element. The boat, which has given rise to this detail, was constructed during the reign of Alexey Michaelovitch, by Karstens Brandt, a Dutch shipwright, whom Alexey Michaelovitch invited into Russia. Peter, about the year 1691, accidentally seeing this boat at a village near Moscow, inquired of Timmerman, who taught him fortification, why it was built in a different manner from other vessels? Timmerman replied, it was a vessel contrived to sail against the wind. Peter's curiosity was roused by this intelligence, and Brandt being instantly summoned, repaired it without delay, provided a mast and rigging, and, having launched it upon the Yausa, sailed in it, to the surprise and astonishment of the young Tzar, who immediately embarked, and, under the direction of Brandt, soon learned the management of the vessel.

Having repeated these experiments upon the Yausa, as well as upon a neighbouring lake, he ordered Brandt to build a yacht† upon the banks of the Moskva, which was launched in 1691; and in which Peter sailed as far as Columna. Animated with the success of this expedition, he commanded the same shipwright to construct upon the lake of Perislafe, several small vessels carrying guns; in which the Tzar sailed on the 8th of February, the 3d of March, and the 5th of April, of the following year. On the first of May another vessel was launched, and on the 9th Peter returned to Moscow. The death of Brandt seems to have interrupted the increase of this little fleet; but did not prevent Peter from continuing his expeditions on the lake. Some extracts, from general Gordon's‡ Journal, will show the eagerness with which the young monarch

* See *Essai sur le commerce de Russie*, c. x. where the reader will find an accurate state of the Russian coinage, in which the difference of the present money from that of the former reigns is laid down, as I was informed from good authority, with great exactness, p. 254, 255.

† From hence I follow implicitly Muller's Extracts from general Gordon's Journal.

‡ General Gordon, a native of Scotland, was born in 1635: having served with glory in the Swedish and Polish armies, he entered into the Russian service in 1661, in which he continued to the end of his life. His Journal, in the English tongue, is now in the archives at Moscow, and has never been printed. Muller, who made great use of it in several of his works, proposed to extract and publish all the circumstances relating to Russia; but, to the great regret of all lovers of history, has been prevented by other occupations from carrying his design into execution. I find, from Bachmeister's *Russ. Bibl*

pursued his new occupation: when such trifling incidents as weighing anchor, and sailing across a lake, are circumstantially recorded.

"Gordon went on the 11th of August to Pereslaj; and on the 14th was entertained in due form and ceremony on board of the admiral's* ship. On the 18th," he adds, "we sailed from one side of the lake to the opposite bank; on the 21st we got under weigh, and sailed to the other side, where we again came to an anchor; on the 24th Gordon attended the Tzar on ship-board; on the 28th we departed from Pereslaj, and on the 31st reached Alexeyfsk." But as the limits of a lake were too confined for the rising ambition of the Tzar, he hurried to Archangel, where he arrived in the month of June, 1693. "On the 17th," says Gordon, "the post brought the news that the Tzar had been upon the White Sea, and was happily arrived into port, and on the 11th of October, he came back to Moscow. In the beginning of May, 1694, he returned to Archangel, and continued in those parts until September; during which time he made frequent expeditions upon the sea, and improved his knowledge of navigation."

These little adventures, which seemed mere youthful amusements, were productive of the most glorious event that distinguished his reign. Peter, in the campaign of 1695 against the Turks, besieging Azof, found it impossible to take the town without blocking up the harbour; and as he did not possess one ship, was compelled to raise the siege.

His spirit excited, rather than damped, by this disappointment, he gave orders for the immediate construction of several vessels; some were framed at Occa, and transported over land to the Don; but the greater part were built at Veronetz. In less than a year he renewed the siege of Azof, and brought before it, to the surprise of the Turks, two men of war, twenty-three galleys, two galleots, and four fire-ships.† With this little squadron, which sailed down the Don into the Black Sea, he blockaded the harbour, gained a victory over the Turkish galleys, and took Azof. He signalized this wonderful event by a triumphal entry into Moscow, and by a medal representing the capture of Azof, with a motto in Russian, "Victor by thunder and the waves." This success was the prelude to still greater achievements; and as the security of his new conquests upon the Black Sea depended upon a powerful navy, he collected from all quarters the most expert ship-builders, and superintended the necessary preparations at Voronetz, Azof, and Taganroc. In 1699, soon after his return from his first expedition into foreign parts, he was present at a naval review upon the Black Sea, in which ten frigates were engaged, the largest carrying fifty, the smallest twenty-six guns;‡ and the Russian navy, in the harbours of the Euxine, constructed and upon the stocks, is described as consisting of nine ships of sixty guns, ten of fifty, ten of

for 1782, that a German translation of it is given in Part iv. of the Journal of St. Petersburg for 1782, which I have not yet seen.

Gordon died in 1699, much regretted by the Tzar, and, to use the words of his relation, "His majesty visited him five times during his illness, was present the moment he expired, and shut his eyes with his own hand." The same author also says of him, greatly to his honour, "general Gordon was a sober man, in a country where drinking is much in fashion; and though he used to be much in the Tzar's company, his majesty, knowing his inclinations, would never allow him to be urged. He was ever mindful of his business, and did great service to the Russian nation." Gordon's Hist. of Peter the Great, vol. i. p. 137, 138.

* Muller conjectures that Le Fort was the admiral of this little squadron.

† S. R. G. vol. ii. p. 226.

‡ Id. p. 184.

VOL. VI.

4 T

forty-eight, two of forty-two, fourteen of thirty-four, two of thirty-two, three of thirty, one of twenty-six, one of twenty-four, four of eighteen, three of fourteen, and four of eight guns; beside eighteen triremes, one hundred brigantines, and three hundred boats in the Dnieper. This stupendous account would be incredible were it not recorded by the secretary* to the Austrian embassy, then resident at Moscow; it is scarcely paralleled by the naval exertions of the Romans in the first Punic war. The rapidity with which Peter created his fleet for the Black Sea, was equalled by similar exertions upon the Baltic, after the acquisition of Cronstadt and the foundation of Petersburg.

But to return to the boat which occasioned this digression, and which gave rise to the Russian navy. In 1723, at the close of the Persian expedition, it was transported from Moscow to the new metropolis, and Peter gave a public entertainment, which was called the Consecration of the Little Grandsire. Twenty-seven men of war, being ranged at Cronstadt in the form of a crescent, the emperor embarked in this boat, himself steering, while three admirals and prince Mentchikof performed the office of rowers: being then towed by two sloops, it made a small circuit in the Gulf: and, returning by the fleet, the ships struck their flags, and saluted with all their guns; while the Little Grandsire returned each salute by a discharge of three small pieces. It was then brought into the harbour, and surrounded by the men of war. A few days afterwards the Little Grandsire was conveyed to St. Petersburg, and its arrival solemnised by a masquerade upon the water.† This memorable boat, freighted with the emperor, proceeded to the fortress, and was conducted, under the discharge of all the artillery, to the place where it now remains enshrined as a memorial to posterity.

From the fortress we took water, and landed at an adjacent spot in the island of Petersburg, near a wooden hovel, remarkable as the habitation of Peter the Great, while the fortress was constructing. It still remains in its original state, and stands under a brick building, erected to preserve it from destruction. The house is a ground floor, with only three rooms, which I had the curiosity to measure. They are but eight feet in height; the apartment for the reception of company is fifteen feet square; the dining room fifteen by twelve, and the bed-chamber ten. Near this house is another four-oared boat, the work of Peter's own hands, which has been erroneously called the Little Grandsire.

CHAPTER VI.

Congelation of quicksilver....Dr. Guthrie's experiments to ascertain the freezing point of mercury, and to prove that the purity or impurity of the mercury, by no means affects the congelation.

As the curious experiment of freezing quicksilver was first made at Petersburg by professor Braun, I was desirous of witnessing the repetition of the same process; particularly as many doubts were entertained by several philosophers, concerning the real congelation of pure quicksilver, and I had frequent opportunities of seeing this phenomenon during a series of experiments by Dr. Guthrie, physician to the imperial corps of cadets.

* Korb Diarium. The reader will find, in p. 236, a catalogue of the names of all these vessels, together with the breadth, length, depth, number of guns, and complement of men. See also Le Bruyn's Travels, vol. i. p. 62.

† Consett's present state of Russia, p. 218.

Having inserted a tube containing quicksilver in a mixture of snow and spirit of nitre, he took it out in ten minutes, placed it in a second mixture, and in five minutes the quicksilver was congealed. The tube being broken, the quicksilver appeared in a solid mass like a ball of silver, and being struck with a hammer was flattened into twice its extension before it liquified.

But the hammer being much warmer than the frozen quicksilver, melted the parts which it touched, seeming to have the same effect upon the mercury as a warm iron upon wax; I desired, therefore, Dr. Guthrie to place the hammer also in the freezing mixture, so as to acquire the same degree of cold as the frozen quicksilver. Another portion of quicksilver being congealed by the same process, I took out the hammer, and struck the solid mass of quicksilver; it resisted the stroke, and yielded a dead sound like lead; I struck it again, and made a small dent, a third time, and made a larger dent, until it gradually extended and flattened under the hammer, separated like an amalgama of the consistence of cheese, and soon liquefied.

To me the congelation of quicksilver was a matter of mere curiosity; yet the doctor's experiments tended not only to prove its absolute congelation, but likewise to ascertain the freezing point; and shew that the purity or impurity of the mercury did not affect the success of the experiment.

As the subject is extremely curious, and rendered still more interesting by the able treatise published by sir Charles Blagden, in the Philosophical Transactions, I shall insert a summary account of the experiments and observations communicated by Dr. Guthrie, and shall only add that I was witness to most of the experiments.

"Mr. Joseph Adam Braun, professor of the imperial academy of sciences of St. Petersburg, discovered, in December 1759, that mercury might be rendered solid by means of artificial cold, and it has been since congealed in severe winters by the cold of the atmosphere in the northern countries of both the old and new continent.

"This congelation of mercury by the natural cold, renders the knowledge of its freezing point a matter of great importance to the natural history of the earth as well as of man; as by determining the degree of cold necessary to effect this phenomenon, we shall be able to estimate the real degree of cold in the countries near the poles, and consequently the power inherent in living animals to resist it. Until lately our ideas on this subject were confused and erroneous. The experiments and observations of the most able naturalists in Europe and America were only of partial use to natural history and physics, by placing mercury amongst the malleable metals, and by demonstrating that there is nothing essentially fluid in its nature, but that it is a metal which melts with a less degree of heat than the others.

"Still the philosopher was not informed what reliance he could place on the mercurial thermometer towards determining the cold of climates; as the motions of the quicksilver appeared by those very experiments extremely irregular in the lower parts of the scale, falling many degrees in an instant, and after descending below a certain point, sinking suddenly into the bulb, and thereby seeming to indicate that the animals of the northern countries could resist the action of cold some hundred degrees below the freezing point of water. This supposition staggered the faith of many philosophers, and made them anxious that the matter should be more fully investigated. Accordingly the royal society of London desired its members residing in cold countries, to turn their attention towards determining the point of congelation of mercury, and remark the descent of the mercury in the thermometer during the process from the freezing point of water to that of mercury, in order to form a juster notion of its real contraction. But new light

was lately thrown upon the subject, by a course of experiments made at the desire of the Royal Society, by Mr. Hutchins, governor of Hudson's Bay, who received excellent instructions from Mr. Cavendish, and Dr. Black, professor of chemistry in the university of Edinburgh. These directions, and an apparatus made in London, enabled the governor to perceive, that the sudden and considerable descent which takes place in the lower parts of the thermometer, when exposed to great cold, happens from the contraction of the metal in its frozen state, and does not affect the regularity and justness of its contraction whilst it remains fluid. This great point was principally ascertained by means of a spirit thermometer, which was found not to freeze as soon as the mercury, and thereby indicated the degree of cold produced by his frigorific mixture, when the mercurial thermometer ceased to measure it on account of its contraction on becoming solid.

"To prove that the descent of the mercury in the thermometer was derived from this new-discovered principle, namely, the contraction of the metal in freezing, and to try whether pure mercury required a greater degree of cold to freeze it than adulterated mercury, I made these experiments with various sorts of mercury :

"1. I procured from Winterberger, a famous chemist of St. Petersburg, the purest mercury known to chemists, viz. revived from calomel by filings of iron. 2. From Dr. Pallas, native mercury, collected in a mine where no other metal is found but a little iron. 3. Common barometer mercury, furnished by Morgan, an English optician at Petersburg, as he received it from England for filling his instruments. 4. Six drachms of common mercury, which I adulterated by dissolving in it a quarter of a grain of tin foil.

"I procured also some thermometers made with great care and accuracy by Morgan, filled with the same purified mercury, No. 1. for the express purpose of these experiments; also one with highly rectified spirits of wine, distilled by Winterberger.

"Adjoining is a drawing of the apparatus I employed in these experiments, which was suggested to me by my learned friend Dr. Black; it differs from that employed by Mr. Hutchins in being more simple, and consequently the mercury was more easily examined during the process of congelation.

"December the 22d, 1784. In a calm clear evening, Reaumur's thermometer at 17 degrees below 0, after exposing the apparatus on a table in my court-yard (where I made my experiments) for two hours, to acquire the temperature of the atmosphere, I poured a little of the purified mercury, No. 1, into the glass tube, and having inserted a thermometer filled with the same purified mercury, so that its bulb was covered with the mercury in the tube, I placed them in the water-glass, filled with the freezing mixture, and in six minutes transported them into a second, with similar contents; the mercury in four minutes more became solid, and when I drew out the thermometer, with the frozen mercury surrounding its bulb in the form of a solid cylinder, it stood at $32\frac{1}{2}$ degrees below 0. Perceiving, however, a little fluid mercury still remaining in the tube, I replaced the thermometer with the mercury adhering to its bulb, and in a few minutes the mercury rose about half a degree; drawing it up a second time, I found the mercury melted, and the bulb quite free. From this experiment it proves, that the freezing point of pure mercury is at $32\frac{1}{2}$ degrees below 0 on this thermometer; for as there remained a little mercury still fluid in the tube, there seems to have been only produced sufficient cold to freeze it, and as on its rising half a degree the mercury became fluid, the point of congelation is accurately determined."

"Second experiment. On the 9th January, 1785, between six and half past seven in the evening, I made the following experiments in presence of Mr. Epinus, Mr. Coxe,

and other gentlemen. I inserted the mercurial thermometer used in the last experiment in a portion of the purified mercury, No. 1, and placed them in the cold mixture: the thermometer fell slowly to twenty-two and a half degrees, and was stationary some time, whilst we perceived the mercury in the tube freezing round the sides, so as to produce a coating like tin foil in the Leyden phial; on transporting it to a second glass of cold mixture, the thermometer fell in five minutes to thirty-six degrees, where it remained stationary during the time of its continuance in the mixture. What was remarkable in this experiment, the mercury in the thermometer was still fluid, although its bulb was frozen into that contained in the tube; for on reversing the instrument, the mercury ran out of the bulb into the stem. Now, here is a proof that mercury may be cooled three and a half degrees below its freezing point without becoming solid.

"Third experiment with native mercury. It having been asserted, that a thermometer, filled with highly rectified spirits of wine, is better calculated to determine the freezing point of mercury, than one filled with the same metal, because it resists congelation longer, I plunged the spirit thermometer into the tube containing the native mercury. Having placed the apparatus in the glass with the refrigerant mixture for five minutes, and transported it into a second glass, the spirit falling in the thermometer to thirty-two, we examined the mercury, and found it frozen, although the spirits of wine remained fluid, and the thermometer stood at the same degree (not only while the apparatus remained in the cold mixture, but even after I transported it into a warm room) and kept it at the same point, until a large part of the bulb of the thermometer was uncovered by the melting of the frozen mercury, drop by drop, into a glass.

"Fourth experiment on common barometer mercury. The mercurial thermometer used in the first experiment was plunged into this mercury, and placed in the glass of cold mixture, and after remaining five minutes, was transported into a second glass, where in four minutes the thermometer sunk to thirty-eight, and remained stationary. The same singular phenomenon presented itself that appeared in the second experiment, with some additions; viz. the mercury subsided to five and a half degrees below its freezing point on this thermometer, without becoming solid.

"Fifth experiment with the same mercury. I froze a little of this mercury, without inserting a thermometer, in order to try its malleability and specific gravity; it flattened under the hammer, and of course is malleable, and sunk in fluid mercury, which shews that it contracts considerably in freezing, differing in this circumstance from common ice, which expands and swims in water.

"Sixth experiment on mercury adulterated with tin. The spirit thermometer being plunged into this mercury, stood at thirty-two when the mercury was frozen round its bulb.

"Seventh experiment on purified mercury, was on the 10th of January 1785 (a repetition of a former one) in the presence of professors Pallas and Ferber, and other gentlemen. I plunged the spirit thermometer into a portion of Winterberger's vivified mercury, and it fell to 32 degrees below 0, whilst the mercury was freezing, and remained there after it became solid so long as it stood in the frigorific mixture. I then drew the thermometer out of the tube with its bulb froze into the mercury, and hung it on a nail in the open air; the metal melted slowly in drops, and the spirit still kept at the same point until the greater part was thawed. We finished these experiments by trying with the spirit thermometer, what degree of cold was produced by a fresh frigorific mixture, which appeared to be just 35 degrees below 0.

"From the whole of these experiments, I am disposed to conclude, that the freezing point of mercury is at 32 degrees below 0 on Reaumur's thermometer, or 40 of

Fahrenheit, and that common mercury does not freeze with a less degree of cold than pure mercury.

„ Eighth experiment. February 1, 1785, a favourable cold of 15 degrees offering this evening, we placed in the mixture some revived mercury, twice distilled with fixed alkali by Winterberger, a preparation which has been said to resist a greater degree of cold than the others; but it froze in two and a half minutes, exactly at 32 degrees of Reaumur's mercurial thermometer, in the first glass of cold mixture, and differed no wise from all the other sorts except the following.

“ Ninth experiment. Mercury purified with antimony froze in two different experiments at 30 degrees with a spirit thermometer, and in one with a mercurial thermometer at 32 degrees, so that there appears a disposition in this preparation to freeze with a less degree of cold than the others; but it must be remarked, that it has a blackish dull colour and sluggish motion.

“ Tenth experiment. Mr. Coxe being curious to try the malleability of mercury distilled with alkali, which has a bright and fluid appearance, I froze some of it in a tube, at the same time cooling the hammer in the refrigerant mixture, so as to acquire the same temperature as the frozen mercury, defending the iron from the action of the nitrous acid by means of a glass cylinder. This mercury bore several strokes of the cold hammer, flattening like a leaden bullet.

“ Eleventh experiment. I lastly froze six drachms of common mercury, containing twelve times as much tin foil as in experiment the sixth; but even this quantity of alloy which rendered it almost an amalgama, did not dispose it to freeze with less than 32 degrees of Reaumur.

“ February 16, O. S. A cold of 24 degrees offering most unexpectedly this morning, so late in the season, and another experiment being suggested to me by an ingenious friend, Mr. Romme, to put the point of congelation of pure mercury still in a clearer light, I tried it about mid-day, when the cold was diminished 4 degrees in the shade.

“ Mr. Romme remarked, that mercury takes up much more bismuth than tin without losing its fluidity or colour, and as bismuth is a metal oftener used to adulterate it, and difficult to be separated, he thought a mixture of them was a proper subject of experiment to decide the question. I accordingly prepared an amalgama so thick, that it silvered glass like a mirror by merely running over it, and adhered so fast as not to be removed without scraping. But the freezing point of this very impure mercury was the same as the others; viz. 32 degrees of Reaumur, by the mercurial thermometer. The spirit thermometer being employed to try the cold of the frigorific mixture, to my surprise fell no lower than the other thermometer inserted in the mercury contained as usual in a tube.

“ Thus ended my experiments this season; and I may venture to draw the following inferences:

“ The point of congelation of mercury is at 32 degrees below 0 on Reaumur.

“ There appears no difference in the point of congelation of purified and common mercury, except one preparation with antimony, which seems to congeal with a less degree of cold than all the others.

“ In some circumstances mercury may be cooled below its freezing point, without losing its fluidity, even as far as $5\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, whilst the portion in which the bulb of the thermometer is plunged, becomes solid.

“ These experiments do not affect the credit of the mercurial thermometer, as an accurate instrument for measuring the degrees of heat from the point of boiling water to that of the congelation of mercury; but no conclusions can be drawn from its motions below this point, as they depend on the contraction of the metal in a solid state

which ought to be carefully distinguished from the contraction which takes place whilst it preserves its fluidity; therefore the ideas we have formed of the cold obtaining in the habited countries near the poles, and the astonishing power of animals to resist it, must be erroneous,* as they have been taken from the extraordinary descent of the mercury in the thermometer, which we now know is derived from the contraction of the mercury when frozen, and not from such an extraordinary degree of cold, which if it had taken place, must have destroyed the whole system of organised bodies.

"We cannot, according to our present knowledge of the subject, assert, that a much greater degree of cold exists than the point of the congelation of mercury; no other instrument having been employed to ascertain it than the mercurial thermometer, which is now proved of no authority below 32 degrees of Reaumur.

"But it appears, that a thermometer filled with highly rectified spirits of wine preserves its fluidity in a cold of 32 degrees of Reaumur, or 47 of Fahrenheit, and probably in a greater, which may therefore be employed in northern climates with more advantage than one filled with mercury.

"The surprising coincidence in the freezing of mercury congealed in Siberia by natural cold, with that effected by means of artificial cold, merits attention, as they both fix the freezing point of mercury at 32 of Reaumur; professor Laxman, particularly in a late paper to the imperial academy, declares, that he found common mercury constantly become solid at 210 of De Lisle (32 of Reaumur) and that in 1782, it continued solid for two months together. Dr. Pallas also, in the third volume of his Travels, mentions the same phenomenon taking place about the same part of the scale."

In addition to Dr. Guthrie's remarks, I shall offer a few observations.

From a careful review of Mr. Hutchin's experiments, and a comparison of the thermometers which he employed on that occasion, Mr. Cavendish† concludes, that the true point at which quicksilver froze on Mr. Hutchin's thermometer, graduated according to the scale Fahrenheit, was 40; and a thermometer adjusted in the manner recommended by the committee of the royal society, freezes in 38½, or, in whole numbers, 39 below freezing point, or 31½ of Reaumur which answers to the conclusion drawn by Dr. Guthrie from his experiments, estimating the point of mercurial congelation at 32 of Reaumur, or 40 below 0 of Fahrenheit.

As the degree of artificial cold requisite to congeal quicksilver was greatly misconceived and exaggerated, a similar misconception also prevailed with respect to the degree of natural cold necessary to the success of the experiment.

Dr. Guthrie however proves, that the congelation succeeded in a cold not exceeding 0 of Fahrenheit; and subsequent experiments made at Oxford by Mr. Walker shew, that a very small degree of natural cold is sufficient to obtain for the frigorific mixture the degree of cold necessary to congeal quicksilver. Mr. Walker froze quicksilver in a mixture of equal parts of vitriolic acid and strong fuming nitrous acid with snow, the temperature of the atmosphere being only at 30, or 2 degrees below freezing point. He has also shewn, that it may be even frozen in summer, in the hottest climates, by a particular combination of the frigorific mixtures, without the use of ice.‡

* Sir Charles Blagden ingeniously infers, from a comparison of natural cold, during a series of years, at Albany Fort, measured by a spirit thermometer, and of artificial cold produced by freezing mixtures that the extreme artificial cold produced by snow and nitrous acid corresponds pretty exactly with the extreme of natural cold in the most rigorous climates, which can be well inhabited; and does not exceed 46° of a standard mercurial thermometer of Fahrenheit. Phil. Transac. vol. lxxiii. p. 387.

† Phil. Transac. vol. lxxiii. part 2, page 321.

‡ Walker's Experiments on the Production of Artificial Cold, Phil. Transac. vol. lxxviii. p. 395. Also Walker's Experiments on the Congelation of Quicksilver in England, Phil. Transac. for 1789, vol. lxxix. part 2, p. 199.

I shall close this chapter with some curious experiments made in Siberia by Dr. Pallas, for ascertaining the difference of the heat in animals during their torpid and natural states.

Pallas having made an incision into the abdomen of a hedge-dog, during its torpid state, and placed Fahrenheit's thermometer in the belly, the mercury rose only to $39\frac{1}{2}$, and the animal gave no more signs of feeling than if actually dead, as well whilst the incision was making, as when the wound was sewing up; the animal being conveyed immediately into a warm room, gradually recovered from its lethargy, and walked about the chamber with as much insensibility as if no operation had been performed.

Pallas kept this hedge-hog in his house from December to the end of March; and although the heat of the apartment was seldom under 60 degrees, yet it eat no food, and was never out of its torpid state, except once or twice, when it was placed behind the stove, in a heat from 77 to 80. Roused by that expedient, it was awakened from its lethargy, took a few turns about the room, and eat a few morsels; but soon lay down again, and passed its torpid months as nature ordains.

Probably the bodies of these animals, which sleep during winter, are gradually prepared for the torpid state by a deficiency of food, and a consequent diminution of natural heat; for a thermometer plunged in the bellies of marmots and hedge-hogs in their natural state, rose to 76, 79, 81, 86, 88, 99, $99\frac{1}{2}$, namely, from $36\frac{1}{2}$ degrees to 50 higher than it rose when plunged into the belly of the hedge-hog in its torpid state.

The following fact also seems to illustrate the conjecture, that a certain state of body predisposes to a torpid state. A tame marmot, which had become extremely fat during summer in the professor's house, continued awake during the whole winter, although exposed to the same cold which threw the whole species into their torpid state in that part of Siberia; nor was the doctor able to render it torpid, even with the assistance of the ice-cellar, wherein he sometimes confined it during several days.

By comparing this experiment with the sleeping hedge-hog, which Pallas was not able to rouse during the whole winter, except for very short intervals, though exposed to a heat of between 77 and 80 degrees; it seems to follow, that a certain state of body is necessary to assist nature in laying asleep some animals, to which they are gradually brought by a deficiency of nourishment at the beginning of winter, when they shut up their holes, and retire to rest from instinct; and that the impulse of the circulation and animal spirits, arising from heat or nutrition, supersedes the necessity of the torpid state, and prevents their falling asleep.

It is also a curious circumstance in the œconomy of nature, that Pallas found the heat of birds more considerable than that of quadrupeds; namely, from 103 to 111 degrees; a wise arrangement of Providence, in proportioning the heat of the winged tribe to the superior cold obtaining in that part of the atmosphere where they range.

CHAPTER VII.

Palace and Gardens of Tzarskoe Zelo....Oranienbaum....History of Prince Mentchikof....Fortress....Apartments of Peter III....Palace and Gardens of Peterhof....Dutch House built by Peter the Great....Schlusselburgh....Origin, History, and Description of the fortress.

THE season of the year being far advanced on our arrival at Petersburg, we had no time or opportunity to visit many places in the neighbourhood of that capital, yet we contrived, before the approach of winter, to make excursions to Tzarskoe-Zelo, Oranienbaum, Peterhof, and Schlusselburgh.

Tzarskoe-Zelo, an imperial palace, fifteen miles from Petersburg, is the favourite summer residence of the empress, where she lives in a more retired manner than at Peterhof. This palace, built by Elizabeth, is a brick edifice stuccoed white, of disproportionate length, and in a heavy style of architecture. The capitals of the outside pillars, as also many of the other exterior ornaments, together with the wooden statues which support the cornice and adorn the roof, are all gilded, and exhibit a tawdry appearance. The apartments are large and magnificent: some fitted up in the old style of gaudy profusion; others in a less splendid but more elegant taste, by the present empress. One room is much admired, being richly incrustated with amber, a present from the king of Prussia.

Having viewed the palace, we walked round the gardens, which are laid out in the English taste, and agreeably diversified with lawn, wood, and water. Among several bridges, we were particularly struck with one, built after the model of lord Pembroke's Palladian bridge at Wilton. It is exactly of the same size, but more magnificent, the lower part being of granite, and the colonade of marble. The marble was hewn and worked in Siberia by an Italian artist, who employed nine years in completing it: from Siberia it was transported by water to Petersburg, and from the capital to Tzarskoe-Zelo by land. It was a pleasing satisfaction to observe our works of taste introduced into these distant and formerly inhospitable regions. Several buildings were scattered about the gardens, raised in honour of those persons who distinguished themselves in the imperial service. Among these I remarked a triumphal arch to prince Orlof, for checking the progress of the plague at Moscow; a building to count Alexey Orlof, in memory of the naval victory at Tchisme; and an obelisk to marshal Romanzof, for his successes against the Turks.

Our next excursion was to Peterhof, Oranienbaum, and Cronstadt.*

The road lay at a small distance from the Gulf of Finland, at first through a flat district, chiefly marshy, producing pasture and little corn. On our left extended a ridge of low hills, which once formed the boundary of the Gulf, when it spread over a larger space than it covers at present. We ascended this ridge; observed on our left the convent of St. Sergius, and on our right the palace of Strelina, begun by Elizabeth, but never finished. About four miles further we passed by Peterhof; and proceeded to Oranienbaum, through a country covered with forest.

The palace of Oranienbaum, near the Gulf of Finland, at the distance of twenty-seven miles from Petersburg, was erected by prince Mentchikof, in the meridian of a power to which scarcely any subject but himself has ever arrived. The rise of this extraordinary man is variously related by different authors. Some assert that he was apprentice

* Cronstadt will be described in the chapter which treats of the Russian navy.

to a pastry-cook, and sold pies in the streets of Moscow; that Peter stopping to converse with him, was struck with his ready-wit and quick repartees, took him into his service, and advanced him, by rapid promotions, to the height of favour which he afterwards enjoyed: others declare, that he was the son of a groom belonging to the court, and was casually placed about the person of the emperor.* Both these accounts, however contradictory to each other, sufficiently show the uncertainty of his origin; and indeed it is no wonder that the genealogy of an upstart favourite should not be exactly traced. The earliest account upon record concerning him is, that, in 1607, he was one of the youth† whom Peter formed into a corps, and disciplined after the European manner. The young Tzar was only fifteen years old, and Mentchikof, then known by the name of Alexesca, or Little Alexander, of the same age; and being remarkably active in his exercise, was observed by Le Fort, and recommended to Peter. Several persons of this company were afterwards promoted very high in the Russian service, and many circumstances concurred to forward the advancement of Mentchikof. He rendered himself remarkably useful to the Tzar in his plans of reformation; he paid particular attention to foreigners, whom Peter was continually drawing into his service; he studied his master's character and temper, and knew how to submit to the grossest insults. "The Tzar," says Gordon, who was himself an eye-witness, "often kicked him publicly, and beat him like a dog; so that the by standers concluded him undone; but always next morning the peace was made up, which people believed could not proceed but from some preternatural cause."‡

One instance of his implicit obedience to the commands of the Tzar, and dexterity in performing them, is recorded by Korb, secretary to the Austrian embassy. Peter was accustomed to assist at the examination of the prisoners who were accused of high treason, and was present at the tortures inflicted to force confession; he frequently attended at their execution; sometimes performed the office of executioner,§ and occasionally consigned that task to his favourites and principal nobles. Soon after the insurrection of the Strelitz in 1698, Peter scornfully reproached many of the nobles who trembled at being compelled to behead some rebels; adding in a strain of sanguinary justice, "No victim is more acceptable to the Deity than a wicked man." Mentchikof, however, did not labour under such delicate feelings; for as a prelude to the execution of one hundred and fifty Strelitz, he drove through the streets of Moscow in a sledge, brandishing a naked sword,|| and boasted of his adroitness in cutting off twenty heads. He did not, however, acquire the confidence of Peter merely by acts of buffoonery and cruelty, but by his superior abilities both as a statesman and a soldier.¶ Being chosen by the emperor for the companion of his travels, he was created prince of the German empire, and rapidly elevated to the highest employments both in the civil and military line. On particular occasions he was even permitted to personate his sovereign, by

* The former opinion, that he was a pastry-cook's boy, seems to be the most probable, as it is preferred by Weber, Manstein, Bruce.

† Møller's *Nachricht von der Ursprünge des Preobaschenkischen*, &c. in *Journal of St. Petersburg* for March, 1778, p. 173. *Furst Menzikow war einer den ersten Poteschnii*. See also Manstein, p. 11.

‡ Gordon's *Life of Peter*, vol. ii. p. 278. Korb also says, "*Alexascam vero favoritam suam, gladio accinctum inter tripudia deprehendens, deponendi gladii morem inflicto colapho docuit; cujus impetum sanguis ex naribus abunde defluus satis, testatus est*," p. 84.

§ "*Quinque rebellium capita a nobilissima Moscoviarum manu securi esse amputata*." Korb *Diarium*, p. 170.

|| *Ostendit ad huc eo vespere sæpe dictus Alexander, carpento, per omnia urbis compitia vectus, creberrima nudi ensis ostentatione, quam sanguinolentam crastini diei tragædiam expectaret. Crudelior Alexasca de viginti decussis capissibus gloriabatur*. Korb, p. 330.

¶ At the battle of Pultava he had three horses shot under him.

giving public audience to foreign ambassadors; while Peter, averse to the pomp of royalty, appeared as a private person in his suite. So great indeed was the ascendancy which this favourite acquired over the emperor, as to occasion a report among the Russians, that he fascinated by witchcraft the mind of his master.

On the death of Peter the power of Mentchikof was still more unbounded. Catharine, chiefly indebted to his assistance for her elevation to the throne, gratefully resigned to him the sole administration of affairs; his authority continued undiminished to the moment of her decease, and the clause in her will,* by which she ordered her successor Peter II, to espouse the prince's daughter, was at once a proof of his ascendancy and her gratitude.

His intrigues and power, his ambition and arrogance, his disrespectful behaviour to Peter II,† and the peculiar circumstances of his disgrace are related in the *Memoirs of Manstein*.‡ Being arrested, in September, 1727, he was imprisoned at Beresof, a small town upon the river Oby, in a wooden hovel inclosed with pallisadoes, where he ended his days. He supported his disgrace with firmness and resignation:§ he received a daily allowance of ten roubles, from which he even saved a sufficiency to build a wooden church, and amused himself by assisting the workmen in the construction. He survived his fall two years and five months, dying in November, 1729, of an apoplexy.||

The wife of prince Mentchikof, affected with her husband's disgrace, became blind with weeping, and expired on the road to Beresof. One of his daughters died before her father in prison; and his surviving son and daughter were released at the accession of the empress Anne. The daughter was married to Gustavus Biren, brother to the duke of Courland, and the son promoted in the army. A grandson of prince Mentchikof is now living: he is an officer in the Russian army, and inherits the name, but neither the riches or power of his grandfather.

Soon after the fall of Mentchikof, the palace of Oranienbaum was converted into an hospital for sailors; but was afterwards chosen by Peter the Third for his favourite residence. The body of the edifice was built by Mentchikof, and consists of two stories, containing a range of small apartments; the wings, which are long buildings of one story, were added by the emperor.

Passing from the palace to the fortress, we observed a miniature model of a citadel, made by order of Peter III, when he first contracted a fondness for military studies, for the purpose of learning practical fortification. The fortress, which is surrounded with a ditch and rampart, and strengthened with bastions, was raised by Peter when great duke, and contains a building called the governor's house, which he generally inhabited himself, and into which he admitted only his officers and favourites, while his court resided in the palace. Near it were barracks for a small garrison, some wooden houses for the principal officers, and a small Lutheran chapel, where the Holstein soldiers assembled for divine service. The governor's house is a brick building stuccoed with four windows in front, and contains eight small rooms. It remains exactly in the same state as during the life-time of the emperor, neither the furniture, nor the bed, in which

* Gordon supposes that this will was forged by prince Mentchikof; a supposition for which there is not the least proof. We must distinguish between those parts of Gordon's history, which relate events while he was in Russia, and the others which he wrote after he quitted that country in 1711. He speaks worse of prince Mentchikof than he seems to deserve, and particularly arraigns his courage.

† *Munic* gives, amongst others, the following instances of his arrogance, "Lorsqu'il ecrivait au jeune empereur il le traitoit de fils et sous-signoit la lettre; Votre Pere Menschikow. Aux eglises il se mettoit a la tribune de l'empereur," &c. *Ebauche*, &c. p. 67.

‡ P. 2 to p. 13.

§ *Manstein*, p. 10.

|| See *Schmidt Materialien*, p. 248.

he slept the night preceding his deposition, being removed. The bedstead was furnished with curtains of pink and silver brocade, ornamented with plumes of red and white feathers, and the coverlet was of white satin. Adjoining is a neat cabinet, hung with light brown silk, upon which were several figures worked by the empress.

From the fortress we were conducted to a large gallery of pictures, collected by the emperor. Among several portraits of that unfortunate prince, one was pointed out to us as a striking resemblance; he is painted in his Holstein uniform, the complexion is fair, and the hair light; there is no expression in the features, and the countenance is effeminate.

In the garden is an elegant pavilion, constructed by order of the empress when great dutchess; it contains eighteen apartments, each furnished in the style of different countries, and is situated in the midst of a thick plantation. The approaches being circular, we had not the least glimpse of the building until we arrived; and as it generally causes an emotion of surprise, it has, for that reason, received the appellation of *Ha!*

In the gardens of Oranienbaum is an extraordinary building, denominated the mountain for sledges, called also by some travellers the flying mountain. It stands in the middle of an oblong area, enclosed by an open colonade half a mile in circumference, supporting a flat roof, which is raised for the accommodation of spectators. The flying mountain is a long wooden structure, supported on brick walls, representing an undulating surface of ground, or a mountain composed of three principal declivities, gradually diminishing in height, with intermediate spaces resembling vallies: from the summit of the structure to the further extremity is a floored way, in which three parallel grooves are formed. A small carriage, containing one person, being placed in the centre groove upon the highest point, rushes with great rapidity down the first declivity; the velocity acquired in the descent carries it up the second and third, and it glides swiftly to the extremity of the area; it is then placed in one of the side grooves, and drawn up to the summit by means of a windlass. To a person unacquainted with the mechanism of this singular structure, this entertainment would appear tremendous; but as the grooves always keep the carriage in a due equilibrium, there is not the least danger of being overturned. At the top of the flying mountain are handsome apartments for the accommodation of the court and principal nobility, and there is also room for many thousand spectators within the colonade and upon the roof. Near the flying mountain* is a spacious amphitheatre, in which tournaments are usually exhibited.

Peterhof is seven miles from Oranienbaum, and twenty from the capital: the palace was begun by Peter the Great, and finished by Elizabeth. It is seated upon an eminence, and commands a superb view of Cronstadt, Petersburg, the intervening gulf, and the opposite coast of Carelia; it is magnificently furnished, and the suite of apartments is princely. The presence-chamber is ornamented with the portraits of the sovereigns who governed Russia since 1613. The most conspicuous is a whole length of Catharine the Second, making her triumphant entry into Petersburg, the evening of the revolution which placed her upon the throne. She is represented dressed in the uniform of the guards, with a branch of oak in her hat, a drawn sword in her hand, and mounted on a white steed.

The gardens of Peterhof have been celebrated for taste and elegance; and from the number of jet d'eau, fountains, basins, cascades, and parterres, have been compared to those of Versailles. These gardens, which at the time of their formation, were greatly

* Dr. King, in his Essay on the Effects of Cold, has described another kind of flying mountain, which was erected at Tzarskoe-Zelo: it was taken down when I saw the place.

admired in this country, though not congenial to the taste of the empress, are suffered to remain in their present state; as during summer her majesty principally resides at Tzarskoe-Zelo, where the grounds are disposed in a more modern and pleasing manner. I shall not detain the reader with a description of silver dolphins and gilded statues, which are scattered in great profusion; but I cannot omit a childish conceit of two gladiators placed in a basin of water; they are represented, not with the ancient weapons, the sword and buckler, but with the more modern instruments of war, a brace of pistols, which they level at each other in hostile attitudes, and the water rushes impetuously from the barrels.

Part of the garden lies between the palace and the gulf, and contains, among other buildings, a house situated on the margin of the water, which is worthy of particular observation, because it was the favourite retreat of Peter I. As the house and furniture have been preserved with religious veneration in their original state, we can form some idea of the plain and frugal simplicity in which that great monarch was accustomed to live. This house being built soon after his return from Holland, and fitted up in the taste of that country, was known by the appellation of the Dutch house: he used also to call it *Monplaisir*, the name by which it is now distinguished. Being subject to fevers, he imagined the sea air* beneficial to his constitution, and for that reason caused this small house to be placed close to the gulf of Finland. It is of brick, of one story, and roofed with iron, the windows reach from the ground to the top, which, added to the length and lowness of the building, give it the appearance of a green-house. The habitable part consists of a hall and six small rooms, which are furnished in the neatest and plainest manner. The mantle pieces are ornamented with curious old porcelain, which he greatly prized as being brought into Russia when the communication was first opened with China. The bed-room is small, white-washed, and the floor covered with a coloured sail-cloth. It contains a barrack bedstead without curtains, and I observed that the sheets were remarkably fine. The galleries on each side, and two small rooms, are hung with pictures of the Dutch and Flemish schools; among these were several portraits of himself under the character of master Peter, when he worked at Sardam; and one of his favourite mistress, the beautiful Dutch girl.

Being anxious to visit every remarkable place in the neighbourhood of this city, I went to Schluselburgh; a fortress often mentioned in the Russian history, and celebrated for the number and rank of the state prisoners who have been there confined.

Schluselburgh is forty miles from Petersburg; the road runs the whole way by the side of the Neva, which flows with a full stream in a broad and winding channel; the banks, which are steep and high, are studded with villages, and country houses impending over the water. The village of Schluselburgh, which is situated on each side of the Neva, contains three hundred wooden houses, and two thousand eight hundred inhabitants.

The fortress is built upon a small island of the Neva, at the point where it issues from the lake Ladoga. The breadth of the stream is three quarters of a mile, and the current remarkably rapid.

*"Le czar prit a Riga une forte attaque de fièvre chaude. Pour s'en remettre, il se logea une huitaine de jours dans un vaisseau. A son avis, l'air des eaux restaurait la sante. Peu de journees passees sans le respirer. Se levant au point du jour, et dinant a onze heures du matin, il avait coutume de faire un sommeil apres le repas. Un lit de repos pour cet usage etait dresse dans la fregatte, et il y allait en toute saison. Meme lorsqu'il sejournerait en ete a Petershoff, l'air des vastes jardins de ce palais lui semblait etouffe, et il couchait a Monplaisir, maison, dont les flots des la mer lavent un cote, et dont l'autre confine au grand pare de Petershoff. C'etait sa retraite favorite. Il l'avait meublee de tableaux flamans representant des scenes champetres et maritimes, plaisantes pour la plupart. Bassevitz, in B. H. M. IX. p. 339.

According to the Russian historians, George Danilovitch, great duke of Moscow, during an expedition against Wiburgh in 1324, built a small fortress in the middle of this island, which was then called, from its oblong shape, Orekofski Ostrof, or Nut Island; from this appellation the fortress took its name of Orekovetch, which was corrupted into Oreshek. Being besieged and taken by Magnus king of Sweden, the Swedes translated the name into their own language, and called it Nöteborg. It again came into the possession of the Russians, who retained it until 1614, when Gustavus Adolphus forced the garrison to capitulate. Since this period the Swedes encircled the whole island with a wall and battlements.

In 1702 Peter advanced to the frontiers of Sweden with a considerable army, and, after several ineffectual attempts against Nöteborg, sent prince Galitzin, colonel of the guards, at the head of a select corps, to take it by storm. The troops being landed by means of rafts, close to the fortifications, which advance almost to the edge of the water, were exposed to so dreadful a carnage, that Peter, conceiving the assault impracticable, sent orders for the Russians to retire. Galitzin refused to obey. "Tell my sovereign," he added, "that I am no longer his subject; having thrown myself under the protection of a power far superior to him." Then, turning to his troops, he animated them by his voice and example, and, leading them to the attack, scaled the walls, and took the fortress. Peter, struck with this exploit, said to him, "Ask what you choose, except Moscow and Catharine." The prince, with a magnanimity which reflects high honour on his character, requested the pardon of his ancient rival prince Repnin, who had been degraded by Peter from the rank of marshal to that of a common soldier; he obtained his request, the confidence of his sovereign, the esteem of Repnin, and the applause of the public.*

Peter changed the name of the fortress into Schlüsselburgh, because, from the importance of the situation, he considered it as the key† of his conquests. From this period it has continued in the possession of the Russians; but has been chiefly used for a state prison.

The island, which lies midway between the banks of the Neva, is of an oblong shape, scarcely more than six hundred yards in length, and two hundred and sixty in its greatest breadth. The walls, which skirt almost the whole circumference, are built with stone and brick, about fifty feet high, from eleven to twenty thick, and strengthened with battlements and round towers. We passed over a draw-bridge into the fortress, which we examined, but without being permitted to enter any of the wards where the prisoners are confined. A range of corridors encloses a large area, and contains several dungeons for the prisoners. We observed the windows of these dungeons closed with brick, leaving towards their top a vacant space of a few inches square, which admits so little light, that the unfortunate inhabitants have only a kind of twilight gloom. In the middle of the area is the governor's house, and a small wooden cottage, wherein a state prisoner was confined. Further on we entered through a portcullis into the interior fortress, built by George Danilovitch; it is one hundred and forty feet square, open at top, with stone walls remarkably high. Within is the shell of a brick house of one story, which reaches from one side to the other, and contains eleven rooms, each seventeen feet by twelve. This house was built by order of Peter III, with such expedition, that it was begun and brought to its present state in less than six weeks; but his

* I received this anecdote from a descendant of prince Galitzin, and the truth was confirmed by many Russian noblemen.

† Schlüssel in German signifies a key; and Peter affected to give many places a German appellation.

deposition put an immediate stop to its progress. The construction of so large a building in so secure a place, and in such a small space of time, has always been deemed a mystery; but there is great reason to suppose that he intended it for his consort, whom he determined to divorce and imprison. A few weeks before his deposition, Peter visited Schlusberg, and saw Ivan; he examined this house with great attention, and seemed satisfied with the expedition of the workmen.*

Several state prisoners of high rank have been confined in this fortress; among the most remarkable are Maria,† sister, and Eudocia,‡ first wife of Peter the Great, who was here imprisoned in one of the most gloomy cells. Count Piper, minister to Charles XII, who was taken at the battle of Pultava, died here after a lingering captivity. Biren duke of Courland, and regent of Russia, here exchanged the pomp of palaces for a loathsome dungeon, and the ill-fated Ivan, after an imprisonment of twenty-three years, here suffered an untimely death.§

These melancholy ideas, heightened by the dreadful gloom, dead silence, and awful appearance of a few solitary centinels, communicated such an impression as will not easily be obliterated; and even at this distance of time and place, I shudder at the recollection of a Russian state prison.

* Busching supposes that Peter constructed a house for prince Ivan in the fortress of Schlusberg. This can mean no other house than that described in the text, which I am convinced was designed for the empress; but Busching probably did not know that Ivan was removed to Kexholm the beginning of June. Busching, vol. vi. p. 531.

See the account of prince Ivan in book v. chap. ii. in the next volume. Several authors who have written since the death of the empress, have advanced the same opinion, though without the smallest foundation. In such mysterious transactions as these, difference of opinion must occur.

† Maria was imprisoned on suspicion of being concerned with Alexey, was again released, and died at Petersburg in 1723.

‡ Eudocia was espoused in 1689 to Peter the Great, and was delivered of Alexey in 1690. Her opposition to Peter's plans of reformation and remonstrances against his incontinence, occasioned her divorce, which took place in 1696; when she was compelled to assume the veil, and confined in a convent at Susdal. During her residence in that convent, she is reported to have formed a connection with general Glebof, and even to have entered into a contract of marriage by exchanging rings. Encouraged by the predictions of the archbishop of Rostof, who, from a dream, announced to her the death of Peter, and her immediate return to court, under the reign of her son Alexey, she re-assumed, it was said, her secular dress, and was publicly prayed for in the church of the convent under the name of the empress Eudocia. Being conveyed to Moscow in 1718, and examined, she was, by order of her inhuman husband, scourged by two nuns, and imprisoned in a small cell in the convent of New Ladoga, without being suffered to see any one but the persons who brought her food, which she dressed herself. From thence she was removed to the fortress of Schlusberg. Being released on the accession of her grandson Peter III, she repaired to Moscow, was present at his coronation, as well as that of the empress Anne, and expired in the Devitchi nunnery, where she held her court, in 1731, in the 59th year of her age.||

This princess, though certainly a weak woman, perhaps was not so guilty as she was represented by Peter. Mrs. Vigor, who saw and conversed with her at Moscow in 1731, assures us, that Glebof "underwent such repeated tortures, as it was thought no creature could have borne, with great constancy, persisting in his own and her innocence during his torments. At last the Tzar himself came to him, and offered him pardon if he would confess. He spit in the Tzar's face, and told him, he should disdain to speak to him, but he thought himself obliged to clear his mistress, who was as virtuous a woman as any in the world," &c. Letters from a lady in Russia, p. 44, 46. Also Voltaire, Schmidt, &c.

§ For an account of his death see book v. chap. ii.

|| Schmidt. Gen. Tab. in his Russ. Ges.

CHAPTER VIII.

Divine Service in the Slavonian and Greek Tongue, performed by the archbishop of Moscow....Blessing of the waters....Public feast given to the populace....Description of the vapour baths.

THE reader in the present chapter, will meet with various ceremonies and national customs, which will follow each other in an unconnected detail, but which were too curious to be omitted.

During our stay at Petersburg, one Sunday morning, at nine o'clock, we, in company with Sir James Harris, had the honour of attending prince Potemkin to the archbishop of Moscow, in order to be present at a Slavonian and Greek service. This learned prelate, whose name is Plato, received us with great politeness, and, at the close of a short conversation, conducted us into the church. On his entrance the choristers began a short hymn,* which they finished as he approached the shrine; having then said a short prayer, he placed himself upon a raised seat in the middle of the church;† and taking off his mandyas, or common garment, the attendant priests kissed his hand, while they delivered to him the different parts of the costly pontifical vestments, which, in receiving, he raised to his lips,‡ before he invested himself with them. He also placed on his head a crown richly ornamented with pearls and precious stones. We were informed, that this dress is similar to the imperial robe, formerly worn by the Greek emperors of Constantinople, which they permitted the supreme dignitaries of the church to put on at the time of service; and the same attire still continues to distinguish the hierarchy of the Greek church established in Russia from the lower orders.

The archbishop being robed, repaired to the shrine within the great folding doors, and soon afterwards began the celebration of divine worship. Part of the service was performed in the Slavonian tongue by the different priests, and part by the archbishop in the Greek language, which he pronounced according to the accent of the modern Greeks. In conformity to the rules of the church, no organ, or any other musical instrument, was introduced; but the vocal harmony, which consisted in hymns, was exceedingly pleasing. Lighted tapers and incense seemed no less essential parts of their worship than among the Roman Catholics.

Towards the conclusion of the prayers, the archbishop and clergy retired into the shrine, to receive the communion. The folding doors were immediately shut, and none of the laity§ at that time partook of this rite; but we, as strangers, were allowed to view what passed through a side door that was left open for that purpose. The communicants stood during the ceremony; and the wine was, according to usual custom, mixed with warm water; the bread, which was cut into small pieces, was put into the wine; and the elements of both kinds were given at the same time in a spoon.

The whole service lasted about an hour. The archbishop, having pronounced the final benediction, again seated himself in the middle of the church, divested himself of his pontifical garments, and clothed himself in his common robe. We then followed

* "The Lord's name is praised from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same." Psalm cxiii. 3.

† The bishops alone have the privilege of robing themselves in the middle of the church; the common priests put on their ecclesiastical vestments in the shrine.

‡ In order to kiss the cross, which is embroidered upon each part of the dress.

§ The laity generally receive the sacrament once or twice in the year.

him to his house, where we found a collation, consisting of an eel-pye, a sterlet, red and pickled herrings, and various sorts of liqueurs and wines. After enjoying for some time the intelligent and entertaining conversation of the archbishop, who spoke fluently the French tongue, we made our acknowledgments, and retired.

Before our departure from the metropolis, we had an opportunity of being present at another religious rite of a more public nature, the blessing of the waters; which was performed on the 6th of January, O. S. January 17th, N. S. though not with its ancient pomp and magnificence. This ceremony used to be held upon the Neva; on which occasion the sovereign attended in person upon the ice, and all the regiments of guards were drawn out in great solemnity. Its pomp, though still splendid, is now much diminished.

On the frozen surface of a small canal, between the admiralty and the palace, was erected an octagon pavillion of wood, painted green, and ornamented with boughs of fir: it was open at the sides, and crowned by a dome, supported by eight pillars. On the top was the figure of St. John with the cross, and four paintings, representing some miracles of our Saviour; in the inside a carved image of the Holy Spirit, under the emblem of a dove, was suspended, as is usual in the sanctuaries of the Greek churches. The floor of this edifice was carpeted, excepting a square vacancy in the middle, in which an opening was cut in the ice, and a ladder let down into the water. The pavillion was enclosed by pallsadoes, adorned with boughs of fir, and the intermediate space also covered with carpets. From one of the windows of the palace a scaffolding was erected, ornamented with red cloth, which reached to the extremity of the canal.

At the time appointed, the empress appeared at the window of the palace, and the archbishop, who was to perform the benediction, passed at the head of the numerous procession along the scaffolding into the octagon, round which were drawn up a few soldiers of each regiment quartered at Petersburg. After having pronounced a few prayers,* he descended the ladder, plunged across into the water, and then sprinkled the colours of each regiment. At the conclusion of this ceremony the archbishop retired, and the people rushed in crowds into the octagon,† drank with eagerness the water, sprinkled it upon their clothes, and carried some of it away for the purpose of purifying their houses.

On the 6th of December we were witness to a very singular entertainment given to the public by a Russian, who had acquired a large fortune by farming, during four years only, the right of vending spirituous liquors. On surrendering his contract, he gave, as a proof of his gratitude to the lower class of people, by whom he had enriched himself, a feast near the garden of the summer-palace, which was announced by hand-bills distributed throughout the city. As strangers, desirous of observing the national manners, we did not fail to be present at this carousal which commenced at two o'clock in the afternoon. A large semi-circular table was covered with all kinds of provision, piled in different shapes, and in the greatest profusion. Large slices of bread and caviare, dried sturgeon, carp, and other fish, were ranged a great height, in the form of penthouses and pyramids, and garnished with craw-fish, onions, and pickles. In different parts of the grounds were rows of casks full of spirituous liquors, and still larger vessels of wine, beer, and quass. Among the decorations I observed the representation

* The reader will find the ceremonies and prayers used on this occasion, in Dr. King's Rites of the Greek church, p. 386.

† I was informed that some of the populace plunged into the water, and that others dipped their children into it; but as I was not myself witness to these circumstances, I cannot vouch for their truth.

of an immense whale in paste-board, covered with cloth and gold or silver brocade, and filled in the inside with bread, dried fish, and other provisions.

All sorts of games and diversions were exhibited for the amusement of the populace. At the extremity of the grounds was a large square of ice well swept for the skaters; near which were two machines like the swinging vehicles at Bartholomew Fair. One of these machines consisted of two cross beams fixed horizontally to a pole in the centre by means of a pivot; from the ends of the beams hung four sledges, in which the people seated themselves, and were turned round with great velocity; the other had four wooden horses suspended from the beams, and the riders were whirled round in the like manner as their rivals in the sledges. Beyond these were two ice-hills, similar to those which I have described on a former occasion,* and for the same diversion. Two poles, above twenty-feet in height, were also erected, with colours flying; and at the top of each were placed a piece of money, as a prize for those who could swarm up and seize it. The poles, being rubbed with oil, soon froze in this severe climate; many and tedious were the attempts of the various competitors in this slippery ascent to fame. The scene was lively and gay; for above forty thousand persons of both sexes were assembled on the occasion.

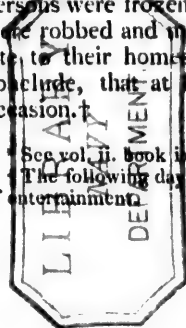
Having thus far satisfied our curiosity, we found our way, not without great difficulty, though the crowd to a pavilion in the garden; where the master of the feast and several of the nobility were assembled, and were regaled with a cold collation, and various sorts of wine.

It was preconcerted that on firing a rocket, the people were to drink a glass of spirituous liquor, and, on the discharge of a second, to begin the repast. But the impatience of the populace anticipated the necessity of the second signal; and the whole multitude was soon and at once in motion. The whale was the chief object of contention; within the space of a few minutes he was entirely divested of his gaudy trappings, which became the spoils of his successful invaders. They had no sooner fled off his drapery, and secured the fragments of rich brocade, than they rent him into a thousand pieces, to seize the provisions with which his inside was stored. The remaining people, who were too numerous to be all engaged in contending about the whale, were employed in uncovering the pent-houses, and pulling down the pyramids; in conveying with one hand provender to their mouths, and with the other to their pockets. Others crowded round the casks and hogsheads; and with great wooden ladles lapped incessantly wine, beer, and spirits. The confusion and riot, which soon succeeded, is better conceived than described; and we thought it expedient to retire. The evening was closed with a superb illumination of the gardens, and magnificent fire-works.

But the consequences of this feast were indeed dreadful. The cold had suddenly increased with such violence, that Fahrenheit's thermometer, which at mid-day stood only 4, sunk towards the close of the evening to 15 below freezing point. Many intoxicated persons were frozen to death: not a few fell a sacrifice to drunken quarrels; and others were robbed and murdered in the more retired parts of the city, as they were returning late to their homes. From a comparison of the various reports, we had reason to conclude, that at least four hundred persons lost their lives upon this melancholy occasion.†

* See vol. II. book ix. chap. 3.

† The following day I counted myself no less than forty bodies, collected in two sheds near the place of entertainment.



The Russian baths have been described by every traveller who has given to the public any relation of this country. Instead of transcribing from the accounts of others, I shall relate what fell under my own immediate notice.

In one of the Russian villages we entered a bathing-house, and examined it with as much attention as the extreme heat would permit. It was a wooden building of one room, with small windows like those of the common cottages. Within an old woman was employed in preparing the bath; and as the violent smoke and heat rendered it scarcely possible for us to stay in the room for the space of a minute, we took our station at the door, and observed the process. She first made a fire under an arch of large granite stones four feet in height; and when they were sufficiently heated, she sprinkled them at different intervals with water, which flew off in vapour. She then took from the fire, by means of two sticks, several small red-hot pebbles, and put them into pails and troughs of water, which acquired different degrees of warmth. In half an hour three men entered the bath; and, taking off their clothes, remained within, while the old woman continued to throw water upon the arch of stones, which heated the room to a prodigious degree. They then lay down upon a sort of table, and having lathered their bodies with soap, she rubbed them lightly with a bundle of twigs in full foliage. On account of the excessive heat, we were driven from the door; and soon afterwards the men, their bodies suffused with a deep crimson from the effects of the vapour, rushed out, plunged themselves into the river, and re-entered the bath.

Another bath which we entered near the convent of Yurief at Novogorod, being larger and more commodious, we were able to remain some time spectators of the whole process. It was a large wooden building, containing, like that just described, only one room, and was provided with ranges of broad benches, placed like steps one above the other, almost to the height of the ceiling. Within were about twenty persons undressed; some were lying upon the benches; some were sitting; others standing; some were washing their bodies with soap; others rubbing themselves with small branches of oak-leaves tied together like a rod; some were pouring hot water upon their heads, others cold water; a few, almost exhausted by the heat, were standing in the open air, or repeatedly plunging into the Volkof.*

I shall add on this subject the following account communicated to me by an English gentleman at Petersburg, who was ordered to bathe for his health. "The bathing-room was small and low, and contained a heap of large stones piled over a fire, and two broad benches, one near the ground, and the other near the ceiling. Small buckets of water being occasionally thrown upon the heated stones, filled the room with a hot and suffocating vapour; which, from its tendency to ascend, rendered the upper part much

* Travellers are too apt not to distinguish between the customs of the common people and those of the nobles; often imputing to the latter what is true only of the former. The abbe de Chappe, in his account of his Journey through Siberia, has in many instances been guilty of this absurdity; and the reader is led to conclude from his narrative, that the nobles bathe promiscuously in public like the common people; that they are equally addicted to spirituous liquors: and that they are as rude and inelegant in their entertainments and behaviour; the very reverse of which is the fact. The author of the Antidote to his Travels has not failed, with a glow of national patriotism, to censure such indiscriminate accounts. In no one instance has the abbe been more erroneous than in his description of the baths. After a ludicrous relation to them, he adds, "These baths are in use all over Russia; every inhabitant of this vast tract of land, from the sovereign to the meanest subject, bathes twice a week, and in the same manner. Every individual, even of the smallest fortune, has a private bath in his own house, in which the father, mother, and children sometimes bathe all together." And again, "The baths of the rich differ only from those of the poor people in being more clean." But such shameful misrepresentations scarcely deserve to be mentioned, were it not to expose their falsity.

hotter than the lower. Having taken off my clothes, I laid myself down upon the highest bench; while the bathing woman was preparing tubs of hot and cold water, and continued to increase the vapour in the manner above-mentioned. Having dipped a bunch of twigs into the hot water, she repeatedly sprinkled, and then rubbed with it my whole body. In about half an hour I removed to the lower bench, which I found much cooler; when the bathing woman lathered me from head to foot with soap, scrubbed me with flannel for the space of ten minutes; and throwing several buckets of warm water over me, till the soap was entirely washed off, she finally dried me with napkins. As I put on my clothes in a room without a fire, I had an opportunity of remarking, that the cold air had little effect on my body, though in so heated a state; for while I was dressing, I felt a glow of warmth which continued during the whole night. This circumstance convinced me, that when the natives rush from the vapour-baths into the river, or even roll in the snow, their sensations are in no respect disagreeable, nor the effects in any degree unwholesome."

Though the hardness of the Russians has, with reason, been generally attributed to the sudden extremes of heat and cold, which they experience on these occasions; yet other causes are not wanting that may concur to this effect. The peasants change their dress without the least attention to the variation of the seasons; on the same day they wear only their coarse shirts and drawers, or are clad in the warmest clothing. They are totally unacquainted with the luxury of beds; sleeping either upon the tops of their stoves, or on the bare floor, sometimes in their clothes, and at other times almost naked. Their cottages also are rendered exceedingly hot, from the number of persons crowded into a small place, and from the stoves, which are almost always heated, even in the midst of summer; so that when they go out, it is like issuing from a warm bath into the open air. The children are not tenderly nurtured, but are equally inured from their earliest infancy to the most opposite extremes. We seldom, indeed, passed through a village, in which we did not observe several running about the streets; and others, who were scarcely able to crawl, standing or lying near the doors of the cottages, with no other covering than their shirts, even in rainy or frosty weather. Thus the natives are used to sudden changes of heat and cold, and accustomed from their infancy to the hardest kind of life.

CHAPTER IX.

*Journey from Petersburg to Riga....History of Livonia....Narva....Dorpt....Riga....
Anecdotes of general Brown.*

AN excursion through Livonia and Courland will form the subject of this and the following chapter.

May 8, 1785. Quitting St. Petersburg, we pursued our journey through Esthonia, and Livonia, conquered from the Swedes by Peter the Great.

As these provinces bordering upon Russia, Sweden, and Poland, and reciprocally possessed by those three powers, were, during a period of more than two centuries, a constant source of the most bloody wars, it may not be unnecessary to state briefly their history, and to trace the causes which rendered them objects of contention.

In 1138, some merchants of Bremen, bound to Wisby, in the isle of Gothland,* driven by stress of weather, landed at the mouth of the Duna, trafficked with the natives, and gradually established a settlement. A German monk of the Augustine order,

* Nachrichten von Liefeland, S. R. G. v. 9. p. 263.

who accompanied the new colonists, acquired the language of the country, converted several of the natives to Christianity, and persuaded them to be baptised. According to the custom of that barbarous æra, an order of knighthood, first called the knights of Christ, and afterwards with more propriety the knights of the Sword, was instituted for the propagation of Christianity by force of arms. Those military missionaries, equally fanatic and sanguinary, gradually overran the country, and reducing the ancient inhabitants, rendered them at the same time Christians and slaves.

In 1231 these knights, being incorporated in the Teutonic order, styled themselves knights and lords of the Cross, and purchased Esthonia, in 1521, from the king of Denmark. Walter Plettenburgh, chief or general, having obtained from the grand master of the Teutonic order the jurisdiction of Livonia, was considered as independent, and admitted by Charles the Fifth among the princes of the empire. The knights continued in possession of Esthonia and Livonia, until the impolitic conduct of their masters, and civil dissensions, incited the ambition of the neighbouring powers, and involved the country in a series of bloody wars.

In 1556, the archbishop of Riga being imprisoned by Walter Furstenburgh, general of the order, implored the assistance of his uncle, Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland. Sigismund immediately armed in favour of his nephew, invaded Livonia, and compelled Walter Furstenburgh to release the archbishop to liberty, and to conclude a treaty by which he acknowledged himself and the province of Livonia dependent on the crown of Poland.

But Ivan Vassilievitch, whose ancestors possessed Dorpt, and other neighbouring towns in Livonia and Esthonia, laid claim to these provinces, and entering Livonia with a formidable army, resolved to annex them to the Russian empire. In this imminent danger, the city of Revel, and the inhabitants of Esthonia, threw themselves under the protection of the king of Sweden, who, in taking possession of that province, claimed Livonia as an annexed dependency. At the same time the Russians, entering Livonia, met with little resistance, took Furstenburgh, the grand master, prisoner, and overran the country.

Gothard Ketler, who was appointed grand master in the place of Furstenburgh, unable to resist the Russian arms, hastily concluded a treaty with Sigismund Augustus, ceded Livonia to the crown of Poland, on condition of reserving to himself and heirs male the duchies of Courland and Semigallia as fiefs of Poland. At the conclusion of this treaty, Livonia, the object of contention, thus ceded to Poland, was partly possessed by the Poles, partly by the Swedes, and partly overrun by the Russians.

In this situation of affairs, Ivan Vassilievitch conferred on Magnus, prince of Denmark, who, in the capacity of bishop of Pilten in Courland, had some pretensions to Livonia, the nominal sovereignty of that province. Having already related * the account of that transaction, together with the erection and extinction of the short-lived kingdom of Livonia, I shall only add, that Ivan Vassilievitch, being worsted by Stephen Bathori, king of Poland, in several engagements, purchased a peace, by ceding, in 1582, to the crown of Poland, all that part of Livonia which he had occupied; but the king of Sweden continued in possession of Esthonia; and, by the fourth article of the peace of Oliva, obtained possession of all Livonia. These important provinces, containing all the northern district between the gulf of Finland, the Narova, the Peipus lake, and the Duna, and stretching to the boundaries of the present government of Polotsk, were wrested from

* Book III. chap. vi.

the Swedes by Peter the Great, and confirmed to the Russians by the peace of Rystadt, in 1721.

The reformation was first introduced into Livonia and Esthonia in 1522, and soon embraced by all ranks of people. The Lutheran religion is the most prevalent; but all other sects are tolerated.

Narva and its suburbs, according to a geographical division, are situated partly in Ingria, and partly in Esthonia, as the river Narova divides those two provinces; but, in the division of governments established by the empress, is comprised in Ingria, or the government of St. Petersburg.

Narva stands on the Narova, near one hundred miles from Petersburg, twenty-four from the point where that river issues from the lake, and eight miles from its mouth, where it falls into the gulf of Finland. The houses are built of brick stuccoed white, and it has more the appearance of a German than of a Russian town. In the suburbs, called Ivangorod, the colossal remains of an ancient fortress, built by Ivan Vassilievitch the Great, impend in a picturesque manner over the steep banks of the Narova.

The principal exports are hemp, flax, timber, and corn; the imports, salt, tobacco, wine, salted herrings, spices, tea, sugar, and other grocery wares.

I did not omit visiting the two falls of the river Narova, which have been pompously described by several travellers, but appear trifling and uninteresting to those who have seen the fall of the Rhine at Schaffhausen, of the Dahl, near Gefle, in Sweden, and the stupendous cataracts of Trollhætta. The breadth of the river is two hundred feet, and the perpendicular height of the falls scarcely exceeds twenty. The steep and chalky banks of the river, its rapid and turbid stream, and a rocky island which separates the two falls, form a rugged and picturesque scene, much heightened by the foam and roaring of the cataract.

Near Narva is the spot celebrated for the victory which Charles the Twelfth, in the nineteenth year of his age, gained over the Russian army (1700.) Authors prone to exaggeration, and willing to render more marvellous the exploits of the Swedish hero, have diminished his army to three thousand, and increased the Russians to one hundred thousand. The fact seems to be, that Charles headed, on that memorable day, at least nine thousand men, and the Russians did not exceed thirty-two thousand.* And it is no wonder that the veteran troops of Sweden, led on by their undaunted monarch, should triumph over a raw undisciplined army, commanded by generals at variance with each other. Six thousand Russians, including those drowned in attempting to pass the Narova, fell in this engagement; but the consequences were still more fatal to the Russian arms, as the whole artillery was lost, and the greater part of the infantry surrendered to the conqueror. The number of prisoners was so great, that the officers were only detained; the rest were driven, like a flock of sheep, to the distance of a league from Narva, and dismissed.

Peter the Great, not dispirited with this loss, exclaimed, "I expected that the Swedes would beat my troops; but in time they will teach us to conquer them." Nor was this prediction long before it was verified. In less than five years from the defeat at Narva, he revenged the dishonour of his arms on that unfortunate day, by taking the town by assault; and gave a singular proof of his humanity. He traversed the streets on horseback, with his drawn sword in his hand, restrained his troops from pillage, killed two who refused to desist, placed guards at the doors of the principal houses and before

* See L'Evesque's *hist. de Russie*, vol. iv. p. 169.

the churches, repaired to the hotel de Ville, where the magistrates and citizens had taken refuge, and throwing his sword upon the table, exclaimed; "it is not stained with the blood of the natives, but with that of my own soldiers, whom I killed in order to save your lives."*

Dorpt, one hundred and seventy-four versts, or one hundred and sixteen miles, from Narva, bears evident marks of the dreadful devastation which it suffered in the wars between the Swedes and Russians in the beginning of this century; and particularly in the ruins of the cathedral, which form a picturesque object on an adjacent hill. In addition to these devastations, the town suffered a few years ago from a violent conflagration; but is now rebuilding, and will rise more beautiful from its ruins, as the empress has contributed with her usual munificence. A wooden bridge over the Empac was likewise burnt down, but has been supplied by a magnificent stone bridge, on which I remarked this arrogant inscription:

† Siste impetus hic flumen,
Catharina II, jubet;
Cujus munificentia hæc moles
In publicum commodum
Extracta, Livoniaque primo
Lapideo ponte adornata.
1783.

In pursuing our route from Narva to Dorpt, we coasted the lake Peipus, a large but uninteresting piece of water, the banks flat, and the environs mostly sandy.

Dorpt stands in the most fertile part of Livonia, called, from the abundance of grain, the Granary of the North: and this fertile district continued till we came within a few miles of Riga, which is invested, as Wraxall justly observes, "on every side with deep barren sands. Its situation in so barren a spot was chosen by commerce, the genius of which still protects and enriches it."‡

Riga, the capital of Livonia, contains within the fortifications nine thousand inhabitants, and in the suburbs fifteen thousand, exclusive of a garrison of one thousand soldiers.§ It derives its consequence from its situation on the Duna, a river which, being navigable from the frontiers of the government of Polotsk, brings the productions of the north eastern parts of Poland, and the western provinces of Russia, and is sufficiently deep to receive close to its walls, ships of burthen, which sail to and from the Baltic.

Next to St. Petersburg it is the most commercial town in the Russian empire. The trade is chiefly carried on by foreign merchants, who are resident in the town. The English factory enjoy the greatest share of the commerce, and live in a hospitable and splendid manner. The principal exports are corn, hemp, flax, iron, timber, masts, leather, tallow; the imports, salt, cloths, silks, wine, grocery, pot-ash, and salted herrings.

The mast trade is peculiarly beneficial to the town: the burghers of Riga send persons, who are called mast-brokers, into the Russian provinces, to mark the trees, which

* L'Evesque, p. 201.

† Here, O river, stop your impetuous course, Catharine the second commands; by whose munificence this mound was raised, and Livonia adorned with this first stone bridge.

‡ Wraxall's Northern Tour, p. 281.

§ According to Heym, in the town and suburbs, fourteen thousand two hundred and eighty males, and thirteen thousand five hundred and sixteen females.

are purchased standing. They grow mostly on the districts which border on the Dnieper, are sent up that river to a landing place, transported thirty versts to the Duna, are then formed into floats of from fifty to two hundred pieces, and descend the stream to Riga. The tree which produces the largest masts is the Scotch fir. Those pieces which are from eighteen to twenty-five inches in diameter are called masts; under those dimensions, spars, or in England, Norway masts; because Norway exports no trees more than eighteen inches in diameter.

The English merchants, who contract with government, buy the masts from the burghers of Riga; and great skill is required in distinguishing those that are sound throughout from those which are in the least internally decayed. They are usually from seventy to eighty feet in length.

The hemp is brought from the Ukraine and Poland, and requires two years in its passage to Riga. The barks in which it is conveyed, are from two hundred and fifty to three hundred tons burthen, are covered with mats, sloping like a penthouse roof, and have a false bottom. They ascend the Dnieper and the Duna; but on account of numerous shoals can only pass the Duna in the spring, or about three weeks after the snow begins to melt, and if they miss that time, are delayed till autumn. The hemp exported from Riga, is generally more esteemed, and 30 per cent. dearer, than that exported from Petersburg; * the former comes from the Ukraine, the provinces of Mohilef and Polotsk, and the neighbouring parts of Poland; the other from the governments of Tver and Novogorod. The Riga hemp is chiefly used for shrouds and stays of men of war, and procured by contract for the English admiralty and East-India company. †

The inhabitants of Riga carry on also a considerable commerce in salt. They import it from Spain, and send it up the Duna to supply the districts bordering on that river; and by land into Courland, and into the neighbouring provinces of Poland.

We paid our respects to general Brown, governor of Riga, and had the honour of dining with that gallant veteran, who, with a pleasing garrulity natural to old age, related a variety of interesting adventures, that had befallen him in the course of a long and active life. He is a native of Ireland, and was born in the beginning of this century. Being a Roman Catholic, he was compelled to seek his fortune in foreign courts, which he would willingly have dedicated to his own. He first entered the Austrian, and finally into the Russian service. In the campaigns of 1737 and 1738, he served under count Munich against the Turks, and distinguished himself at the siege of Otchakof. Being sent with a corps of troops into Hungary, he was taken prisoner by the Turks, sold as a

* Lately the Ukraine hemp has found its way to Petersburg.

† In case of necessity, the Urtica Connabina, or hemp-nettle, might be substituted in the place of hemp. It is a native of South-Eastern Siberia, on the other side of the Oby, and is chiefly found in the vallies between rocky mountains, and on the banks of the rivers. It comes out early in the spring, and affords good shoots, which are eaten by the natives as vegetables. It flowers in June or July; and in good soils shoots from ten to fifteen feet high. In Siberia the seeds ripen in September, about the time of the first frost. It is perennial, and multiplies by running. The cords made from this species are stronger even than those twisted from hemp. The Mongol Tartars use them for cords to their bows and for nets to catch animals in the woods. In some parts of Germany the natives employ them for ropes. This plant is described in Amman's *Stirpium Rariorum in Imperio Rutheno Icones et Descriptiones*, p. 173, No. 249, plate 25. *Urtica foliis prosunde laciniatis*; also in Gmelin's *Flora Siberica*. It will be described in the third volume of Pallas' *Flora Russica*.

The common nettle, the *urtica urens* of Linnæus, supplies the natives of Kamschatka,* and of the Kuril Isles, with cords for fishing-nets.

* See Cook's last voyage, vol. iii. p. 339. Pallas Nord. Beytr. vol. iv. p. 117.

slave, and transferred to four different masters. At one time he was bound back to back with another prisoner for eight and forty hours, and exposed almost naked at the various places where slaves are brought for sale. He then bore the rank of colonel in the Russian service, but to lessen the price of his ransom, asserted that he was only a captain. Being accidentally met by a gentleman, to whom he was personally known, he sent an account of his situation to the French ambassador, who found means to purchase him for 300 ducats. But his Turkish master discovering his rank, reclaimed his prisoner, and threatened to recover him by force. The French ambassador, however, applied to the grand Vizir, who decided in his favour: count Brown recovered his liberty, and returned to Russia, in which service he was gradually promoted, and has been lately appointed governor of Riga, a place of the greatest trust.

Over the Duna, at Riga, is a floating wooden bridge, forty feet in breadth, and two thousand six hundred in length. A row of piles extends from one shore to the other; each pile is from twenty-five to forty feet long, according to the depth of the river, and appears about four feet above the level of the water. To these piles the parts of the bridge are loosely fastened, by means of iron chains fixed to the transverse beams. The bridge rises and falls with the river, and under the wheels of heavy laden carriages, plays as if actuated by a spring. It is the fashionable walk, and is an agreeable busy scene, when crowded with people, and lined on each side with ships taking in or unloading their cargoes. In the beginning of winter, when the frost sets in, the bridge is removed; the piles remaining in the water are forced up by the ice, and conveyed to land, and the whole is again laid down in spring.

The importance of the trade of Riga will appear from the following tables:

Number of Vessels which arrived at Riga, in 1782 and 1783.				Vessels which arrived and sailed from Riga in 1784; specifying those which wintered there.			
	1782.	1783.		Wint.	Arriv.	Depar.	
Danish, - - -	125	145	Danish, - - -	—	160	160	
French, - - -	—	8	French, - - -	—	10	10	
From St. Petersburg, -	43	38	From St. Petersburg, -	14	32	36	
English, - - -	94	200	English, - - -	3	175	174	
Dutch, - - -	6	122	Portuguese, - - -	—	4	4	
Swedish, - - -	298	422	Prussian, - - -	2	77	77	
Prussian, - - -	153	123	Swedish, - - -	4	311	311	
From Ostend, - - -	123	66	Dutch, - - -	—	170	170	
Portuguese, - - -	7	7	From Ostend, - - -	—	33	33	
American, - - -	—	1	Genoa, - - -	—	1	1	
From Bremen, - - -	16	34	Hamburgh, - - -	—	12	12	
Dantzic, - - -	5	10	Lubec, - - -	4	27	27	
Lubec, - - -	29	26	Bremen, - - -	1	25	24	
Rostoc, - - -	23	3	Dantzic, - - -	—	3	3	
Hamburgh, - - -	5	5	Rostoc, - - -	—	11	11	
Pernau, - - -	4	6	Pernau and Revel, -	—	4	4	
From Riga, - - -	30	38	Riga, - - -	15	30	20	
Total, -	961	1,254	Total, - - -	43	1,085	1,077	

Value of the Cargoes of the Vessels which sailed from Riga in 1784.

	Roubles.	Copecs.
For Denmark,	735,335	78 —
France,	270,886	68 —
The Dominions of the emperor	51,209	45 —
England,	1,288,284	58 —
Spain,	388,843	1 —
Portugal,	302,213	93 —
Prussia,	64,775	75 —
Sweden,	1,182,907	79 —
Holland,	1,470,320	93 —
Italy,	135,097	8 —
Hamburgh and Bremen,	209,840	7 —
The Baltic,	292,707	39 —
Total of Exports,	6,392,422	44 —
Value of the Imports,	1,422,717	87 12
Excess of Exports,	4,969,704	56 12

Coin Imported.

	Value in Roubles.
Ducats 448,739,	1,207,741 10
New rix-dollars 1,780,744 $\frac{1}{2}$	2,368,389 85 $\frac{1}{2}$
Old rix-dollars 138,976 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,182,058 84 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sum total of Coin imported	4,758,189 79 $\frac{1}{2}$

CHAPTER X.

Mittau....Dutchy of Courland....History....Succession....Anecdotes of Ernest John Biron....Constitution....Feodal Dependence on Poland....Prerogatives of the DukeDiet....Nobles....Religion....Language....Mommel....Journey to Koningsburgh.... Sketch of the History of Prussia

QUITTING Riga we crossed the Duna, passed through a flat sandy country, thinly inhabited, to the Russian frontiers, about sixteen English miles distant from Riga, and entered the dutchy of Courland. Our baggage was strictly searched by a Russian custom-house officer, who even opened our portfolios, and examined the smallest pieces of paper. This strict search is made to prevent foreigners from exporting Russian money; but considering the debased state of the coinage, is an useless precaution.

Mittau which stands in the midst of a fertile and agreeable country, is a long town, containing a mixture of brick houses stuccoed white, and wooden buildings. The palace,* built by the late duke, is a great pile of buildings, with a large and handsome suite of apartments, but almost totally unfurnished. Its magnificence and extent almost

* Great part of this palace was demolished by the late emperor Paul. It has been lately distinguished as the temporary residence of Louis XVIII.

justifies the witticism of a traveller, who estimating the country not from its size, but from its trivial consequence in the scale of the north, affirmed that the palace was larger than the dukedom. The academy, instituted by the present duke at a considerable expence, contained, in May, 1685, eight professors, and only twenty students.

The dutchy of Courland and Semigallia is bounded on the north by the Baltic, on the east by Livonia, and by Poland on the south and west. It stretches in length two hundred and fifty miles, and the average breadth may be estimated at forty.

Gothard Ketler, grand-master of the Livonian knights, having ceded Livonia to Poland, at Wilna, received, in 1561, the investiture of Courland and Semigallia, as an hereditary fief of the crown of Poland. Dying in 1587, he was succeeded by his son Frederic; and in 1589, it was enacted by the diet of Poland, that, on the extinction of the heirs male of the line of Ketler, the dutchies of Courland and Semigallia should be united to Poland.

Frederick William, duke of Courland, dying in 1711, without issue, the right of succession devolved on his great uncle Ferdinand, the only surviving branch of the Ketler line; but Peter the Great took possession of Mittau and great part of Courland, under pretence of securing the dowry for his niece Anne, widow of Frederic William. Ferdinand, who was absent, and at variance with his nobility, was unable to enforce his right, and Courland, during several years, was governed by the Russian court, under the name of the dutchess Anne. The country was in a state of civil confusion, and several ineffectual attempts were made to raise, first, a prince of the house of Saxony, and afterwards Frederic William, margrave of Schvedt, to the ducal throne.

At length, in 1726, the infirmities and absence of Ferdinand afforded a pretext; a party of nobles determined to appoint a successor, and Augustus the Second, king of Poland, secretly influenced the diet to nominate his natural son Maurice, afterwards well known under the title of marshal Saxe. This appointment was contested by the republic of Poland, and by Catharine empress of Russia.

The Polish diet which assembled at Grodno, denied the right of the nobles to appoint a duke, declared that dutchy a vacant fief belonging to the republic, annulled the election of the count of Saxe, and proposed, on the death of Ferdinand, to incorporate the dutchies of Courland and Semigallia with the crown, according to the edict in 1539.

Catharine the First, considering Courland almost as a province of the Russian empire, equally opposed the election of Maurice, and the incorporation of Courland; and prince Mentchikof, who on her death aspired to the ducal throne, dispatched a corps of Russian troops to Mittau, and drove Maurice from Courland. The fall of Mentchikof prevented his nomination; but the Russians, under Peter the Second, and Anne, maintained their influence in Courland, and promised to support the states in their right to elect a sovereign on the decease of Ferdinand.

The death of Augustus the Second annihilated the hopes of Maurice; and on the demise of Ferdinand in 1737, the empress Anne forced the states to nominate her favourite Biron, and supported his election in opposition to the claims and remonstrances of Poland. At length, deputies from the empress and the new duke on one side, and from the king and the republic of Poland on the other, arranged the convention called *Pacta Subjectionis*, or acts of Vassalage, which regulated the constitution of Courland according to former acts of vassalage, and established the succession in the male line of Biron. In 1739, the chancellor of Courland did homage in the name of the duke to Augustus the Third. But, in 1743, Biron being arrested and imprisoned, the states declared the ducal throne vacant, and elected, at the recommendation of the regent Anne, Louis Ernest, prince of Brunswick, and brother of her husband Anthony Ulric.

The revolution of 1741, which placed Elizabeth on the throne of Russia, prevented the ratification of this election; and from that period, till 1759, the administration was nominally vested in the council of state; but the whole power centered in the court of Russia.

In 1758, the nobles disgusted with their rulers, chose Charles Christian, son of Augustus the Third, who received the investiture of the two dutchies from his father, made his entry into Mittau, and repairing to Petersburg, obtained from the empress Elizabeth the restitution of the ducal estates and revenues, and her renunciation of all right and title to those two dutchies. But the death of Elizabeth, in 1761, rendered this restitution ineffectual. Peter recalled Biron from exile, and Catharine restored him to his former dignity.

Ernest John Biron* was descended from a family of mean extraction. His grandfather, whose name was Buren, or Bieren, was head groom to James the Third, duke of Courland, and obtained from his master the gift of a small estate. His son accompanied prince Alexander, youngest son of the duke of Courland, in a campaign against the Turks, in quality of groom of his horse, and with the rank of lieutenant. Prince Alexander being killed before Buda, in 1686, Biron returned into Courland, and was appointed master huntsman to the duke.

Ernest John, his second son, was born in 1687, received the early part of his education in Courland, and was sent to the university of Koningsburgh in Prussia, where he continued until some youthful imprudences compelled him to retire. In 1714, he made his appearance at St. Petersburg, and solicited the place of page to the princess Charlotte, wife of the Tzarovitch Alexey, but being rejected as a person of mean extraction, retired to Mittau, and ingratiated himself with count Bestuchef, master of the household to Anne, widow of Frederic William duke of Courland. Having through his means obtained the office of gentleman of the chamber to the dutchess, and being of a handsome figure and polite address, he soon became her chief favourite, and the first use he made of his favour was to obtain the disgrace of his benefactor Bestuchef. He gained an entire ascendancy over the affections of his mistress, and the upstart favourite offended, by his arrogance, the whole body of the nobility.

Having espoused mademoiselle de Trenden, a lady of a noble family, and maid of honour to the dutchess, he endeavoured, by means of that alliance, and the favour of his mistress, to be admitted into the body of nobles, but his solicitations were rejected with great contempt.

His ascendancy over the dutchess, his spirit of intrigue, and extreme arrogance, were so notorious, that when Anne was declared sovereign of Russia, one of the articles proposed by the council of state of Moscow expressly stipulated, that she should not bring Biron into Russia. She consented, but instantly broke her word; for soon after her arrival at Moscow, he made his appearance at her court. By his secret advice, the empress formed a strong party among the Russian nobility, gained the guards, and planned the revolution, which restored to the crown despotic authority. But when the project was ripe for execution, Anne hesitated, and was alarmed, till Biron took her by the hand, and led her to the door of the apartment in which the council of state, senate,

* For this account of Biron I have consulted Manstein's Memoirs, p. 42, 47, 62, 190, 263, 265, 268, 280. Letters from a lady in Russia, Let. xxviii. xxix.; Schmidt's Materialien fuer den Russ. Gesh. p. 38, 44, 281, 321; Motifs de la Disgrace d'Ernest Jean de Biron, Duc de Courland, written by himself, in Busching's Hist. Magazin. vol. ix. p. 383, 398; Antwort auf die Vergehende Schrift. von einem naechsten Verwandten des Grafen von Munich, ibid. p. 401, 414; Gouvernement de l'empire de Russie, by marshal Munich, passim.

and principal nobility were assembled, and she was declared absolute sovereign. Within the space of a few months, Biron was appointed gentleman of the bed-chamber, knight of the order of St. Andrew, lord high-chamberlain, and, as Manstein says, was omnipotent in the government.

On the death of Ferdinand Ketler, in 1737, the empress dispatched general Bismarck, governor of Riga, to Mittau, at the head of a considerable army. The nobles having assembled in the cathedral, Bismarck surrounded the church with troops, and compelled them to elect for their sovereign the same Biron whom they had refused to admit into their corps. But his new dignity did not prevent him from keeping his post of high chamberlain, and his wife that of the first lady of the bed-chamber. Biron ruled Courland with the same arbitrary spirit with which he governed Russia, and the nobles who ventured to oppose his will, or to speak with their usual freedom, were privately seized by persons in masks, forced into Kibitkas, and conveyed to Siberia. The cruelties also which he exercised upon the most illustrious persons of Russia almost exceed belief; and Manstein conjectures, that "during the ten years in which Biron's power continued, above twenty thousand persons were sent to Siberia, of whom scarcely five thousand were ever more heard of."

The arrogance of his temper often broke forth in a manner highly disrespectful to the empress. Once in particular, while she gave an audience to the duke of Bevern, Biron burst into the apartment, complained that he was tormented by her servants, threatened, with horrid imprecations, to retire into Courland, and again rushing out of the room, shut the door with great violence. The empress, in the highest consternation, lifted up her hands to heaven, then clasped them together, and being almost ready to faint, opened the window for air. While she continued in this agitation, the dutchess of Courland, accompanied by her children, entered the room, kneeled down, and entreated the empress to forgive the passionate behaviour of her husband. Anne in this, as in every other instance, relented, and patiently endured his insolence.* During the sitting of the cabinet council, she frequently repaired to an adjoining room, in which her favourite remained, to receive his advice, or rather his orders. She even kept no table, but dined with his family.

Acquainted only with the German and his native jargon, he governed the extensive empire of Russia without understanding the language. He even piqued himself on his ignorance, and declared, in the presence of the empress, that he would not learn the Russian, because he could not bear to read all the reports and memorials which were daily transmitted to him.

Biron was undoubtedly a man of great capacity; during his whole administration, the external splendour, and internal tranquillity of the Russian empire, announced the vigour and wisdom of his measures, and he shewed his judgment in employing such a statesman as Osterman, and such a general as Munich. He was a sincere friend and an implacable enemy; and it was justly said of him, that he seldom forgot a benefit, and always remembered an injury. He amassed an enormous fortune in money and jewels, and on public occasions his magnificence† far exceeded that of the empress.

* Busching's *Wochentliche Nachrichten*, 1774, p. 316.

† In his visit of ceremony to the marquis de la Chetardie, the French ambassador, he was preceded by the following procession: 1. An officer of his court on horseback. 2. Two servants on horseback. 3. Three carriages drawn by six horses, containing six cavaliers. 4. Twenty-four servants on horseback. 5. Six running footmen. 6. Two blacks. 7. Thirty lacquies on foot. 8. Twelve pages. 9. Nine hey-ducs. 10. His master of the horse. Lastly, the duke himself in a splendid carriage drawn by six horses; behind, two servants in Turkish dresses.

Having long directed the affairs of a great empire, he could not brook retiring into Courland; he accordingly prevailed on the empress, on her death-bed, to appoint her great nephew, prince Ivan, her successor, and himself regent, till the prince attained the age of seventeen; and he managed this whole transaction with so much art, that he seemed only to accept the regency at the earnest request and recommendation of marshal Munich, the chancellor Osterman, and the principal Russian nobility. Having thus secured the regency, to the exclusion of Anne, mother of the young emperor, the first act of his administration was to obtain for himself an annual revenue of 500,000* roubles, and the title of imperial highness.

But the power thus acquired by intrigue, he attempted to secure by persecution and cruelty. Piquets were placed in the streets to prevent commotions; numerous spies brought vague accounts of contemptuous expressions and ill-formed plots, and scarcely a day passed in which suspected persons were not imprisoned and tortured to force confession. But instead of disarming the envy and jealousy of the natives, who were disgusted with the government of a foreigner, he increased his unpopularity by the haughtiness of his demeanour, and treated even the parents of his sovereign with extreme brutality.

Prince Anthony Ulric and the princess Anne, the father and mother of the infant emperor, were disaffected at their exclusion from the regency, and Anthony Ulric, who was a prince of great spirit, expressed his disapprobation in the strongest terms to the regent himself. Biron suspecting that the prince was caballing against his government, called on him early one morning, without being announced; "Your highness," he said, "does not deal justly with me, for you promised to inform me of the cabals of disaffected persons, and you know that intrigues are carrying on against me in your own household." "I know not," replied the prince, "that any thing is in agitation which will be detrimental to the emperor and the country." "I will take care," returned Biron, "to place this empire in such a situation as no other person is capable of doing; for I am neither deficient in knowledge or power." "The nobles must assist you," said the prince, "and you must all be accountable to the emperor." "Am I not regent," replied Biron, "with absolute authority? Such assertions, sir, may occasion great commotions; and your highness must know, that whenever factions arise, the emperor and the country are in danger; and what must be the inevitable consequence, should you and I be at variance?" "A massacre!" returned the prince with great warmth, putting at the same time his hand on his sword.

After much altercation, the prince accused Biron of forging the testament and signature of the empress, and the duke quitted the apartment with these words: "This affair, sir, is of great importance, and must be laid before the principal nobility of the realm." Repairing instantly to his palace, he summoned the cabinet council, senate, and principal nobility, and acquainted them with the conversation. When the imperial minister, count Keyserling, endeavoured to justify the prince, Biron called the prince a liar; and turning to Keyserling, said, "We want here no advocates, and no lawyer's quirks;" then traversing the apartment in extreme agitation, exclaimed, "Am I a poisoner! or do I contend for the throne and sceptre!"

To the princess Anne, who, informed of the misunderstanding, now made her appearance, he recapitulated what had passed with great bitterness. Anne was exceedingly affected, and appeared to blame her husband's conduct. At length, the prince himself being summoned, was prevailed upon to attend. Being reprimanded by Biron, and by several who were present, in the grossest terms, his highness at length submitted to

* 100,000l. according to the value of a rouble of that period.

demand pardon, the tears starting from his eyes from this necessary but degrading concession.

Soon afterwards, Biron sent a message by marshal Munich ordering the prince to resign his military employments.

At variance with the parents of the emperor, suspicious of plots, and detested by the nation, the regent became agitated and uneasy, felt the precariousness of his situation, paid his court with great assiduity to the princess Elizabeth, and seems even to have formed the design of marrying her to the prince, his eldest son, and of raising her, or her nephew the duke of Holstein to the throne. He even declared publicly, that if the princess or her husband were refractory, he would send them both into Germany, and place the duke of Holstein on the throne.

While he was hesitating in regard to his future conduct, and laying plans to remove those who gave him umbrage, his own ruin came from a quarter which he did not expect, and was not prepared to resist. Marshal Munich, secretly disgusted with the regent, fomented the discontents, awakened the suspicions of the princess Anne, prevailed upon her to order the arrest of the duke of Courland, and succeeded in securing his person on the 18th of December, only twenty days after his appointment to the regency. Manstein, who was employed by Munich on this occasion,* penetrated at the head of twenty men, into the palace inhabited by Biron, though guarded by forty soldiers, who were placed under the windows of his bed-chamber, and by numerous centinels posted in the apartments. Being personally known to the centinels, they permitted him to pass, thinking that he had an affair of consequence to communicate to the regent. Having forced open the door, he approached the bed, in which the duke and dutchess slept so soundly that the noise did not awaken them. On drawing the curtains, both started up in surprise, and the duke instantly leaped from the bed with an intention to escape, but was prevented by Manstein, who threw himself upon him, and held him till the soldiers came to his assistance. In this struggle the duke disengaged himself from Manstein, and endeavouring to burst from the soldiers who laid hold of his arm, received several blows with the but-ends of their muskets. Being at length thrown on the floor, his mouth gagged with a handkerchief, and his hands tied behind with an officer's sash, he was led to the guard-room, covered with a soldier's cloak, and conveyed in a carriage to the winter palace in which the princess Anne resided. When he was led out, the dutchess sprang out of bed, ran after him into the street, screaming in an agony of despair, till forced away by the soldiers, she sunk down on the snow, and would have perished, had not the captain of the guard furnished her with clothes, and re-conducted her to the palace.

The next day the duke and his family were conveyed to the fortress of Schlussemburgh, and in June were removed to Pelim, a small town in Siberia, where he was imprisoned in a wooden hovel under the strictest confinement. But he did not long remain in this dreary situation. The empress Elizabeth recalled him from his imprisonment; and if his misfortunes had not softened his vindictive spirit, he enjoyed the pleasure of seeing his enemy, marshal Munich, occupy that hovel which he had just quitted.

Biron was transferred to a comfortable mansion at Yaroslaf, where he received five roubles a day, and the permission of hunting in the vicinity. In this situation, wretched when contrasted with his former station as the omnipotent favourite of Anne, or as regent of Russia, but a paradise when compared with his prison at Pelim, he passed his

* Memoirs of Manstein.

days during the whole reign of Elizabeth. On her demise, Peter the Third recalled Biron to Petersburg, but did not reinstate him in the duchy of Courland. Biron had refused during his confinement, to resign his right to that duchy, although he was offered his liberty, and a pension of 100,000 roubles; nor could he be prevailed upon by Peter the Third to abdicate in favour of the duke of Holstein; nobly adding, that he would undergo a second imprisonment rather than injure his family. Catharine restored him to his former dignity.

In 1768, Biron repaired to Mittau, twenty-eight years after his election, and for the first time since he had been raised to the ducal throne. Prince Charles of Saxony, although supported by a large party in Courland, yet receiving no assistance from his father Augustus the Third, was compelled to retire before the Russian forces; and Biron received the oaths of allegiance from the whole nation. In 1764, he obtained from the king and republic of Poland the investiture of Courland for his eldest son Peter, the present duke; in 1769, abdicated in his favour, and in 1772, closed at Mittau, in the eighty-third year of his age, a life of unparalleled vicissitude.

The constitution* of Courland is extremely complicated, and the rights of Poland, of the duke, and of the diet are so interwoven, as to be discriminated with difficulty.

From the historical sketch of the succession to the ducal throne, it will appear that Courland is a male-fief, dependent on and conferred by the crown of Poland. The territorial superiority of Poland is settled by the *Pacta Subjectionis*, or acts of vassalage, ratified by the king and duke, on the receipt of the investiture. The king invests each duke with the duchies of Courland and Semigallia as fiefs of Poland; and receives his homage as from a vassal to his liege lord. If Poland is engaged in war, the duke must furnish two hundred horse, or five hundred infantry; and the nobles are bound to supply two hundred horse, or 30,000 dollars in the first year of the war, provided no Polish or enemy's troops are quartered in Courland, and 10,000 dollars in each of the succeeding years. The money bears on one side, the head of the king, or the arms of Poland and Lithuania, and is struck on the same standard as the coin of Poland. The Polish money passes current in Courland, and the Courlandish in Poland.

The king settles disputes between the duke and his subjects, receives remonstrances against any infringement of privileges from the diet, and can order the redress of grievances.

The diet of Poland ratifies all laws which alter or new model the constitution, confirms the creation of nobles, and the *indigenat recht*, or right of naturalization, recommended by the duke and diet of Courland. It is also the supreme court of judicature, to which any noble may appeal from the decision of the courts of justice in Courland. In all civil causes above the value of 500 Polish florins, and in all criminal cases specified in the statutes, the final decision is left to the king and republic. The king in return binds himself to support the constitution, the duke in all his prerogatives, and the nobles and burghers in all their privileges.

The duke and diet enjoy the supreme authority in all other circumstances not contradictory to their feudal dependance, or which are not mentioned in the acts of subjection.

The duke is invested with the executive power, and the general administration of affairs. He has a negative in all the proceedings of the diet, confers the principal charges, both civil and military, enjoys the right of pardoning criminals, judges in par-

* For the history and constitution of Courland, see Lengnich, *Jus. Publ. Reg. Poloni. lib. i. c. x. sec. v. to vii.* and Ziegennorn's *Staats Recht der Hertzogthuemer Courland and Semegallen.*

ticular cases without appeal, in all civil causes below 500 Polish florins, and in delinquencies and crimes not specified in the statute law.

The duke, strictly speaking, has the right to declare war, make peace, or contract alliances; but although some instances of his exercising these prerogatives have occurred, yet he usually consults the diet on these occasions. His revenues are ample, and derived from the ducal demesnes, which are supposed to form one-third of the duchy, from tolls and customs, manorial and feudal rights, fines, and confiscations of goods, amounting to not less than 160,000*l.* per annum, which almost entirely belongs to his privy purse, as the expences of his court are trifling, and he is not permitted to maintain more than five hundred troops. The prerogatives of the duke are circumscribed by his vassalage to Poland, by the diet of Courland, and the privileges of the nobles.

Diets are ordinary or extraordinary; both convoked by the duke, either at his own pleasure, or at the request of the nobles. Extraordinary diets are summoned as occasion requires. Ordinary diets are convoked every two years, six weeks before the meeting of the Polish diet. With the circular letters expedited to the parishes for the election of the deputies, the duke sends the propositions called deliberations, which are to be laid before the diet, and must, at the same time, transmit any grievances complained of by the body of nobles, for the consideration of that assembly.

*The deputies must be noble, and are elected by the nobles in their respective parishes. Their number is uncertain, because sometimes one parish chooses one or two deputies, and not unusually three parishes join in appointing only one, but may be estimated at twenty-seven, the number of parishes.

The diet assembles generally at Mittau, and chooses by a majority of votes a marshal or president. The deputies then, headed by the marshal, repair to the palace, are received by the duke in state, kiss his hand, and are entertained at dinner.

The diet, conjointly with the duke, imposes taxes, and passes all laws and regulations which do not infringe on the feudal rights of Poland, or alter the constitution.

The diet first submits all grievances to the duke; and if he considers them nugatory, and refuses to redress them, the deputies enjoy the privilege of laying their remonstrances before the diet of Poland, as the supreme court of legislature.

All questions are carried or rejected by the majority, and each deputy must vote according to the instructions of his constituents; but in all instances wherein the constituents have not fully instructed the deputy, his vote is null, and the sentiments of the majority prevail.

From this absurd method of giving previous instructions, and the attempts of the deputies to elude them, many instances occur in the history of Courland, in which the minority have prevailed over the majority: this custom has also given rise to several attempts successfully made for a single deputy to assume the right of the *liberum veto** as in Poland, though under another name, and to dissolve the diet from his sole opposition.

At the dissolution of the diet, the deputies are bound to acquaint their constituents in person with the transactions; a circumstance which gives rise to factions, and has not unfrequently occasioned civil commotions.

Many of the privileges enjoyed by the nobles are enormous, and inconsistent with every principle of sound policy. A noble cannot be arrested by order of the duke, for the most flagrant act, except within twenty-four hours after the commission of the crime; if he escapes during that time, he cannot be arrested without an order from the

* See Book i. chap. 5.

king and republic of Poland; he cannot be imprisoned till found guilty, or executed, but by permission of the king and republic.

The highest and most important officers of state must be drawn from their body. Nobles are exempted from the payment of all taxes and imposts; being only bound, according to their feudal tenure, to furnish in time of war their quota of cavalry. Their power over their peasants is, if possible, more unbounded than that of the Polish gentry. In judging delinquencies and crimes, a noble can form a summary court of justice, composed of himself, three or four friends, and an attorney, and, after a mock trial, may order corporal punishment, or may inflict immediate execution.

The duke is assisted in the administration of affairs by a privy council, called the supreme council, composed of four high counsellors, and two civilians or doctors, all appointed by the duke, but holding their places for life, unless proved guilty of malversation, and removed by the king of Poland. The four high counsellors are, the high steward, the chancellor, the burgrave, and the marshal. The province of this council is to advise the duke in all concerns of state, to preserve the rights and privileges of the subject, and to remonstrate against grievances.

The four high counsellors form also, in conjunction with the duke, the criminal court of judicature for the nobles, to which an appeal lies from the inferior courts of justice; and which judges all crimes excepting premeditated murder, wilful burning of houses, robbery, rapes, or open violence, which being capital, are referred to the king of Poland. The same four high counsellors are invested with the regency, during the minority, absence, or sickness of the duke, or on a vacancy of the ducal throne. In these cases, the two civilians, who are considered as the duke's counsellors, are excluded, to the great detriment of the country, as they are usually the most enlightened counsellors, and not being nobles, are more inclined to encourage manufactures and commerce, and are particularly attentive, that the privileges of the lower orders should be preserved.

The enormous privileges of the nobles have been the occasion of exciting the civil commotions which have overwhelmed Courland for this last century. Its internal history is a continued series of disputes between the duke and the nobles; the boasted freedom of the country is a spirit of faction under the name of liberty, which, as in Poland, means an aristocratical licentiousness, oppressing others, but free itself to commit all kinds of enormities.

In all countries, where the spirit of feudal despotism (the worst species of tyranny) prevails, the peasants are oppressed, and agriculture is in a declining state; the merchants are despised, and commerce languishes; men of learning are neglected, and letters uncultivated; the nobles and gentry alone enjoy the right of being landholders, and centre in themselves the whole power of government. Daily, however, this odious slavery loses ground; the age becomes more enlightened; the citizen, the merchant, the manufacturer, and the peasant, gain esteem and consequence; and the time perhaps is not distant when they will be permitted to enjoy the common rights of mankind.

Should the duke die without issue, the right of appointing a successor is vested in the diet of Courland, with the approbation of the king and the republic of Poland. But as Courland is too small a state to act independently of the great neighbouring kingdoms, the nomination of the new duke must depend on the will of that power which has most preponderance in the north, and consequently most influence in Poland.

When Poland was the great preponderating power, Courland was subservient to that republic; when Sweden, under Gustavus Adolphus, and his immediate successors, rose superior to Poland, it was overrun by the Swedes, and its sovereign led into cap-

tivity.* When the fortune of the house of Vasa declined, and Russia gained the ascendancy, Courland became almost a province of Russia; the dukes were elected and deposed by the influence of the court of Petersburg, and its dependence on Poland was a mere formality. But as Russia has lately lost her influence in Poland, the duke of Courland has emancipated himself from his absolute dependence on the court of Petersburg. Whether this emancipation is temporary or permanent must depend on the fate of the present war, and the issue of the pending negotiations.†

The prevailing religion is the Lutheran, but all other persuasions are tolerated; and the Roman Catholics are capable of holding all military and civil offices, that of chancellor and a few others excepted.

The language is a dialect of the Livonian or Lettish, the same which is spoken, with a little variation, by the Livonians and Esthonians, and is probably derived from the Finnish. The nobles and gentry, being descended from German settlers, speak German, and that tongue is always used in the debates of the diet.

From Mittau we traversed the dutchy of Courland, a country swelling into gentle hills, and fertile in corn, hemp, and flax. The inhabitants export those commodities from the port of Libau on the Baltic, the only commercial town of Courland, and import in return coffee, tea, wines, cloth, salt, and other foreign merchandise, which supply the interior consumption. The country is mostly open; but in some parts clothed with forests of pine and fir, dotted with occasional groves of fine oak, and sprinkled with much under-wood. The villages are neat, the scattered cottages and gentlemen's seats prettily situated amid clumps of trees, and the inns provided with beds, a great luxury to travellers just come from Russia. The roads are extremely indifferent, and in this season of the year scarcely passable.

CHAPTER XI.

Of Catharine....Her Origin and early Adventures....Married to a Swedish Dragoon.... Captured by the Russians....Becomes the Mistress, Consort, and Successor of Peter the Great....History of her Elevation to the Throne....Death and Character.

MANY authors have expressed great surprize at the contradictory reports relative to the origin of Catharine I. But to expect that the history of a person of low extraction, who gradually rose to the most exalted station, should contain no uncertain and discordant accounts, is to expect impossibilities. All that remains, therefore, is, without pre-

* James duke of Courland, taken prisoner in 1458, by Charles X, king of Sweden.

† Courland is now a province of the Russian empire. Soon after the conquest and final division of Poland, Peter, duke of Courland, repaired to Petersburg; he had an audience of Catharine the Second, on the 12th of March 1795, and was received with the highest honours. About the same time, the diet of Courland assembled, and after some trifling opposition, but much violent altercation, declared the two dutchies of Courland and Semigallia separated from their feudal dependance on Poland, and submitted themselves to the dominion of Russia. (March 18, 1795.)

On the 28th the duke issued an act of renunciation, and Courland was erected into a government, divided into nine circles, under a Russian governor, resident at Mittau. The salaries were continued to the officers of state, and persons holding places under the former government; and the duke himself was amply gratified for the resignation of his dignity. He had been long at variance with his subjects, and scarcely ever resided at Mittau; he had also foreseen the loss of his dominions, and had secured large sums of money, with which he purchased the dutchy of Sagau, and the counties of Wartenberg, Belin, and Goschutz, in Silesia, and estates in Brandenburg. He still retains the title of duke of Courland and Semigallia. Peter was born in 1724, and has by his wife, Anne Charlotte Dorothea, daughter of John Frederick count of Meden, several daughters. His brother prince Charles was born in 1728, and has by the princess Appollonia Poninska several sons.

judice or partiality, to compare the various histories of Catharine I, and to collect from the whole the most probable narrative.

Catharine was the natural daughter* of a country girl, and was born at Ringen, a small village upon the lake Virtcherve, near Dorpt, in Livonia. The year of her birth

*I shall make a few remarks concerning the authors from whom I have principally extracted this account of Catharine I. The first and most authentic is Weber.

Weber was the Hanoverian resident at Petersburg during part of the reign of Peter I, and took extraordinary pains to obtain the best information relative to the origin of Catharine. He learned the Russian language of Wurmb, who was tutor to Gluck's children when Catharine was in that minister's house at Marienburgh: from him, therefore, he was able to obtain the most authentic intelligence. Weber may have been mistaken in a few trifling incidents, but his narrative upon the whole is to be depended upon. See Veranderte's *Russland*, vol. iii. p. 7—10.

La Motraye, in his *Travels*, has given a short account of her family, &c. Among other intelligence, he collected much information from a Livonian girl, who had been sold by the Russians to the Turks, and whom he bought of the Janizaries: this girl knew Catharine at Marienburgh, and told him several particulars relating to her, which were afterwards confirmed to him in Livonia. The account of La Motraye corresponds with that of Weber in the principal events, differing only in a few trifling points.

Bruce has also given an account of her origin, which he relates as he heard it told by those who knew her from her infancy. His narrative corresponds, upon the whole, with that of Weber in all essential circumstances.

These three persons are the principal authors who were in Russia towards the beginning of this century, and collected information on the spot: we may therefore rely on them with more safety than upon later writers; and they all agree in confirming the lowness of her birth, and her marriage with the Swedish dragoon.

Voltaire, in his life of Peter I, has slightly passed over the early adventures of Catharine; he mentions nothing of her birth, her marriage with the Swedish soldier; as circumstances derogatory from the honour of the empress Elizabeth, by whose desire he wrote the life of Peter the Great. But willing to ennoble the family of Catharine I, he records a strange story, which has all the air of romance, concerning a brother of Catharine, named Scavronski, who was found to be the son of a gentleman of Lithuania. Voltaire cites for his authority "le manuscrit curieux d'un homme qui étoit alors au service du czar, & qui parle comme témoin;" but without mentioning his name.

From Voltaire many succeeding authors have advanced that Catharine was of the family of Scavronski; and it is certain that the empress Elizabeth acknowledged that family as her relations, and conferred honours upon its members.

This anecdote concerning Scavronski is positively contradicted by a passage in Bassevitz, who assisted Mentchikof in raising Catharine to the throne, and who must have known if any brother of Catharine had been at Petersburg during the life of Peter. He asserts, that Catharine did not produce any of her relations during Peter's life; that after his death a person made his appearance at Petersburg as her brother, under the name of count Hendrikof; that he lived in obscurity during the reigns of Peter II, and Anne, and that Elizabeth made his son a chamberlain. Busching, ix. p. 293.

Weber also upon this head relates, "that a near relation of Catharine came to Petersburg with his family, consisting of three sons and two daughters. He was called count Ikavoronski (certainly the same as Scavronski); the eldest daughter, Sophia, was appointed by the empress maid of honour; the other children were educated by their father. The arrival of these strangers gave rise to many reports concerning the origin of Catharine; that her father, whose name was said to be John Rabe, was a quarter-master in a Swedish regiment; and that her mother was the daughter of a town-secretary of Riga. The widow, after her husband's death, went to her relations at Riga; but soon dying, Gluck took the foundling into his family. These reports, which began to circulate, occasioned a public decree, forbidding all persons, upon pain of death, from uttering disrespectful expressions against the late emperor, or the reigning empress and her family." Ver. Russ. vol. iii. p. 76.

We may indeed take it for granted, that if Catharine's family had been nobly descended, the secret would have been discovered during the life of Peter, and have been favourably received by that emperor, who was prevented, from the obscurity of her birth, from carrying her with him to Paris, not being willing to expose her to insult: "Il ne vouloit pas l'exposer, dit on, aux rebuts qu'il craignoit pour elle vu l'obscurité de sa naissance, de la délicatesse Française." Bassevitz in Bus. Mag. ix. p. 316.

An Austrian envoy, who was at Petersburg in 1725, and wrote an account to his court of her accession to the throne, says, "that she was a natural daughter of a Livonian nobleman, whose name was Avendhel; that her mother afterwards married a rich peasant, by whom she had a son and a daughter."

is uncertain; but according to her own account,* she came into the world on the 5th of April, 1689. Her original name was Martha, which she changed for Catharine when she embraced the Greek religion. Count Rosen, a lieutenant-colonel in the Swedish service, who owned the village of Ringen, supported, according to the custom of the country, both the mother and child, and was, for that reason supposed to be her father. She lost her mother when she was three years old, and count Rosen dying about the same time, she was left in so destitute a situation, that the clerk of the village received her into his house. Soon afterwards Gluck, Lutheran minister of Marienburgh, took her under his protection, brought her up in his family, and employed her in attending his children. In 1701† she espoused a dragoon of the Swedish garrison of Marienburgh.‡ Many different accounts are given of this transaction; one author of great credit affirms that the bride and bridegroom remained together eight days after their marriage; another,§ of no less authority, asserts, that on the morning of the nuptials her husband was sent with a detachment for Riga, and the marriage was never consummated. This much is certain, that the dragoon was absent when Marienburgh surrendered to the Russians, and Catharine, reserved for a higher fortune, never saw him more.

General Bauer, on the capture of Marienburgh saw Catharine among the prisoners; and, smitten with her beauty, took her to his house, where she superintended his do-ter; that the former was put to death by Peter, for openly declaring himself to be the brother of Catharine; and that the sister received for some time a pension of 300 roubles from the empress, but was afterwards confined in a house of correction during the reign of Peter I, by Catharine's desire." He adds, "Catharine was brought up in Gluck's house; she became the mistress of Tiesenhausen, a captain of Swedish horse, by whom she had a son; he afterwards gave her in marriage to a dragoon of his troop, with whom she lived three years, until she was taken prisoner at Narva by the Russians." But this minister, who is well informed in what relates to the latter part of Catharine's life, and the means by which she ascended the throne, seems to have detailed many idle reports about her family and early history. Busch. Hist. Mag. xi. p. 48.

Before I close this note I must mention the opinion of Busching, who, during his residence at Petersburg, collected much authentic information in respect to the various parts of the Russian history: amongst other articles, he has given anecdotes of Catharine I, which he opens by saying. "All the accounts which writers have hitherto given, or rather conjectured, of the birth and family of Catharine I, are false." Ibid. iii. p. 190. He says her family was from Lithuania, and her father's name Samuel; her brother was count Charles Scavronski; her sister Christina married count Simon Hendrikof, and the other, whose name was Anne, Michael Yesimoski. He confirms her marriage with the Swedish dragoon, but places the scene at Fraustadt in Poland, and not at Marienburgh. He informs us, that he obtained this information from an old lady whose name he conceals, who died lately at Petersburg, and knew Catharine from her first appearance in Russia, and was greatly in her favour. He adds also an account of an officer who brought Catharine's sister Anne from Lithuania to Petersburg. With great deference, however, to so respectable an authority, we cannot, merely upon this hearsay evidence, set aside the testimonies of Weber, La Mortraye, and Bruce: this story seems, in effect, the same flying report as that in Voltaire; and the lady who gave the intelligence to Busching, might be willing to ratify the current report in Elizabeth's time, in honour of her friend and patroness Catharine. It appears, however, as well from this intelligence as from the information of Weber and Bassevitz, that some real or pretended relations of Catharine made their appearance at Petersburg during her reign; that they were acknowledged and promoted by her, and afterwards by Elizabeth, not unwilling, perhaps, to believe, without inquiry, her mother's family to be nobly descended.

Schmidt, in his *Materialien*, &c. has collected in one point of view great part of the intelligence which relates to Catharine, and to him I am greatly obliged for abridging the trouble necessary in such a complicated inquiry.

* Bassevitz in Busching, ix. p. 375. Some say she was born so early as 1583. Busching, ix. p. 481.

† Weber says in her eighteenth year; but if, according to her own account, she was born in 1689, she was only thirteen.

‡ Wurmb assured Weber, that during her residence at Marienburgh she was a pattern of virtue and good behaviour; which contradicts the report, that she had been a common woman in Livonia.

§ Weber.

|| Bruce, p. 74.

mestic affairs, and was supposed to be his mistress. Soon afterwards she was removed into the family of prince Mentchikof, who was no less struck with the attractions of the fair captive: with him she lived until 1704, when, in the seventeenth year of her age, she became the mistress of Peter the Great, and won so much upon his affections, that he espoused* her on the 29th of May, 1711. The ceremony was secretly performed at Jawerof in Poland, in the presence of general Bruce, and on the 20th of February, 1712, was publicly solemnized at Petersburg.

Catharine, by the most unwearied assiduity and unremitted attention, by the softness and complacency of her disposition, but above all by an extraordinary liveliness of temper, acquired a wonderful ascendancy over the mind of Peter. The emperor was subject to occasional horrors, which rendered him gloomy and suspicious, and produced a temporary madness. In these dreadful moments Catharine was the only person who ventured to approach him: such was the kind of fascination† she had acquired over his senses, that her presence had an instantaneous effect; the first sound of her voice composed his mind and calmed his agonies. From these circumstances she seemed necessary, not only to his comfort, but even to his existence; she became his inseparable companion during his journeys into foreign countries, and accompanied him even in his military expeditions.

The peace of Pruth, by which the Russian army was rescued from certain destruction, has been wholly attributed to Catharine, though she was only the instrument in extorting the consent of Peter. In the campaign of 1711 against the Turks, having imprudently led his troops into a disadvantageous situation, he formed the desperate resolution of cutting his way through the Turkish army in the night, and retiring to his tent in an agony of despair, gave positive orders that no one should be admitted, under pain of death. In this important juncture, the principal officers and the vice-chancellor Shaffiroff, assembled in the presence of Catharine, and drew up certain preliminaries to obtain a truce from the Grand Vizier. Plenipotentiaries were immediately dispatched without the knowledge of Peter, to the Grand Vizier, and a peace obtained on more reasonable conditions than could have been expected. With these conditions Catharine, notwithstanding the orders issued by Peter, entered the tent, and obtained his signature. By her conduct Catharine acquired great popularity, and the emperor specifies her behaviour at Pruth, as one of the reasons which induced him to crown her publicly at Moscow with his own hand. This ceremony‡ was performed in 1724; and though designed by Peter only as a proof of his affection, was the cause of her subsequent elevation.

Some authors have affirmed, without the smallest foundation, that Peter placed the crown upon her head as a prelude to his future intention in her favour, and even appointed her his successor; but no traces of this intention were ever discovered. Nothing

* Gordon says she had several children by the Czar before he espoused her, particularly the princess Anne. The Czar, he adds, was married to her in 1710. *Life of Peter*, vol. ii. p. 258. Weber only relates, that the marriage, which was before kept secret, was made public in 1711. Voltaire places the secret marriage in 1707. A passage in Bruce's *Memoirs* is decisive: "On the 17th (May, 1711) we arrived at Warsaw, and at Jawerof on the 29th, where we found the Czar and Czarina, and they were privately married, at which ceremony the general was present; and upon this occasion he was made master-general of the ordnance, in the room of the prince of Melita, who died a prisoner in Sweden." P. 36.

† "Elle avait un ascendant sur ses sens, qui tenait presque du prodige." Bassevitz in Busch. ix. p. 291.

‡ *Motraye's Travels*, vol. iii. p. 151, note, also p. 103.

§ The reader will find a circumstantial account of the coronation, with all the ceremonies and entertainments, in Bruce, who was himself present. *Bruce's Memoirs*, p. 351 to 363.

indeed affords a stronger proof of the contrary than the manifesto of Catharine's accession, in which she rests her right solely on her coronation at Moscow, and on the resolutions of the senate, the clergy, and the body of the generals.* Her influence continued undiminished until a short time before the death of Peter; when some circumstances occasioned a misunderstanding, which might have ended in a total rupture, if his death had not intervened. The original cause of this misunderstanding arose from the discovery of a secret connection between Catharine and Mons, her first chamberlain. The emperor, suspicious of the connection, quitted Petersburg, under pretence of removing to a villa for a few days; but privately returned to his winter palace in the capital. From whence he occasionally sent a confidential page with a complimentary message to the empress, as if he was in the country, with secret orders to observe her motions. From his information, the emperor, on the third night, surprised Catharine in an arbour of the garden with her favourite Mons; while his sister, madame Balke, who was first lady of the bed-chamber, was in company with a page, upon the watch without the arbour.

Peter† struck Catharine with his cane, as well as the page who endeavoured to prevent him from entering the arbour, and then retired without uttering a single word. Mons and his sister were taken into custody, and a report was circulated, that they were imprisoned for receiving bribes, and making their influence over the empress subservient to their own mercenary views. Mons was carried to the winter palace, where no one had admission to him but Peter, who himself brought his provisions; being examined in the presence of major general Uschakof, and threatened with the torture, he confessed the corruption laid to his charge, and was beheaded. His sister received five strokes of the knout, and was banished into Siberia; two of her sons, who were chamberlains, were also degraded, and sent as common soldiers among the Russian troops in Persia. On the day subsequent to the execution of the sentence, Peter conveyed Catharine in an open carriage under the gallows, to which was nailed the head of Mons; the empress, without changing colour at this dreadful object, exclaimed, "what a pity it is, that there is so much corruption among courtiers."‡

As this event was followed by Peter's death, and as Catharine recalled madame Balke, she was suspected of shortening the days of her husband by poison. But notwithstanding the critical situation of Catharine at the time of his decease, and her subsequent elevation, this charge is destitute of proof; for the nature of the disorder with which Peter had been long afflicted, and the peculiar symptoms§ of his last illness, sufficiently account for his death, without recurring to poison.

* See Dumont, Corps Diplom. vol. iii. part 2, p. 104.

† Bassevitz and Voltaire relate this transaction in a different manner, but neither of them would represent any circumstance tending in the least to criminate Catharine. The Austrian envoy, from whom the above relation is chiefly extracted, says that he received information of the whole affair from the page sent by Peter, whose name was Drevenich. Busch. Hist. Mag. xl. p. 49. Bassevitz himself mentions the anecdote of his driving her under the gallows, which seems to imply, that Peter certainly thought Catharine guilty of an intrigue with Mons.

‡ Bassevitz in Busch. Hist. Mag. ix. p. 372.

§ "Peter," says the Austrian envoy, "had formerly contracted from one of his mistresses a complaint, which on account of his excesses, was never completely eradicated; and drinking at the ridiculous election of the mock-patriarch, an enormous quantity of wine, beer, mead, and brandy, it increased to such a degree as to become incurable; but as there appeared no external symptoms, the physicians conceived the disorder to be the stone, and treated it accordingly. By these means the virus at length gradually gained such a height as to form an abscess in the bladder, which, in his last illness, brought

¶ See an account of this in Bruce's Memoirs.

Peter having, in 1724, decreed that the reigning sovereign should have the power of appointing his successor, ought, in common prudence, to have provided one in case of his sudden death; but he was seized with his last illness before he had performed that necessary duty. His disorder was a strangury, which was not at first attended with alarming symptoms; but suddenly increased to a violent degree, and occasioned such excruciating tortures, as totally deprived him of his senses. In a lucid interval he demanded pen and paper, and endeavoured to write, but could only trace characters that were not legible. He then called for his daughter Anne; but before her arrival his speech, and understanding failed, and he remained in this state six-and-thirty hours until he expired.*

It is evident from this account, drawn from unquestionable authorities, that he did not appoint his heir; and though some persons concluded, that he purposed entailing the crown upon his grandson Peter, yet he probably destined his eldest daughter Anne to be his successor; but was prevented, by the suddenness of his death, from carrying his design into execution.

While Peter was yet lying in the agonies of death, several opposite parties were caballing to dispose of the crown. At a considerable meeting of many among the principal nobility, it was secretly determined to arrest Catharine, at the moment of his dissolution, and place Peter Alexievitch upon the throne.† Bassevitz, apprised of this resolution, repaired in person to the empress, although it was already night. "My grief and consternation," replied Catharine, "render me incapable of acting for myself; do you and prince Mentchikof consult together, and I will embrace the measures which you shall approve in my name." Bassevitz, finding Mentchikof asleep, awakened and informed him of the pressing danger which threatened the empress and her party. As no time remained for deliberation, the prince instantly seized the treasure, secured the fortress, gained the officers of the guards by bribes and promises, also a few of the nobility, and the principal clergy. These partizans being convened in the palace, Catharine made her appearance; she claimed the throne in right of her coronation at Moscow; exposed the ill effects of a minority, and promised, that "she would receive the crown only as a sacred deposit, to be restored to the great duke, when she would be united, in another world, to an adored husband, whom she was now upon the point of losing."

The pathetic manner with which she uttered this address, and the tears which accompanied it, added to the previous distribution of large sums of money and jewels, produced the desired effect; and the remainder of the night was employed in making the necessary preparations to ensure her accession.

The death of Peter, in the morning of the 28th of January, being divulged, the senate, the generals, the principal nobility and clergy, hastened to the palace to proclaim the new sovereign. The adherents of the great duke seemed secure of success, and the friends of Catharine were avoided as persons doomed to destruction. At this junct-

on a strangury, that soon ended in his death. Upon his death bed he grievously repented of his sins, confessed that he had shed much innocent blood, expressed the greatest concern for his behaviour to his unfortunate son; adding, however, that he hoped God would forgive his sins, in consideration of the good he had conferred on his country." Busch. Hist. Mag. xi. p. 496. Gordon says, "he caught cold, which, with a violent strangury and retention of urine, occasioned by an imposthume in his bladder, put an end to his life on the 28th of January, 1725."

* Bassevitz in Busching, ix. p. 373. also Weber Ver. Russ. vol. ii. p. 199.

† Tant qu'on lui savoit un soufle de vie, personne n'osoit l'entreprendre. Telle etoit la force du respect et de la terreur, qu'imprima ce heros. Bassevitz, p. 374.

ture Bassevitz whispered one of the opposite party, "The empress is mistress of the treasure and fortress; she has gained over the guards and the synod, and many of the chief nobility, even here she has more followers than you imagine; advise therefore your friends to make no opposition as they value their heads." This information being rapidly circulated, Bassevitz gave the signal and two regiments of guards, who had been gained by a largess* to declare for Catharine, and already surrounded the palace, beat to arms. "Who has dared," exclaimed prince Repnin, the commander in chief, "to draw out the troops without my knowledge!" "I," returned general Butterlin, "without pretending to dispute your authority, in obedience to the commands of my most gracious mistress." This short reply was followed by a dead silence.

In this moment of suspense and anxiety, Mentchikof entered, preceding Catharine, supported by the duke of Holstein. She attempted to speak, but was prevented, by sighs and tears, from giving utterance to her words; at length, recovering herself, "I come," she said, "notwithstanding the grief which now overwhelms me, to assure you, that, submissive to the will of my departed husband, whose memory will be ever dear to me, I am ready to devote my days to the painful occupations of government, until providence shall summon me to follow him." Then, after a short pause, she artfully added, "If the great-duke will profit by my instructions; perhaps I shall have the consolation, during my wretched widowhood, of forming for you an emperor worthy of the blood and name of him whom you have now irretrievably lost." As this crisis," replied Mentchikof, "is a moment of such importance to the good of the empire, and requires the most mature deliberation, your majesty will permit us to confer without restraint, that this whole affair may be transacted without reproach, not only in the opinion of the present age, but also of posterity." "Acting as I do," answered Catharine, "more for the public good than for my own advantage, I am not afraid to submit all my concerns to the judgment of this enlightened assembly; you have not only my permission to confer with freedom; but I lay my commands upon you all, to deliberate maturely on this important subject, and promise to adopt the result of your decisions." At the conclusion of these words, the assembly retired into another apartment, and the doors were locked.

It was previously settled by Mentchikof and his party, to declare Catharine empress, and the guards, who surrounded the palace with drums beating and colours flying, effectually vanquished all opposition. The only circumstance, therefore, which remained, was to give a just colour to her title, by persuading the assembly that Peter intended to name her his successor. For this purpose Mentchikof demanded of the emperor's secretary, whether his late master had left any written declaration of his intentions? The secretary replied, "A little before his last journey to Moscow he destroyed a will, and he frequently expressed his design of making another, but was prevented by the reflection, that if he thought his people, whom he had raised from a state of barbarism to a high degree of power and glory, could be ungrateful, he would not expose his final inclinations to the insult of a refusal; and if they recollected what they owed to his labours, they would regulate their conduct by his intentions, which he had disclosed with more solemnity than could be manifested by any writing." An altercation now began in the assembly, and some of the nobles having the courage to oppose the accession of Catharine, Theophanes, archbishop of Plescof, called to their recollection the oath which they had all taken in 1722, to acknowledge the successor appointed by Peter, and added, that the sentiments of that emperor delivered by the secretary were in effect an appointment

* The Austrian envoy says, that the guards received each 6l.

of Catharine. The opposite party, however, denied these sentiments to be so clear as the secretary chose to insinuate, and insisted, that as their late monarch had failed to nominate his heir, the election of the new sovereign should revert to the state. Upon this the archbishop further testified, that the evening before the coronation of the empress at Moscow, Peter had declared, in the house of an English merchant, he should place the crown upon her head, with no other view than to leave her mistress of the empire after his decease. This attestation being confirmed by many persons present, Mentchikof cried out, "What need have we of any testament! A refusal to conform to the inclination of our great sovereign, thus authenticated, would be both unjust and criminal. Long live the empress Catharine!" These words being instantly repeated by the greater part of those who were present; Mentchikof, saluting Catharine by the title of empress, paid his first obeisance by kissing her hand, and his example was followed by the whole assembly. She next presented herself at the window to the guards, and to the people, who shouted acclamations of "long live Catharine," while Mentchikof scattered among them handfuls of money.* Thus, says a contemporary, the empress was raised to the throne by the guards, in the same manner as the Roman emperors by the Prætorian cohorts, without either the appointment of the people or of the legions.†

The reign of Catharine may be considered as the reign of Mentchikof; the empress having neither inclination nor abilities to direct the helm of government; and she placed the most implicit confidence in the original author of her good fortune, and the sole instrument of her elevation to the throne.

During her short reign her life was very irregular; she was extremely averse to business, would frequently pass whole nights in the open air, and was particularly intemperate in the use of tokay-wine, in which she often indulged herself to excess.† These irregularities, joined to a cancer and a dropsy, hastened her end, and she expired on the 17th of May 1727, a little more than two years after her accession to the throne, and in the 39th year of her age.

As the deaths of sovereigns in despotic countries are seldom imputed to natural causes, that of Catharine was also attributed to poison; as if the disorders which preyed upon her frame were not sufficient to bring her to the grave. Some assert, that she was poisoned by a glass of spirituous liquor; others by a pear given to her by general Diever. Suspicions also fell upon prince Mentchikof, who, a short time before her decease, had a trifling misunderstanding with her, and who was accused of hastening her death,

* This account of the election of Catharine is chiefly extracted from Bassevitz, who assisted prince Mentchikof in this revolution, and certainly must deserve credit as far as he chose to discover the secret cabals. Other authors relate this event somewhat differently; but this difference is easily reconciled, and the main facts continue the same. Busching asserts, as he was informed by count Munitz, that Peter was no sooner dead, than the senate and nobles assembled in the palace, unknown to Mentchikof, who, being informed of their meeting, repaired to the palace, and was refused admittance; upon which he sent for general Butterlin, with a company of guards, and bursting open the door of the apartment, declared Catharine empress. Busching, vol. i. p. 15; also Ebauche, &c. p. 50. The Austrian envoy says, that general Butterlin threatened to massacre the senate if the members did not acknowledge Catharine. But we have already seen, from the authority of Bassevitz, that many of the nobles, &c. repaired to the palace in opposition to Mentchikof; that general Butterlin had high words with prince Reppin and the opposite party; that Mentchikof's presence utterly disconcerted them; and it is probable that both he and Butterlin might have threatened the nobles, which Bassevitz might not choose to record, as he was willing to make the nomination of Catharine as unanimous as possible; although he says, "C'est ainsi que Catharine saisit le sceptre, qu'elle meritoit a si juste titre." In a word, these three accounts are easy reconcileable; they all prove one fact, that Mentchikof, either by himself or his agents, by bribes, promises and threats, forced the nobility to proclaim Catharine.

† Austrian envoy in Busching xi. p. 502.

† Bus. Hist. Mag. iii. p. 192.

that he might reign with still more absolute power during the minority of Peter II. But these reports deserve no credit, and were merely derived from the spirit of party, or from popular rumour.

Catharine was in her person under the middle size, and in her youth delicate and well-formed, but inclined to corpulency as she advanced in years. She had a fair complexion, dark eyes, and light hair, which she was accustomed to dye black.* She could neither read nor write;† her daughter Elizabeth usually signed her name, particularly to her last will and testament, and count Osterman generally put her signature to the public decrees and dispatches. Her abilities were greatly exaggerated by her panegyrists. Gordon, who had frequently seen her, seems to have represented her character with the greatest justness, when he says, "She was a very pretty well-lookt woman, of good sense, but not of that sublimity of wit, or rather that quickness of imagination, which some people have believed. The great reason why the Tzar was so fond of her, was her exceeding good temper; she never was seen peevish or out of humour; obliging and civil to all, and never forgetful of her former condition; withal, mighty grateful." Catharine maintained the pomp of majesty united with an air of ease and grandeur; and Peter frequently expressed his admiration at the propriety with which she supported her high station, without forgetting that she was not born to that dignity.‡

She bore her elevation meekly, and was never, as Gordon asserts, forgetful of her former condition. When Wurmb,§ who was tutor to Gluck's children at the time that Catharine was a domestic in the same family, presented himself before her after the public solemnization of her marriage with Peter, she said, "What, thou good man, art thou still alive! I will provide for thee;" and gave him a pension. She was also no less attentive to the family of her benefactor Gluck, who died a prisoner at Moscow: she pensioned his widow, made his son a page, portioned the two eldest daughters, and appointed the youngest a maid of honour. If we may believe Weber, she frequently inquired after her first husband, and, when she lived with prince Mentchikof, used secretly to send him small sums of money, until, in 1705, he was killed in a skirmish with the enemy. In a conference with general Schlippenback, who had commanded the Swedish army, when she was taken captive by the Russians, she asked him, "whether her spouse John was not a brave soldier?" Schlippenback replying, "Am not I one also?" her majesty answered in the affirmative; but repeating the question, he replied, "yes, please your majesty; and I may boast to have had the honour of having him under my command."|| But the most noble part of her character was her peculiar humanity and compassion. Motraye has paid a handsome tribute to this excellence. "She had in some sort the government of all his (Peter's) passions; and even saved the

* Busching says, "Ihr schwarzes haar war nicht natuerlich, sondern gefaerbi," &c. Hist. Mag. vol. iii. p. 190. "Her black hair was not natural, but coloured. On her first rise the coarseness of her hands proved that she had been used to hard labour, but they gradually grew whiter and whiter." These circumstances we may readily believe, because the lady from whom Busching received the information could easily know whether Catharine's hair was black, or her hands coarse, although she might be deceived in what relates to her family.

† Bassevitz, p. 295. Busching, xi. p. 481.

‡ Son epouse etait avec lui etalant, conformement a la volonte du monarque, la pompe imperiale, qui le genait, et la soutenant avec un air surprenant de grandeur et d'aisance. Le czar ne pouvait se lasser d'admirer les talens qu'elle possedait, selon son expression, de se creer imperatrice, sans oublier qu'elle ne le naquit point. Bassevitz in Bus. p. 358.

§ Life of Peter, vol. iii. p. 258.

|| Busching had the above anecdote from a lady who was present at this conference. Hist. Mag. vol. iii. p. 190.

lives of a great many more persons than Le Fort was able to do ; she inspired him with that humanity which, in the opinion of his subjects, nature seemed to have denied him. A word from her mouth, in favour of a wretch, just going to be sacrificed to his anger, would disarm him ; but if he was fully resolved to satisfy that passion, he would give orders for the execution when she was absent, for fear she should plead for the victim.* In a word, to use the expression of the celebrated Munc, " Elle etoit proprement la mediatrice entre le monarque et ses sujets."†

CHAPTER XII.

*Alexey Petrovitch....Principles on which Peter justified his exclusion from the Throne
....Effects of his bad Education....Dread of his Father....Escape from Petersburg....
His Trial and Condemnation....Inquiry into the Cause of his Death....Account of his
Wife Charlotte Christina Sophia of Brunswick....Circumstances of her death...False
Rumours of her Escape and Adventures.*

ALEXEY, the sole fruit of the inauspicious marriage between Peter the Great and Eudocia Lapukin, was born in 1690, and never was the birth of any prince more unfortunate to himself, to his parents, and to his country.

The principles on which Peter attempted to justify the exclusion of his son from the throne, appear from a curious letter, written in 1715 by an Austrian ambassador at Petersburg, to the prime minister at Vienna :

‡ " In my last I informed your excellency that I had an opportunity of penetrating the sentiments of the Tzar, and I shall now acquaint you with the particulars, which will surprise you. Being at dinner last Sunday at the vice-chancellor Shaffirof's, in company with the Tzar, his majesty did me the honour to converse with me upon different topics. The discourse turning upon the late king of France, his majesty said, " Certainly France was never governed by a greater man than Louis XIV, nevertheless, when I consider the little care which he took to perpetuate the glory of his kingdom after his demise, I have no longer the same esteem for his memory, which I have hitherto held for his great and heroic actions. Louis XIV, at his advanced age, could not reasonably indulge the hope of a much longer life ; if, therefore, he discovered in the infant (Louis XV) his successor, any evident marks of a future incapacity to reign, why did he entrust him to the care of a man who will not fail to adopt any means, however desperate, that may tend to secure the throne to himself? Why did he not exclude the duke of Orleans from a share in the regency? Or, if he knew the duke to be a man of a superior genius, as he undoubtedly is ; and his great grandson, either on account of his tender age or some corporal infirmity, incapable of governing, why did he not declare a person of such abilities as the duke of Orleans his successor? By these means his grand system would have stood unshaken even by his death ; whereas we have now every reason to conclude that France will decline." I made answer, " That as, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the first prince of the blood is regent during the king's minority, Louis XIV, could not exclude the duke of Orleans from the regency without breaking the law of succession, which no king of France could venture to infringe." " Therefore," replied the Tzar, " a prince, who, by sacrificing his health, and even frequently exposing his life, had at length rendered his country respectable and formidable,

* Motraye's Travels, vol. iii. p. 131.

† Ebauche, &c. p. 54. " She was the mediatrix between the monarch and his subjects."

‡ Busch. Hist. Mag. iii. p. 185, &c.

would, according to your hypothesis, be constrained to suffer the fruits of his labours to be destroyed in the hands of a madman, provided he was his nearest relation. I own I am not of your opinion. It is by no means sufficient, that a monarch should exert himself to aggrandise his state, and render it flourishing during his life, but he ought also by wise precautions to perpetuate its glory after his demise, which can in no other manner be effected than by appointing an heir who shall be capable, not only to maintain his acquisitions and preserve his establishments, but also to execute the rest of his designs, were he even to select him from the crowd of his subjects. You," added he, "would tax a prince with cruelty, who, in order to save his state, which ought to be dearer to him than the blood in his veins, should attempt to alter the succession of his blood; and I, on the contrary, conceive it to be the greatest of all cruelties, to sacrifice the safety of the state to the mere right of established succession. Let us suppose that the successor has not the qualities requisite for a sovereign; a convent, and not a throne, is a proper asylum for weak princes. David, for example, had many sons; but as he found not in the eldest the qualities which a king of Israel ought to possess, he chose the youngest for his successor: God himself approved the choice, instead of blaming him for not paying regard to the pretensions of primogeniture, which was nevertheless highly respected by the Jews. If the gangrene (making me touch at the same time the end of his thumb) attacks my finger, am I not obliged, although it is part of my body, to cut it off? or should I not be guilty of suicide?"

"In short, I now comprehend the cause of the law lately introduced by the Tzar, which adjudges all real estates of a family to one of the male children; but leaves to the father the absolute power of appointing his heir without considering the right of primogeniture. I am now convinced that the Tzar has in his own mind decreed the exclusion of his eldest son; and that we shall one day see Alexey, with his head shaven, thrust into a monastery, and obliged to pass the remainder of his life in praying and chaunting hymns.

Nov. 15, 1715."

The prophecy of this writer was afterwards fulfilled, though, instead of being shut up in a convent, the wretched prince expired in prison. The circumstances which occasioned his exclusion and death are well known; but as we have received them through the medium of his accusers, we ought to be careful in giving credit to all the charges with which his memory has been stigmatized. One fact* is incontrovertible, that his education was shamefully neglected, and that he was a stranger to the restraints necessary at his age, until the time of introducing proper habitudes had almost elapsed. He was committed to the care of women, and to the instruction of Russian priests, the lowest and most ignorant of men, who instilled into him all the prejudices of their religion, and were continually inveighing against his father for the abolition of many barbarous customs, which they had long considered with reverential awe. Nor was he released from this wretched species of tuition before the eleventh year of his age; when baron Huysen, a man of great merit and ability, was appointed his governor. Under this judicious instructor he seems to have made no inconsiderable progress, and his early prejudices might have gradually worn away, had not prince Mentchikof contrived to remove the only person who was likely to instil into him proper principles of action, and assumed the superintendence of his education. But as Mentchikoff scarcely ever saw him, and placed about him the most improper persons, he seems to have intentionally

* See *Memoire abrege sur la vie du tzarevitch Alexei Petrovitch*, in *Bus. Hist. Mag.* p. 195.

† *Bus. H. M.* p. 196.

abandoned him to the company of the lowest wretches, by whom he was encouraged in continual ebriety, and every kind of excess; yet this designing minister artfully extorted from the Tzarovitch, in prison, a confession that he was the only person who had taken any care of his education.*

Peter conceived an early prejudice against his son, and inspired him with such terror, that to avoid drawing before his father, the young prince once discharged a pistol against his own right hand. All persons, however, join in condemning the imprudence and obstinacy of Alexey, which warped his judgment, and at times transported him to a degree of insanity. Bruce, who knew him well, gives the following account of his person and manners; and as he was not prejudiced against him, his testimony must be esteemed more valid than all the laboured accusations of his enemies.

"The Czarowitz arrived in Moscow this winter (1714) where I saw him for the first time. He kept a mean Finlandish girl for his mistress. I went often with the general to wait on him; and he came frequently to the general's house, attended by very mean and low persons. He was very slovenly in his dress; his person was tall, well made, of a brown complexion, black hair and eyes, of a stern countenance, and strong voice. He frequently did me the honour to talk with me in German, being fully master of that language; he was adored by the populace, but little respected by the superior ranks, for whom he never shewed the least regard. He was always surrounded by a number of debauched ignorant priests, and other mean persons of bad character, in whose company he always reflected on his father's conduct for abolishing the ancient customs of the country, declaring, that as soon as he came to succeed, he should soon restore Russia to its former state; and threatening to destroy, without reserve, all his father's favourites. This he did so often, and with so little reserve, that it could not miss reaching the emperor's ears; and it was generally thought he now laid the foundation of that ruin he afterwards met with."

And again, "It was very remarkable, that the prince never appeared at any of the public meetings, when his majesty was attended by all persons of quality and rank, such as birth-days, celebrating of victories, launching of ships, &c. General Bruce, who lived next door to the prince, had orders always to give the prince notice the day before of such public days or meetings, and I had the honour to carry and deliver the message; but his highness, to avoid appearing in public, either took physic or let blood, always making his excuse, that he could not attend for want of health; when at the same time, it was notoriously known that he got drunk in very bad company, when he used constantly to condemn all his father's actions."†

Inflamed by continual drunkenness, and worn out by persecution, he was driven to a state of desperation; and in 1716, suddenly renouncing his right of succession in favour of Peter's son by Catharine, he demanded permission to retire into a convent. But soon afterwards, adopting the advice of his principal adherents, he escaped to Vienna; with a view to shelter him from the resentment of his father, Charles VI, sent him first to Inspruck in the Tyrol, and afterwards removed him, for still greater security, to the

* L'Evesque makes the following just reflections upon this unaccountable circumstance. "Croira-t-on qu'il ait sait sincerement & de lui-meme l'eloge des soins que Menchikof avoit pris de son education; lorsqu'on sait d'ailleurs que Menchikof approchoit de lui tout au plus trois ou quatre fois par an & ne lui parlait qu'avec le ton du mepris le plus dur & le plus outrageant? Si on le contraignit a louer le savori de Pierre, l'ami de Catharine, ne peut on pas lui avoir dicte de meme tout ce qu'on vouloit lui faire dire?" Hist. de Russie, Tom. iv. p. 442.

This conjecture is greatly strengthened by considering that the eulogium of Mentchikof was obtained from Alexey in prison by Tolstoe, the creature of Mentchikof.

† Bruce's Memoirs, p. 100 and 127.

castle of St. Elmo at Naples. Being secretly betrayed by his Finlandish mistress, whom he is reported to have married, and influenced by the most solemn promises of forgiveness, he was prevailed upon, by the emissaries of his father, to return to Moscow. Having there solemnly renounced all right of succession to the crown, he was conveyed to Petersburg, thrown into the fortress, tried by a select committee, and condemned to suffer death. The acts of his process and condemnation are well known, being published by order of the emperor, and are to be found in several authors.*

Whatever prejudices we may have entertained against Alexey, we cannot peruse the trial without being shocked at the cruel and unjust mode with which it was conducted; when his merciless persecutors eagerly laid hold of every advantage afforded by his youth and simplicity; when his Finlandish mistress, who was afterwards pensioned for her attestations, deposed every angry expression against his father, which she ever recollected to have fallen from him in the most unguarded moments: when not only his words and actions were brought to witness against him, but his very thoughts scrutinised, and his own confession extorted in prison employed to convict him. Indeed many of his own depositions, which tend most to criminate him, by discovering intentions of rebellion, were not openly acknowledged, but only signed in prison; and a signal difference is remarkable between his confessions during his first examination at Moscow, which was more public, and those made at Petersburg, when his trial was chiefly conducted in private before Peter and his immediate confidants: circumstances which seem to prove the infliction of torture.

With respect to Alexey's death, two opinions prevail; one advanced in the manifesto of Peter, that he was seized with an apoplectic fit, and died of convulsions occasioned by the violent passions of his mind and the terrors of death; the other, that he was secretly executed in prison. The latter is most entitled to belief, notwithstanding the assertions of Peter, and the apology of his panegyrists.

Of all the accounts of the prince's death, that given by Busching† is the most probable; he positively affirms, that he was beheaded by order of his father, and that marshal Weyde performed the office of executioner. He received the intelligence from madame Cramer, a lady at Petersburg, who was in high confidence, both with Peter and Catharine, and was employed in sewing the head to his body before it lay in state. During my stay at Petersburg, I was at some pains to authenticate this fact; but found it extremely difficult to obtain any positive information concerning so secret a transaction. The most material circumstances I could collect were communicated by an intimate acquaintance of the above-mentioned lady: he assured me that he always found her extremely averse to hold any discourse on the death of Alexey; that she seemed exceedingly shocked whenever the topic was introduced, and nothing could be further extorted from her, than that she was the person who prepared the body for the ceremony of lying in state. This unwillingness of the lady to enter upon the subject, together with her declaration that she prepared the body, adds a great degree of confirmation to the account of Busching.

An additional proof, in favour of this fact, I received from an English gentleman‡ of undoubted veracity, who assured me, from the information of prince Cantemir's secre-

* Mottley, vol. ii. And more circumstantially in Perry, vol. ii.

† Bus. His. Mag. vol. iii. p. 234. Also introduction to vol. ix.

‡ Mr. Rust, who travelled with Mr. Hoare, son of the late Henry Hoare, esq. of Stourhead. He became intimately acquainted at Aix la Chapelle with Vogenrock, who had been secretary to prince Cantemir, was then eighty years of age, and had collected materials for the life of Peter I, but never reduced them to order.

tary, with whom he was intimately acquainted abroad, that Alexey was beheaded in prison. As prince Cantemir was in high favour with Peter, the intelligence of his confidential secretary must carry great weight. This fact appears so well attested, that many German historians have adopted it without reserve, and in several genealogical tables of the imperial family, Alexey is inserted as beheaded. A passage, however, in Bruce's Memoirs, seems at first sight to invalidate this concurrent evidence, and to prove that he was poisoned.

"The trial* was begun on the 25th of June, and continued to the 6th of July, when this supreme court, with unanimous consent, passed sentence of death upon the prince, but left the manner of it to his majesty's determination: the prince was brought before the court, his sentence was read to him, and he was reconveyed to the fortress. On the next day, his majesty, attended by all the senators and bishops, with several others of high rank, went to the fort, and entered the apartments where the Tzarovitch was kept prisoner. Some little time thereafter, marshal Weyde came out, and ordered me to go to Mr. Bear's the druggist, whose shop was hard by, and tell him to make the potion strong which he had bespoke, as the prince was then very ill: when I delivered this message to Mr. Bear, he turned quite pale, and fell a shaking and trembling, and appeared in the utmost confusion; which surprised me so much, that I asked him what was the matter with him, but he was unable to return me any answer: in the mean time the marshal himself came in, much in the same condition with the druggist, saying, he ought to have been more expeditious, as the prince was very ill of an apoplectic fit; upon this the druggist delivered him a silver cup with a cover, which the marshal himself carried into the prince's apartment, staggering all the way as he went like one drunk. About half an hour after, the Tzar, with all his attendants withdrew, with very dismal countenances; and when they went, the marshal ordered me to attend at the prince's apartment, and in case of any alteration, to inform him immediately thereof. There were at that time two physicians and two surgeons in waiting, with whom, and the officer on guard, I dined on what had been dressed for the prince's dinner. The physicians were called in immediately after to attend the prince, who was struggling out of one convulsion into another, and after great agonies, expired at five o'clock in the afternoon. I went directly to inform the marshal, and he went that moment to acquaint his majesty, who ordered the corpse to be embowelled, after which it was laid in a coffin, covered with black velvet, and a pall of rich gold tissue spread over it; it was then carried out of the fort to the church of the Holy Trinity, where the corpse lay in state till the 11th in the evening, when it was carried back to the fort, and deposited in the royal burying vault, next the coffin of the princess his late consort, on which occasion the Tzar and Tzarina, and the chief of the nobility, followed in procession. Various were the reports that were spread concerning his death; it was given out publicly, that on hearing his sentence of death pronounced, the dread thereof threw him into an apoplectic fit, of which he died: very few believed he died a natural death, but it was dangerous for people to speak as they thought. The ministers of the emperor, and the states of Holland, were forbid the court for speaking their minds too freely on this occasion, and upon complaint against them, were both recalled."

From this account it appears that the prince was still alive when Peter, with the nobles and bishops, remained in the fortress; and that he died in the interval between their departure and the afternoon; but it by no means follows, even from this state of the case, that the Tzarovitch was poisoned. For can we suppose that Peter would order

* Bruce's Memoirs, p. 185, 187.

a dose of poison to be prepared for his son at a chemist's shop, and that marshal Weyde would openly send for it without the least mystery? May we not rather infer that the potion was a medicine similar to those which had been already prescribed for the prince, who had for some time been extremely indisposed? The fright of the chemist might proceed from his delivering a medicine for the Tzarovitch, who was said to be in the agonies of death; as in a despotic country, and under such a sovereign as Peter, his own safety might be involved in the catastrophe. The agitation of marshal Weyde will be still more satisfactorily accounted for; if, according to Busching, he was preparing to perform, or had already performed the execution.

The principal circumstance which seems to contradict the opinion that he was beheaded is, that if Bruce's narrative is to be depended upon, the prince when he fell afterwards into repeated convulsions, was visited by the physicians; and yet, if Busching's account can be relied on, he must have been already beheaded; as marshal Weyde, according to Bruce, had finally quitted the fortress. But it is possible that the physicians, although ordered to attend the prince, might be prevented from seeing him; it is possible that marshal Weyde might have secretly returned to the fortress without the knowledge of colonel Bruce; it is possible that Bruce himself, as being an intimate friend of the marshal, might have been entrusted with the secret, but was unwilling to record, in his memoirs, so horrid a catastrophe, which was totally repugnant to the manifesto of the emperor. When the secret execution of the heir apparent in a despotic empire becomes the subject of inquiry, it must always be difficult to ascertain the truth; and it would be unreasonable to expect that no contradictory circumstances should occur in the different relations of such a mysterious transaction; when even in the most common occurrences, no two persons would relate the same event precisely in the same manner.

Catharine is not free from suspicion of being concerned in this horrid affair, because her son by Peter was declared successor, and because Tolstoi, to whom the management of the process and private examination of Alexey were chiefly entrusted, was a creature of Mentchikov. This accusation of Catharine could be only a mere surmise, and her interference, if she really interfered, must have been so secret as not to have been discovered. Peter himself exculpated her, openly testifying,* that she interceded for his son's life, and requested, that instead of being put to death, he might be confined in a convent. Not to mention that such proceedings militate strongly against the well known humanity of Catharine; there was no occasion to irritate the savage temper of Peter, too much inclined to inflict the severest punishment upon his son, who threatened to destroy in a moment that vast fabric of glory and power which he had employed years in erecting. The monarch who could himself attend the infliction of torture, who had occasionally performed the office of executioner, and who even ordered the first partner of his bed to be scourged, would not require any incitement to command the execution of a son, whom he had publicly treated with the most inhuman ferocity.

A note, written with Peter's own hand to count Romanzof, who, in conjunction with Tolstoi, brought the unfortunate Alexey from Naples, will display the inflexible spirit of that monarch, who forgot the feelings of a father in his anxiety for the public good. "I grant you the ranks of major-general and lieutenant-general, and the estates of Alexander Kikin and Kuril Matushkin,† in consideration of the signal service which

* Hasevitz.

† Two of Alexey's unfortunate adherents, who with many others were executed upon this occasion.

you have just conferred, not only upon me, but what is more, upon your country, in bringing back him, who by his birth is my son, and by his actions, the enemy of his father and of his country."*

The wife of Alexey, Charlotte Christina Sophia, was daughter of Louis Rodolph of Brunswick-Blakenburgh, and sister of Elizabeth Christina, consort of the emperor Charles VI. She was born on the 29th of August 1694, espoused on the 25th of October 1711, the Tzarovitch Alexey, and in July of the ensuing year made her entrance into Petersburg.†

Although this amiable princess was the choice of Alexey, who saw her at her father's court, yet he treated her with the utmost neglect, and devoted himself to his favourite mistress Euphrosyne, a Finlandish girl of the lowest extraction.

It does not indeed appear that the prince, according to the report of some writers, frequently struck her; for had he been sufficiently brutal, he would have been restrained by apprehensions of his father; who, as well as Catharine, always expressed the strongest compassion for her wretched situation, and showed her constant proofs of his affection.

Her husband's unconquerable antipathy was chiefly derived from his suspicions that she lodged complaints against him to the emperor. Unfortunately her domestic uneasiness was increased by Juliana princess of East-Friesland, who accompanied her into Russia, and who imprudently fanned the flame instead of endeavouring to quench it.

The fruits of this ill-assorted union were Natalia, who was born at Petersburg in 1714, and died at Moscow in 1728; and a prince, afterwards Peter II, who was brought into the world on the 23d of October, 1715. The consequences of her delivery, and the melancholy which had long preyed upon her frame, hurried her prematurely to the grave, on the 2d November, in the twenty-first year of her age. The approach of death was affecting to all but her husband and herself; her spirit was so much subdued by affliction, that she considered her dissolution as a welcome release from all her sufferings; and said to her physicians, "Do not torment me any more, for I will live no longer."‡

On the day which preceded her decease, she dictated a petition to Peter the Great, which may be considered as her will: "The most humble and last entreaties from the under-written to his imperial majesty. 1. His imperial majesty will order my funeral as he shall think proper. I could wish, nevertheless, that my body may be buried in a place where it may remain undisturbed until the second coming of our Saviour. 2. Both my beloved children I recommend to the care and affection of his imperial majesty, my gracious father-in-law, that they may be educated according to their birth and station. 3. I leave my jewels and other valuable things in gold and silver to my children; and a reasonable part of my clothes and linen to my cousin the princess of East-Friesland. 4. I beseech his imperial majesty graciously to permit those persons who accompanied me hither to return, and to defray the expence of their journey. 5. On account of the dearness of this place, and because my servants were strangers, I have contracted some debts, which I intreat his imperial majesty to discharge, that I may be remembered with honour, and that no unworthy reports may be circulated after my death. The sums which the crown will save by my decease, may be employed in discharging these debts, since it is God's will that I depart from this world so prematurely and unexpectedly,

* This note, which has not yet appeared in print, was communicated to me by a Russian nobleman, the grandson of count Ro manof, who favoured me with a translation from the original.

† This account of the princess is chiefly taken from Muller's "Von der princessin von Wolfenbuettel als vermahlten Russischen Kronprincessin." In Bus. Hist. Mag. xv. p. 234.

‡ Bruce's Memoirs, p. 148.

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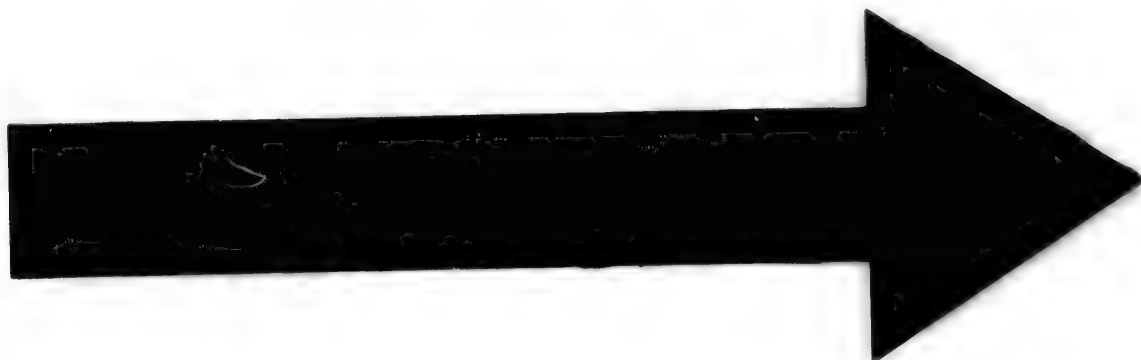
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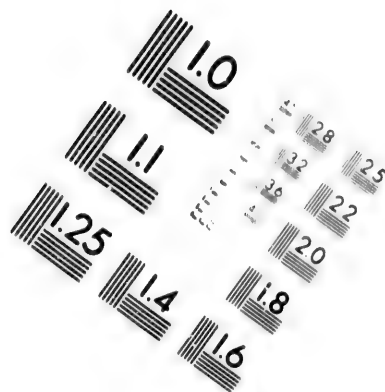
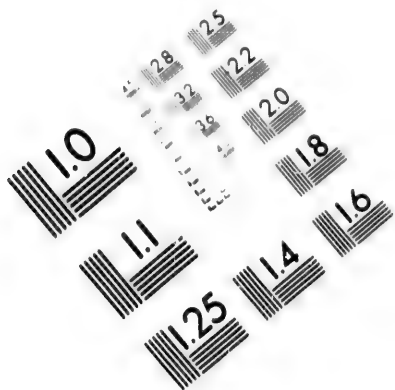
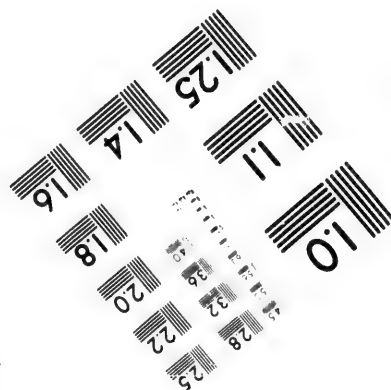
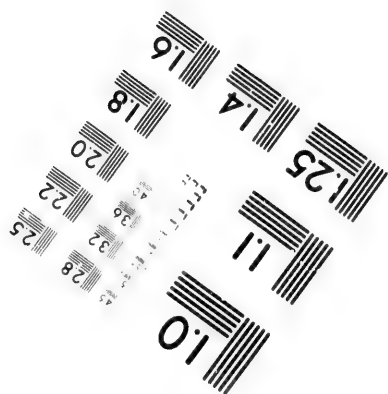
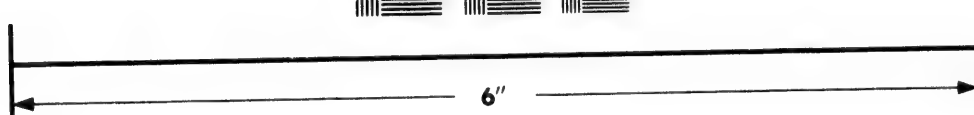
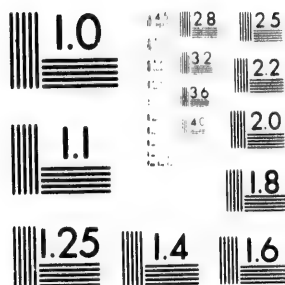


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6. My unforeseen and untimely death is also the cause of my being unable to recompence my domestics, who had the care of regulating my expences; and as I am perfectly satisfied that my secretaries Cluver and John Clement, who had charge of my disbursements, have served me with fidelity and honour, I humbly entreat that their accounts which have receipts, may be passed, and that the other expenditures may be admitted upon their oath. I repose such confidence in his imperial majesty, that I trust he will not reject this my last request; more particularly when I reflect on the repeated instances which I have experienced of his paternal tenderness and affection. I have this also to add, that I am only concerned to leave this world at a time when his imperial majesty is indisposed; a circumstance which has prevented me from thanking him in person for the frequent proofs I have received of his kindness and regard. May the Almighty be his aid and protector; and may he add those years to his life which are taken from mine; which I likewise faithfully, and with my whole heart, implore for her majesty the empress; and, after returning my acknowledgments due to them for the repeated instances of their love and goodness, I expire, the most humble and most obedient daughter of both their majesties,

“CHARLOTTE CHRISTINA SOPHIA.”*

“St. Petersburg, October 21, 1713.”

Her ardent desire to see the emperor before she expired was gratified. Peter, who was at Schlüsselburgh at the time of her delivery, had set off upon the first news of that intelligence for Petersburg; but on his arrival in the capital, was seized with a sudden illness, which confined him to his chamber. On perusing the affectionate expressions of her attachment, he was placed on a machine rolling upon wheels, and conveyed to her apartment. The interview was awful: she took leave of him in the most moving language and affecting manner, recommending her children to his care, and her servants to his protection, and received from him every consolation which her situation would admit, together with the strongest assurances that all her wishes should be fulfilled. She then embraced her children, and having bedewed them with tears, delivered them into the hands of her husband, whom decency obliged to be present at this tender scene. After suffering the most acute pains, and struggling with succeeding agonies, she expired at midnight.†

She died a member of the Lutheran religion, which she had in vain been solicited to renounce; and nothing conveys a stronger proof of the high esteem in which she was held by the emperor, than her interment in a Russian church: her remains were deposited, on the 8th of November, in the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, with all the funeral honours due to her exalted station.

I have been thus particular in relating the principal circumstances which attended her death; not only because her fate is interesting to every feeling mind, but also because an extraordinary account of this princess appeared in France. Soon after her delivery, it is said, she persuaded her attendants to circulate a report of her death; and her husband, who paid no attention to her during her illness, ordered her to be buried without delay; a piece of wood substituted in the place of the body, was interred in the cathedral, and the princess made her escape into France. Apprehensive of discovery, she embarked for Louisiana, and married a French serjeant, who had formerly been at Petersburg, to whom she bore a daughter. In 1752 she came with her husband to Paris, was discovered as she was walking in the Thuilleries by marshal Saxe, who pro-

* Muller in Bus. xv. p. 237.

† Muller and Bruce.

mised secrecy, and procured a commission for her husband in the Isle of Bourbon. Having lost her husband and child, she, in 1754, returned to Paris with a negro woman. The bills upon the East India Company, which she brought in her husband's name, being refused because she could not prove herself to be his wife; a gentleman, whom she had known in the Isle of Bourbon, offered his assistance, which she declined. She confessed to this gentleman her real character; and from him the author of the account pretends to have received these anecdotes; adding, she soon afterwards disappeared, and retired to the court of her nephew the duke of Brunswick. In this wonderful narrative, the king of France, it is said, privately acknowledged her, and even enjoined the governor of the Isle of Bourbon to pay her the honours due to her rank. It is added, that the same monarch, in a letter written with his own hand, communicated this discovery to the empress of Germany (then queen of Hungary) who thanked the king for his intelligence, and immediately wrote to the supposed princess as to her aunt, advised her to quit her husband and child, whom the king of France had promised to provide for, and invited her to Vienna.

Although I had little reason to give credit to an anonymous author; and the whole story bears the air of fiction, I made it the subject of my researches. I found, on inquiry, that the circumstances of her death could not be doubted, and accorded with the accounts which I have before related; I was, moreover, informed by a Russian nobleman, that his mother attended the princess in her illness; that she was a witness to her last moments, and saw the corpse laid in state, when persons of all ranks were admitted to kiss the hand of the deceased.*

It is certain, from a passage in a letter from the king of Prussia to d'Alembert, that a woman appeared at Brunswick, pretending to be the deceased wife of the Tzarovitch; and it is no less certain that she was an impostor.

* In L'Evesque's history of Russia, there is an ample detail of the rise and progress of this anecdote of the princess's escape and adventures. It first made its appearance in Richer's Continuation of the abbe Marcy's *Histoire Moderne*, afterwards in Bossu's *Nouveaux Voyages dans l'Amerique Septentrionale*; and was lately revived in "*Pieces interessantes et peu connues, pour servir a l'Histoire*;" in which, as an additional authority, it is qualified as an extract found among the papers of the late Duclos, secretary of the royal academy, and historiographer of France. The anecdote, like all other stories which are improved in their progress, is dressed in somewhat different shapes: in one the name of the husband is d'Auban, in the other Moldack; in one she marries a third time, and again becomes a widow: the circumstances of her escape are also variously related, and in all with the most evident marks of falsehood, and absolute contradiction to the most undoubted facts; such as that she was assisted in her escape by the countess of Koningsmark, although there was no lady of that name about her person, or at Petersburg; that the body of the princess was interred almost at the instant of her decease, and without any funeral honours; that Peter I. was not at Petersburg when she died; that she was brought to bed before her time of a princess, with many similar assertions, which scarcely deserve any serious refutation. The reader, who is desirous of further information on the subject, is referred to L'Evesque *Histoire de Russie*, tom. iv. p. 384—389; and to the latter part of Muller's account, *Von der Princessen von Wolfenbuttel*, in *Bus. Hist. Mag.* xv. p. 239 to 241. An extract also of the principal circumstances of this story is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and from thence in the *Annual Register* for 1776.

"Je puis vous repondre avec plus de precision sur le sujet de cette dame qui pretendoit passer pour l'epouse du Czarowitz; son imposture a ete decouverte a Brunswic, ou elle a passe peu de mois apres la mort de celle dont elle emprunta le nom; elle y recut quelques charites, avec ordre de quitter le pays, et de ne jamais prendre un nom dont sa naissance l'ecartoit si fort." *Corresp. du Roi de Prusse a d'Alembert*, il. p. 138.

APPENDIX.

NO. I.

*Various Opinions concerning the Tzar who reigned under the name of Demetrius....
Proofs that he was no Impostor.*

THESE are the principal circumstances in the adventures of the person, who seated himself upon the Russian throne under the name of Demetrius. His history is involved in contradiction and obscurity : unbiassed, however, by the prejudices of either party, let us compare with candour their opposite representations, and endeavour to ascertain, whether he was an impostor, or the real son of Ivan Vassilievitch.

They who contend that he was an impostor, thus relate his history : He was of the family of Otrepief; his real name was George, which upon his assuming the monastic habit in the fourteenth year of his age, he changed into Gregory, and was generally known by the appellation of Griska* Otrepief : for some time he resided at Susdal, and having wandered from convent to convent, was consecrated deacon in the monastery of Tchudof at Moscow, where he was employed by the patriarch in transcribing books for the service of the church. It is not ascertained, even from these accounts of his life, at what period he first styled himself Demetrius. Some report, that while he continued in the monastery of Tchudof, he obtained the most minute information relative to the person and character of the prince, and even began to assume his name, for which he was deemed insane, and excited the laughter of the monks. Others observe, that he was in possession of several jewels which formerly belonged to Demetrius; and having one day declared that he should ascend the throne of Russia, was confined by order of Boris Godunof, in a distant monastery, from which he escaped into Poland. On the contrary, Margaret, who asserts that he is the true Demetrius, gives the following detail :

Demetrius being rescued from assassination by the substitution† of another child, was secretly educated in Russia until the election of Boris Godunof, when he was conveyed into Poland under the care of the monk Griska, which afterwards gave rise to the report

* Griska, in the Russian tongue, signifies little Gregory. He was called also Rostriga, or Deserter, from having deserted his convent.

† The principal objection to the account of Margaret, arises from the difficulty of substituting a child in the place of Demetrius, particularly if the son of his nurse was one of the assassins; and if Vassili Shuiski examined the body of the deceased, soon after the supposed assassination. To this it may be answered, that his mother had sufficient reason to be on her guard against the attempts of Boris Godunof; for it is evident that such attempts were made before, from a passage in Fletcher, who was at Moscow in the beginning of Feodor's reign. " Besides the emperor that now is, who hath no child, nor ever like to have, there is but one more, a child of six or seven years old, in whom resteth all the hope of the succession, and the posterity of that house. He is kept in a remote place from Mosko, under the tuition of his mother, and her kindred of the house of the Nagais; yet not safe (as I have heard) from attempts of making away by practice of some that aspire to the succession, if this emperor die without issue." Fletcher's Russia, chap. v.

With respect to the privacy of the nurse, and her son, the witness of the bell-ringer, and the testimony of Vassili Shuiski, L'Evesque makes these judicious observations;

" Mais ces circonstances sont elles bien confirmees. Tous les assassins du Tzarevitch furent massacres presque aussi-tot qu'ils eurent commis ce crime. Ils n'ont point été interrogés, on n'a rien su de leur bouche. Un sonneur de la cathedrale fut témoin du meurtre de Dmitri. Mais qui a reçu son

that Griska had personated Demetrius. As a proof that they were two distinct persons, he informs us, that Boris Godunof sent repeated expresses to his guards on the frontiers, to prevent all travellers from quitting the country, even should they be provided with passports; for two traitors were endeavouring to escape into Poland. Margaret adds, Griska was thirty-five years of age, and Demetrius scarcely twenty-four; Griska accompanied the new Tzar to Moscow, and was seen by many in that city, being a person well known, and having a brother who possessed an estate near Galitz; he was notorious before his flight into Poland for drunkenness, and on account of his misconduct, was banished by Demetrius to Yaroslaf. Margaret, moreover, was informed by an English merchant of Yaroslaf, well acquainted with Griska, that the monk, on receiving the news of the Tzar's death, and even after the election of Vassili Shuiski, solemnly protested that he, Demetrius, was the real son of Ivan Vassilievitch; and that he himself was Griska Otrepief, who had conducted the prince into Poland. Soon afterwards Griska was conveyed to Moscow by order of Vassili Shuiski, and disappeared. (Margaret, 152 to 157.)

If this narrative is authentic, even according to the confession of Muller, it completely refutes the representation of the opposite party. In what manner then does this ingenious author attempt to discredit the positive testimony of Margaret? "But how," says he, "can we imagine, that any one could ever hold two persons to be the same individual, at a time when the contrary could be easily proved?" The contrary indeed could be easily proved during the reign of Demetrius, when Griska was at Moscow or at Yaroslaf, and at a time when few Russians doubted the fact; but the assertion was not so easily refuted when Griska disappeared, and when no person durst contradict the manifesto of Vassili Shuiski. "Let us suppose," adds Mr. Muller, "that the opposite party, in defiance of all truth, first invented so groundless a fable; let us suppose that Griska was immediately banished, as soon as the enemies of Demetrius made the latter pass for that monk; how does it happen that no writer beside Margaret,* has taken notice of so remarkable a circumstance?" It is generally allowed that one good evidence ought to outweigh a crowd of prejudiced witnesses; so that if Margaret's credibility is superior to that of his opponents, we must assent to the truth of his account. And who are the writers whose authority is preferred to that of Margaret? The native historians, who wrote after the accession of Vassili Shuiski; but their testimony cannot be admitted in this case; for could any Russian venture to contradict the manifesto of

temoignage? Est il meme certain que ce temoin ait existe? Si les assassins furent trompes, n'ait-il pas pu l'etre lui meme, et prendre pour le Tzarevitch un enfant du meme age! Ne convient-on pas que Boris, &c. Mais Chouiski, mais Clechnin furent envoyes a Ouglitch par Boris; ils virent et reconnurent le corps du Tzarevitch et lui rendirent les honneurs funebres. Eh! sait-on ce qu'ont vu ces deux emissaires de Boris, ce qu'ils lui ont rapporte en secret? Le corps meme qu'ils examinerent, defigure par des blessures, et garde long-temps sans etre embaume, devrait etre meconnaisable. On ignore absolument ce qu'ils ont decouvert, et ce qu'ils ont pense. S'ils ont debite a leur retour une fable concertee entr'eux et le ministre, ils n'ont pu dans le suite faire connaitre la verite, sans avouer qu'ils avoient ete des fourbes vendus a un scelerat, &c. Vol. iii. p. 227. In a word, the belief that a child was substituted in the place of Demetrius, though liable to many objections, is yet attended with much fewer difficulties, than the notion that the Tzar who reigned under the name of Demetrius was an impostor.

* Margaret, however, does not stand single in supposing Griska, and him who passed for Demetrius, to be distinct persons. For among others, Conrad Bussau, who was present at Moscow during the troubles, asserts, that Demetrius was the natural son of Stephen Bathori, king of Poland, which is sufficient to show that the report prevailed at the time that the Tzar and Griska were different persons. S. R. G. vol. v. p. 191.

the sovereign, or call in question the sanctity of the relics established by a decree of the church?*

It must be confessed, however, that one author is not liable to these suspicions. "Petreius," continues Muller, "has given, in many instances, the most exact intelligence, and has demonstrated the imposture of the false Demetrius with many proofs. Is it possible, therefore, to suppose him ignorant that Demetrius and Griska were two different persons, if that fact had been well grounded?" Here then the testimony of Petreius is put in the opposite scale against that of Margaret; both foreigners, both present at Moscow at the time of the insurrection, both supposed to be unbiassed by the civil and religious prejudices of the Russians; yet both of different sentiments. Let us therefore examine their character and situation, and consider whether any circumstances render one writer more worthy of credit than the other. Margaret was a Frenchman, who entered the Russian service in the reign of Boris Godunof, was present in the army sent against Demetrius, and always acted with approved bravery and fidelity. Afterwards, when Demetrius ascended the throne, he was continued in his service as captain of the guards. He possessed, therefore, many opportunities of investigating his real history, and he has recorded it in his "*Estat de l'empire de Russie, &c.*" which, on his return to France, he published at the command of Henry IV.

Muller, however, objects to the authenticity of Margaret's narrative: "a witness of this sort would not be admitted in any court of justice, and cannot, in this instance, merit our belief. His judgment might be warped; partly from considering it as a disgrace to have engaged in the service of an impostor, and partly from not being well used by the opposite party after the death of the false Demetrius. Hence he might be enticed, from motives of resentment, to brand with infamy the enemies of Demetrius, and to treat as mere falsehoods all the reports of the impostor's real origin. We must, therefore, accuse Margaret either of having advanced a falsehood; or suppose that he had heard of another Otrepief, who was at that time present at Moscow, and whom he strangely confounds with Eriska."† This is the only objection which even the ingenuity of Muller can urge against Margaret.

Petreius, whose authority is fondly preferred to that of Margaret, was minister‡ from Charles IX, king of Sweden, to the court of Moscow in the reigns of Boris Godunof, Demetrius, and Vassili Shuiski. The close connection of Demetrius with Sigismund king of Poland, induced Charles IX, to tender his assistance to Boris Godunof, upon the first entrance of the new claimant into Russia. Charles is also represented as greatly alarmed at the success of Demetrius, and after his assassination concluded a treaty of the strictest amity with Vassili Shuiski. It was therefore the interest of the Swedish court to

* It may perhaps be thought by many too bold to set aside the authority of all the Russian historians, who may be supposed to have obtained better intelligence than foreigners. But Muller calls in question the testimony of a Russian ambassador in favour of Demetrius, because he wrote at a time when he was upon the throne, and acknowledged by the whole nation; for the same reason, therefore, we must set aside the evidence of the Russians who wrote after his assassination, and at a time when his imposture was made an article of the public faith.

Indeed, if it is considered the suspicious documents from which the Russian authors drew their materials, this mode of reasoning will not appear unjustifiable. Of all the Russian writings relating to the history of Demetrius, cited by Muller, the principal are the manifesto of Shuiski, and a manuscript account of the troubles, compiled by order of the Tzar Michael, and sent to the king of France as a justification of the war against Sweden. But such documents issuing from government must in this instance be allowed to be exceptionable. In all affairs, wherein national prejudices are not concerned, the evidence of a native is preferable to that of foreigners; but the testimony of foreigners becomes superior, when the natives are warped by fear or prejudice.

† S. R. G. vol. v. p. 182 and 193.

‡ Dalin's *Geschichte von Schweden*, vol. iv. p. 475.

represent Demetrius as an impostor; and Petreius, as Swedish minister, naturally countenanced the report patronised by his master. But should we even allow that Petreius was not influenced in his judgment by the politics of his own court; yet, as an author, he is liable to great exception: for the numberless fictions and gross misrepresentations which he retails in his Chronicle, prove extreme proneness to credulity.* On the contrary, the credibility of Margaret stands unimpeached, and even the penetrating sagacity of Muller himself can only discover in his work a few trifling errors. It appears then, that both as to character, and situation, the testimony of Margaret is preferable to that of Petreius; and if the question is to be ultimately decided by one of these two writers, whose authority is the most unquestionable, the Tzar who reigned under the name of Demetrius was no impostor, but the real son of Ivan Vassilievitch II.

I shall now throw together some particulars, which, in addition to those already enumerated, induce me to espouse the opinion that the Tzar was no impostor.

1. The conduct of Boris Godunof. 2. Supposed resemblance between the real Demetrius and the person who reigned in his name. 3. His success and conduct upon the throne. 4. Testimony of Maria Feodorofna. 5. Arguments used by the Russians to prove the imposture.

1. The conduct of Boris Godunof plainly demonstrates that he thought him the real Demetrius. For otherwise, why did he not produce Maria Feodorofna, and obtain her public avowal that her son was not alive? Her testimony at that time would have unquestionably ascertained the imposture of the person, who claimed the throne as her offspring. Probably Boris Godunof examined her privately, and finding her to persist in her assertion that Demetrius had escaped from Uglitz, he removed her to a convent at a considerable distance from Moscow, that she might not sanction the pretensions of his rival.

2. The supposed resemblance between the prince Demetrius, who was educated at Uglitz, and the person who reigned under his name. He had a wart under the right eye, and one arm shorter than the other. "But how is it known," said Muller, "that the prince had these defects? for they are not mentioned in the Russian narratives, but only related by foreigners, who had never seen him. May we not therefore suppose them mere inventions, calculated to display some resemblance between the true and false Demetrius?"† To this we may reply, that the Russian accounts, evidently compiled after this period, and chiefly taken from the manifestos of government, would never record any circumstance which might tend to favour a likeness between a person whom they styled an impostor, and the young prince. And it may be added, if the Tzar alledged the wart under his right eye, and the shortness of his arm, as proofs of his being the real Demetrius; who can suppose that the prince had not these defects, when there were so many persons of the first distinction who could contradict the truth

* Muller has noticed and corrected innumerable errors, relative to the most important transactions, in the Chronicle of Petreius. It would be endless to mention them, I shall therefore only relate one, which unquestionably proves the credulity of Petreius. "Feodor Ivanovitch," says that author, "upon his death bed, being requested by the nobility to name a successor, answered, 'that person to whom I shall deliver my sceptre shall be Tzar after me.' Soon afterwards he offered it to Feodor Nikitich Romanof; but he delivered it to his brother Alexander, who gave it to a third called John, who presented it to a fourth called Michael. The latter passed it to another nobleman: at last the Tzar threw the sceptre from him, crying out in a passion, 'take it who will;' upon which Boris took it up, and the Tzar died immediately." This ridiculous tale is contradicted by the most authentic records, by the whole history of the subsequent election of Boris Godunof; and yet this is the writer whose authority is proposed to Margaret. See S. R. G. vol. v. p. 64, &c.

† S. R. G. vol. v. p. 190.

of the report? "But even allowing the fact," continues Muller, "the conclusion by no means follows, as the strongest resemblance has been frequently observed between two different persons; and it is likewise possible, that the false Demetrius might have imitated a wart in his face, and have feigned a defect in his arm." It is barely possible, indeed, to account for these circumstances in this manner; still, however, they must be considered, though not as positive, yet as presumptive evidence in his favour, especially when joined to collateral proofs.

3. The success of his enterprise, and conduct upon the throne, seem to prove that he was the real Demetrius. He entered Russia with an inconsiderable force, which increased as he advanced; and though totally defeated, and almost deserted by the Poles, yet his army was soon recruited, and became more formidable than before his discomfiture. Persons of the first distinction joined him from all quarters, and the more he became personally known to the Russians, the greater number of partisans flocked to his standard. Nor did this seem owing to any want of popularity in Boris Godunof, whose administration was greatly respected for vigour and wisdom; it rather proceeded from a general conviction that he was Demetrius. When seated upon the throne he did not act like an impostor. Had he been one, he would scarcely have pardoned Vassili Shuiski, who had thrown doubts upon the reality of his descent. Instead of disbelieving the strong reports of an impending insurrection, he would have turned a ready ear to slightest rumours of plots and machinations, and have taken every precaution against them. In a word, his general character was as thoughtless and inconsiderate as it was open and sincere; but above all, his freedom from suspicion and jealousy were incompatible with the principles of an usurper.*

4. The conduct of Maria Feodorofna must be admitted as supporting the same side of the question. After having openly acknowledged him for her son, she is said to have publicly disowned him. If both the avowal and denial were equally public, they both might have been extorted by fear, and her testimony must be considered as null. For what credit can that woman deserve who at one time admitted a person to be her son, and at another rejected him? We may observe, however, this difference, that in one instance she owned him in person; in the other, she was not confronted with him, but her answer was brought by Vassili Shuiski,† who was most interested to prove him an impostor. It therefore follows, that if (as seems to be the case) her avowal was public, and her denial was not, the former is more to be depended upon than the latter, and her testimony must be admitted in his favour.‡

* "Puis parons," says Margaret, "de sa clemence, envers un chacun apres qu'il fut receu en Mosco, et principalement envers Vacilli Choutaqui, lequel fut convaincu de trahison, &c. et mesmes fut ledit Demetrius prie par tous les assistans de le faire mourir, vu qu'ils s'estait toujours trouve preturbateur du repos public. Je parle comme ayant ouy et veu le tout de mes oreilles. Ce non obstant il luy pardonna, combien que Demetrius scavoit bien que nul n'osoit aspirer a la couronne que la dite maison de Chouitsqui. Il pardonna aussi a plusieurs autres; car il estoit sans soupcon," p. 171.

† "Si il se fut senty coupable en aucune chose, il eust eu juste sujet de croire les machinations et trahisons complotées et tramées contre sa personne, des quelles il estoit assez adverty, et y eust pu remedier avec grande facilité," p. 174.

‡ Mr. Muller says, Vassili Shuiski took the trouble of repairing himself to the convent. Gab sich seblst die mucke.

§ The Russian authors assert, that at the time when the relics were conveyed to Moscow, she publicly retracted her former testimony in his favour, upon their first interview near Moscow; confessing that she had been induced by threats, as well as from a desire of procuring her liberty, to acknowledge an alien for her son. But how are we certain that she really made this public confession? Its truth entirely rests upon the Russian papers, which cannot, in this instance, be esteemed authentic records.

5. The very arguments advanced by the Russians to prove his imposture, strongly establish the contrary position. For how was the reality of his imperial descent invalidated by his being a sorcerer, an heretic, or a musician; by his predilection to the Poles, not bowing to the image of St. Nicholas, not bathing, eating veal, and such frivolous accusations? Does not the adoption of these nugatory insinuations bespeak a great deficiency of solid arguments? They may incline, indeed, the Russians to believe him an usurper, but do not prove him one in the eyes of dispassionate judges. The truth seems to be, that as he began to lose the affection of his subjects by his inconsiderate contempt of their customs and religion, these, and many other unfavourable reports, calculated to raise and increase the popular odium, were circulated by the intrigues of Vassili Shuiski, who, upon his assassination, was raised to the throne.

The same remarks extend, with still greater force, to the assertion, that the body interred at Uglitz was that of the real Demetrius from its uncorrupted state, and the miracles it performed. For the uncorrupted state of the body, when first conveyed to Moscow, evidently proves it to have been suppositious; and the miracles it is said to have performed will convert no proselytes without the pale of the Russian church. When every expedient failed of convincing the generality of the Russians, that the Tzar was an impostor, recourse was had to pretended miracles and sacred relics. And it must be allowed, that this method of convincing an ignorant and superstitious people, who doubted (and there were many who doubted) was a stroke of the most consummate policy; as by these means the assertions of Vassili Shuiski were sanctioned by an ecclesiastical decree; and the imposture of his rival became an article of public faith. Indeed, such is the superstition with which the usurpation of Griska is still maintained, that even at this distance of time no Russian historian could venture to hint that Demetrius was not assassinated at Uglitz, and that the person who assumed his name was not Griska: for it would be contradicting a fundamental principle of belief, and rejecting the relics of a saint much revered in this country.

NO. II.

Geographical division of the Russian empire into Governments, Provinces, and Districts.

AS the new division of Russia into governments, provinces, and districts, by Catharine the Second, has totally altered the geography of that vast empire; and as no accurate account of the general division yet given to the public has fallen under my observation, I shall here subjoin a list communicated to me in February 1785, from undoubted authority.

In comparing this list of governments with that given in book 6. ch. i. of this work, the reader will find a difference in the number and names of the governments; for instance, this list enumerates forty-one, the other forty governments. This list mentions the governments of Archangel, Catharinenslaf, Olonetz, and Caucasus; and the other those of Astracan, Azof, and New Russia. But this difference may easily be reconciled, by considering that the former list was made in 1782, the latter in 1784, when se-

Why was her public recantation postponed to so late a period? and why was she not confronted with the Tzar, when he repeatedly appealed to her testimony as the strongest proof of his being the real Demetrius? Have we not every reason to conclude, either that she did not publicly retract her former asseverations in his favour; or that, being in Vassili Shuiski's power, she was finally compelled to act in subserviency to his mandate?

ve alterations had taken place in the names of the governments, particularly that Olonetz was formerly included in the government of Novogorod, and Archangel in that of Vologda, from which they have been since separated; that the names of New Russia and of Azof have been changed for that of Ecatherienslaf; and that the government of Caucasus has been lately added, and comprises the government of Astracan.

Present Division of the Russian Empire into Governments, Provinces, and Districts,

FORTY-ONE GOVERNMENTS.

I....Government of St. Petersburgh.

This government comprises that tract of country called Ingermanland, or Ingria, wrested by Peter the Great from the Swedes, and confirmed to the Russians at the peace of Nystadt, in 1721.....It is divided into ten districts.

1. St. Petersburgh.
2. Oranienbaum, on the gulf of Finland.
3. Ysamburgh on the river Luga, discharging itself into the gulf of Finland.
4. Luga, on the upper part of the same river.
5. Narva, on the river Narova, which falls into the gulf of Finland.
6. Gvof, near the east side of lake Peipus, on the rivulet called Gvofka.
7. Rokestven, or Rokestvensk, on the rivulet Oredesh, falling into the Luga.
8. Sophia, near Zarskoe Zelo.
9. Schluesselburgh, on the Neva, where this river issues from the Ladoga.
10. New Ladoga, on the river Volkhof, between the lake and the channel of the Ladoga.

II....Government of Olonetz.

Formerly included in the government of Novogorod.....Contains five districts.

1. Petrosavodsk, on the river Schua, falling into the lake Onega.
2. Olonetz, on the river Olonza, falling into the east side of the Ladoga.
3. Vytegra, on the river of the same name, falling into the south side of the Onega.
4. Kargopol, near the river Onega, at its origin from the lake Latcha.
5. Povenetz, on the north side of the Onega, where the rapid rivulet Povenetz falls into it.

III....Government of Wyburgh, or Russian Finland.

This government was formerly subject to Sweden, and comprised in Carelia; part was ceded to Russia at the peace of Nystadt, in 1721, and part by the treaty of Abo, 1741.....It contains six districts.

1. Wiburgh, on the north side of the gulf of Finland.
2. Willmanstrand, near the lake Saima.
3. Fredericsham, on the gulf of Finland.
4. Nyslot, near the lake Utruss.
5. Kexholm, on two small islands of the river Woxen, falling into the Ladoga.
6. Serdopol, on the north-western side of the Ladoga.

IV....*Government of Revel, or Esthonia.*

Revel was confirmed to the Swedes at the peace of Oliva, conquered by Peter the Great in 1710, and finally ceded to Russia in 1721....It contains five districts.

1. Revel on the Baltic sea.
2. Baltic-Port, about forty versts westwards from Revel.
3. Habsal, or Hapsal, a maritime town.
4. Weissenstein, on the rivulet Saida, about eighty versts from Revel.
5. Wesenberg, about one hundred versts from Revel, at about an equal distance from that town and Narva.

V....*Government of Riga or Livonia, ceded to Russia in 1721.*

It contains nine districts.

1. Riga, on the Dunna, fourteen versts from its mouth.
2. Wenden, on the river Aa.
3. Wolmar, on the same river.
4. Walk, on a rivulet falling into the south side of lake Wyrztz.
5. Werro, on the west side of Peipus.
6. Dorpt, on the river Em, or Embak, which issues from the lake Wyrztz, and falls into the Peipus.
7. Fellin, on the small river of the same name.
8. Perneau, on the river of that name, near the Baltic Sea.
9. Arensburgh, on the island Oesel.

VI....*Government of Pskof.*

A republic, subdued by Vassili Ivanovitch, and formerly comprised in the government of Novogorod....Contains nine districts.

1. Pskof, called by foreigners Pleskof, on the river Velika, or Velikaia.
2. Petchora, on the rivulet Simsha, falling into the south part of the Peipus, or the lake of Pskof.
3. Ostrof, or Ostrofsk, on an island of the river Velika.
4. Opotchka, on an island of the same river.
5. Novorshef, on an island of the small lake of Padzo, through which flows the river Velikaia.
6. Velikie Luki, on the left side of the river Lovat, falling into the lake Ilmen.
7. Toropez, on the river Toropo, falling into the Duna.
8. Kholm, on the river Lovat.
9. Porkof, on the river Schelef.

VII....*Government of Novogorod.*

A powerful republic, finally reduced by Ivan Vassilievitch II, and united to the Russian empire....Contains ten districts.

1. Novogorod, on the river Volkof, near the lake Ilmen.
2. Krestetz, on the river Khlova, falling into the Msta.
3. Staraja Russa, on the river Polish, about fifteen versts south of the Ilmen.
4. Valdai, on the west side of the lake of Valdai.
5. Borovitchi, on the river Msta.
6. Tikhvin, on the rivulet of that name, falling into the Siafa, which discharges itself into the Ladoga.

7. Ustiushna, on the Mologa, falling into the Volga.
8. Tcherepovetz, on the river Schekana, falling into the Volga.
9. Kirilof, on the same river.
10. Bieloserak, on the south side of the Bielofero, near the river Schekana.

VIII....*Government of Tver.*

An independent principality, united to the Russian empire by Ivan Vassilievitch, and comprised in the government of Novogorod. It was separated from Novogorod, and was the first government established upon the new plan....Contains thirteen districts.

1. Tver, on the Volga, where that river is joined by the Tverza.
2. Vyshnei Volotshek, on the river Zna.
3. Torshok, on the Tverza.
4. Ostashkof, on an island of the lake Seliger.
5. Rahef-Volodimerof, on the left side of the Volga.
6. Subzof, on the left side of the same river.
7. Staritza, on the Volga.
8. Krasnoi Kholm, on the river Schoca, which falls into the Mologa.
9. Koliafin, on the Volga.
10. Kakin, near the Volga.
11. Beshetsk, on the Mologa.
12. Kortchera, or Kortchef, on the Volga.
13. Vesiegonsk, on the river Mologa.

IX....*Government of Smolensko.*

After being an object of contention, and reciprocally possessed by Poland and Russia, was conquered by Alexey Michaelovitch in 1654, and finally ceded to Russia at the peace of Moscow, in 1666....Contains twelve districts.

1. Smolensko, on both sides of the Dnieper.
2. Poretchie, on the river Kasplia, falling into the Duna.
3. Dukortchina, on the Dnieper.
4. Bieloï, on the small river Vobisha, falling into the Mesha, which discharges itself into the Duna.
5. Sytcherak, on the river Vasusa, falling into the Volga.
6. Gshatsk, or Gshat, on the river Gshat, falling into the Vasusa.
7. Viasma, on the river Viasma, falling into the Dnieper.
8. Dorogobush, on the Dnieper.
9. Yukhnof, on the Ugra, falling into the Occa.
10. Felna, on the Desna.
11. Rostarl, on the Oster, which falls into the Sosh.
12. Krasnoi, on a rivulet which falls into the Dnieper.

X....*Government of Polotsk.*

Dismembered from Poland by the Treaty of Partition in 1772....Contains eleven districts.

1. Polotsk, on the Duna, at the mouth of the small river Polota.
2. Drissa, or Drysin, on the river Drissa, falling into the Duna.
3. Dunaburgh, on the right side of the Duna.
4. Resitza, on the rivulet Resiza, or Rositten, falling into the lake Liubahn.

5. Liutzin, on the river Lisha, which falls into the river Velikaja.
6. Sebesch, on the lake Sebesch.
7. Nevel, on the lake Nevel.
8. Vifebsk, on the Duna.
9. Gorodetz, or Gorodok, on a rivulet falling into the Duna.
10. Velish, on the Duna.
11. Surash, on the Duna.

XI....*Government of Mohilef.*

Dismembered also by the Treaty of Partition in 1772.....Contains eleven districts.

1. Mohilef, on the Dnieper.
2. Kopyss, on the Dnieper.
3. Orsha, on the Dnieper.
4. Sennoi, near lake Sennoie, communicating with the Duna.
5. Babinovitchi, on the river Lutchossa, falling into the Duna.
6. Mishislaf, on the river Vokra, falling into the Sosh.
7. Klimovitchi, on the river Oster, falling into the Sosh.
8. Tschausy, on the river Pronja, falling into the Sosh.
9. Staroi Bykhof, on the Dnieper.
10. Rogatchef, near the Polish frontiers, where the river Drutz, or Drugez, falls into the Dnieper.
11. Belitz, on a rivulet falling into the Sosh.

XII....*Government of Orel.*

Once a province of the government of Bielgorod....Contains thirteen districts.

1. Orel, on the rivers Occa and Orel.
2. Kromy, on the Occa.
3. Mzensk, on the rivulets Sussha and Menza, falling into the Occa.
4. Bolkof, on the river Nugra, falling into the Occa.
5. Livny, on the left side of the river Sossna, falling into the Don.
6. Feletz, on the left side of the river Sossna.
7. Sief, on the river Sief, falling into the Desna.
8. Maloi Arkhangelsk, on the river Sossna.
9. Dmitrofsk, on the rivulet Neruser, falling into the Sief.
10. Deshkin, on the Occa.
11. Trubtchefsk, on the left side of the Desna.
12. Bransk, on the Desna.
13. Karatchef, on the rivulet Snaset, falling into the Desna.

XIII....*Government of Kaluga.*

Formerly a province in the government of Moscow....Contains twelve districts.

1. Kaluga, on the Occa.
2. Maloiaroslavetz, on the small river Iusha, falling into the Occa.
3. Barovsk, on the river Protva, falling into the Occa.
4. Tarussa, on the Occa.
5. Likhvin, on the left side of the Occa.
6. Koselk, on the left side of the small river Shisdra, falling into the Occa.
7. Medynsk, on a rivulet falling into the Ugra.

8. Peremyschl, on the left side of the Occa.
9. Mechovsk, on a rivulet falling into the Shisdra.
10. Mossalsk, on a small river falling into the Ugra.
11. Serpeisk, on the small river Serpei, falling into the Ugra.
12. Shisdra, on the river of the same name.

XIV....*Government of Moscow.*

One of the most ancient and most conspicuous provinces of the Russian empire. Its capital, Moscow, built in 1147, was the residence of the sovereign, till Peter the Great transferred the seat of empire to Petersburg....Contains fifteen districts.

1. Moscow, on the river Moscva, falling into the Occa.
2. Kolomna Moscva, about five versts from its junction with the Occa.
3. Branitzky, on the Moscva, between Mosco and Kolomna.
4. Podol, or Podolsk, on the river Pakria, falling into the Moscva.
5. Nikitsk, on the same river.
6. Serpukhof, on the river Nara, four versts from its junction with the Occa.
7. Vereia, on the Protva, falling into the Occa.
8. Moshaisk, on the small river Moshaika, falling into the Moscva.
9. Rusa, on the left side of the river Rusa, falling into Moscva.
10. Voskresenk, on the river Ister, falling into the Moscva
11. Svenigorod, on the Moscva, near the mouth of the Ister.
12. Voloklamskoi, or Volokolampsk, on the river Lama, falling into the Schosha, which discharges itself into the Volga.
13. Klin, on the river Sestra falling into the Dubnia, which joins the Volga.
14. Dmitrof, on the small river Vakhroma, which, uniting with the Sestra, forms the river Dubnia.
15. Bogorodsk, on the river Kliasma.

XV....*Government of Tula.*

Formerly a province of the government of Moscow....Contains twelve districts.

1. Tula, on the river Upa, falling into the Occa.
2. Krapirna, on the same river.
3. Odeief, on the same river.
4. Venef, on the rivulet Veneska, falling into the Ossetr, which joins the Occa.
5. Alexin, on the Occa.
6. Kachira, on the same river.
7. Bagoroditzk, on the river Upa.
8. Tschern, on the rivulet of the same name, falling into the Susha, which flows into the Occa.
9. Novosyl, on the rivulet Neruchta, falling into the Susha.
10. Bielef, on the Occa.
11. Ephiphan, on the Don.
12. Ephremof, or Yephremof, on the river Metcha, falling into the Don.

XVI....*Government of Resan.*

Formerly a province of the government of Moscow....Contains twelve districts.

1. Resan, on the Trubesh, falling into the Occa.
2. Saraisn, on the river Ossetr.

3. Pronsk, on the river Pronca, falling into the Occa.
4. Mikhailof on the river Pronca.
5. Skopin, on the small river Ranvf, falling into the Occa.
6. Riachk, on a rivulet falling into the Voronesk.
7. Kassimof, on the Occa.
8. Raninburgh, on the river Rese, falling into the Voronesh.
9. Spask, on the Occa.
10. Yegorief, or Yegorjefsk, on a small river falling into the Occa.
11. Saposhok, on a river falling into the Occa.
12. Donkof, or Dankof, on the Don.

XVII....*Government of Volodomir.*

Formerly a province of the government of Moscow....Contains fourteen districts.

1. Volodomir, or Vladimir, on the river Kliasma.
2. Susdal, on a rivulet falling into the Kliasma.
3. Yurief Polskoi, on a small river falling into the Kliasma.
4. Alexandrof, or Alexandrofsk, on the river Scherina, falling into the Kliasma.
5. Kovrof, on the river Kliasma.
6. Pokrof, on the same river.
7. Gorokhovetzk, on the same river.
8. Sudogda, on a river of the same name, falling into the Kliasma.
9. Viasniki, on the river Kliasma.
10. Murom, on the Occa.
11. Pereslavl Saleskoi, on the rivulet Trubesh, falling into the lake of Pereslavl.
12. Schuia, on the river Tess, falling into the Kliasma.
13. Kirshatch, on a rivulet falling into the Kliasma.
14. Melenski, on the small river Unsha, falling into the Occa.

XVIII....*Government of Yaroslaf.*

Formerly a province of the government of Moscow....Contains twelve districts.

1. Yaroslaf, on the Volga, where the river Kotorosl falls into it.
2. Rostof on the north side of the small lake Nero, called therefore the lake of Rostof, communicating with the Volga by the river Kotorosl.
3. Barissoglebsk, on the Volga.
4. Romanof, on the Volga, opposite to the last mentioned town.
5. Danilof, on a rivulet falling into the Volga.
6. Liubim, on the river Negra, falling into the Kastroma.
7. Pocheckhon, or Pocheckhonie, on the river Sagosha, falling into the Schekfina.
8. Uglitch, on the Volga.
9. Rybnoi, on the Volga.
10. Mychkin, on the Volga.
11. Petrofsk, on a small river falling into the lake Nero.
12. Mologa, on the Volga.

XIX....*Government of Vologda.*

Formerly the largest of all the Russian European governments, as it contained the provinces of Vologda, Archangel, and Veliki-Usting.

This government is divided into two provinces, Vologda and Veliki-Ustiug.

Province of Vologda contains five districts.

1. Vologda, on the river Vologda, falling into the Sukhona.
2. Griasovetz, on a river falling into the Sukhona.
3. Kadnikof, on a river falling likewise into the Sukhona.
4. Totma, on the left side of the Sukhona.
5. Velsk, or Velsk, on the river Vaga.

Province of Veliki-Ustiug contains seven districts.

1. Ustiug-Veliki, on the river Sukhona.
2. Nikolsk, on a rivulet falling into the Sukhona.
3. Lalsk, on the small river Liala, falling into the Lufa.
4. Solvytchegodsk, or Solivytchegodsk, on the river Vytchegda.
5. Krasnoborsk, on the left side of the Dvina.
6. Yarensk, on the right side of the Vytchegda, where it takes in the small river Yarenga.
7. Ustysolk, on the river Syssol, falling about a verst below this town into the Vytchegda.

XX....Government of Archangel.

Formerly included in the government of Vologda....Contains seven districts.

1. Archangel, on the Dvina, about seventy versts from its mouth.
2. Kolmogori, on the Dvina.
3. Schenkursk, on the river Vaga.
4. Pineg, on the right side of the Dvina, where the river Pinega falls into it.
5. Onega, on the river Onega, in Russian Lapland.
6. Kola, on the river Kola, near the Bay of Kola, in the Frozen Ocean.
7. Mesen, on the river Mesen, falling into the Frozen Sea.

XXI....Government of Kostroma.

Formerly included in the government of Moscow; two provinces, A. Kostroma, B. Unsha....Contains eleven districts.

1. Kostroma, near the mouth of the Volga.
2. Nerechta, on a rivulet falling into the Volga.
3. Pless, on the Volga.
4. Kadyi, on a rivulet falling into the Volga.
5. Bui, on the river Kostroma, where it takes in the river Vara.
6. Galitch, on the lake of that name, communicating with the river Kostroma by the small rivulet Vara.
7. Tchuckhloma, near the lake of the same name.
8. Selgalitzk, on the Kostroma.
9. Kinechma, on the Volga.
10. Yurievetz Povol'ski, on the Volga, three versts below the mouth of the Unsha.
11. Lukh, on a river falling into the Volga.

B. Province of Unsha....Contains three districts.

1. Makarief, on the Unsha.
2. Varnovin, on the river Vetluga.
3. Vetluga, on the same river.

XXII....*Government of Neshnei Novogorod.*

Contains thirteen districts.

1. Nishnei Novogorod, on the Volga, below the mouth of the Occa.
2. Balakhna, on the right side of the Volga.
3. Arsamas, on the small river Tesha, falling into the Occa.
4. Makarief on the Volga.
5. Vassill, on the Volga.
6. Semenov, on the rivulet Kershenz, falling into the Volga.
7. Ardatof, on the river Tesh, falling into the Occa.
8. Gorbatof, on the Occa.
9. Sergatch, on the river Piana, falling into the Sura.
10. Perevos, on the same river.
11. Kniaginin, on a rivulet falling into the Volga.
12. Lykaianof, on the upper part of the Tesh.
13. Potchinki, on the river Atator, falling into the Sura.

XXIII....*Government of Casan.*

Conquered from the Tartars by Ivan Vassilievitch II, in 1552...Contains thirteen districts.

1. Casan, on the rivulet Casanka, falling into the Volga.
2. Sviask, on the river Sviaga, a few versts from its junction with the Volga.
3. Arsk, on the river Casanka.
4. Zyvilsk, on the river Zyvil, falling into the Volga.
5. Tschebaxar, on the Volga, near the mouth of the rivulet Tschebaxarka.
6. Yadrin, on the river Sura.
7. Kusmodemiansk, on the Volga.
8. Tzarevokokchaik, on a rivulet Malaia Kokchaga, falling into the Volga.
9. Tetiuki, on the Volga.
10. Laikef, on the river Kama.
11. Spask, on the Volga.
12. Tchiszopolsk, on the Kama.
13. Mamadysh, on the Viatka, falling into the Kama.

XXIV....*Government of Simbirsk.*

Formerly a province of the kingdom of Casan....Contains thirteen districts.

1. Simbirsk, or Sinbirsk, on the Volga.
2. Singilief, on the Volga.
3. Stavropal, on the Volga.
4. Samara, near the junction of the Volga and Samara.
5. Sisran, on the Volga, where it takes in the small river Sisran.
6. Kanadei, on the river Sisran.
7. Tagai, on a rivulet falling into the Sviaga.
8. Buinsk, on the river Sviaga.
9. Karsun, on a small river falling into the Sura.
10. Kotiakof, on the right side of the river Sura.
11. Ardatof, on the Alator.
12. Alatoc, on the Sura, where it takes in the Alator.
13. Kurmyk, on the Sura.

XXV....*Government of Penza.*

Formerly a province of Casan....Contains thirteen districts.

1. Penza, on the river Sura, where it receives the rivulet Pensa.
2. Mokchainsk, west of Penza.
3. Insara, on the river Insara, falling into the Mokcha.
4. Verkhnei Lomof, on the river Lomof.
5. Nishnie Lomof, on the same river.
6. Narovtchat, on a rivulet falling into the Mokcha, which joins the Occa.
7. Troitzk, on the Mokcha.
8. Krasnoslobodsk, on the same river.
9. Scheckief, on a rivulet falling into the Alator.
10. Saransk, on another rivulet falling into the Alator.
11. Goroditch, on a rivulet falling into the Sura.
12. Kerenak, on a rivulet falling into the Mokcha.
13. Tchembar, on the small river Tchembar, falling into the Vorona, which flows to the Khoper.

XXVI....*Government of Tanbof.*

Formerly part of the government of Voronetz....Contains thirteen districts.

1. Tambof, on the river Zna, which falls into the Mokcha.
2. Schatsk, on the rivulet Schat, falling into the Zna.
3. Kadom, on the Mokcha.
4. Temnikof, on the same river.
5. Iclatma, on the Occa.
6. Koslof, on the rivulet Usnoi Voronetz.
7. Ussman, on the small river Ussman, falling into the Voronetz.
8. Lebedian, on the Don.
9. Borissoglebsk, on Khoper.
10. Morca, on the Zna.
11. Spask, on a rivulet falling into the Mokcha.
12. Kirssanof, on the Vorona, falling into the Khoper.
13. Lipetzk, on the Voronetz.

XXVII....*Government of Voronetz.*

Contains fifteen districts.

1. Voronetz, on the river Voronesh, about fourteen versts from its junction with the Don.
2. Sadonsk, on the Don.
3. Semliansk, on a rivulet falling in the Don.
4. Nishnedevitzk, on the rivulet Devitza, falling into the Don.
5. Korotoian, on the Don.
6. Bobrof, on the Biliuk, falling into the Don.
7. Birutch, on the river Sosna, falling into the Don.
8. Ostrogoschk, on a rivulet falling into Sosna.
9. Pavlovsk, on the Don.
10. Kalitva, on the rivulet Kalitva, falling into the Don.
11. Bogutchar, on a rivulet of the same name, falling into the Don.
12. Bielovodsk, on the river Derkul, falling into the Donek.
13. Valuiki, on the river Oskol, where it receives the rivulet Valui.

14. Livensk, on the rivulet Valui.
15. Kupensk, on the rivulet Oskol.

XXVIII....*Government of Kursk.*

Formerly part of the government of Bielgorod....Contains fifteen districts.

1. Kursk, on the river Tukur, falling into the river Seim, or Sem.
2. Lgof, on the Seim.
3. Rylsk, on the same river.
4. Pretive on the same river.
5. Fatesh, on a rivulet falling into the Svopa.
6. Tchigry, on a rivulet falling into the Tim.
7. Tim, on the river of the same name, falling into the Sosna.
8. Oboian, on the river Psol.
9. Sudsha, on a rivulet of the same name, falling into the Psol.
10. Bogatoi, on the rivulet Penna, falling into the Psol.
11. Dmitrief, on the Svopa.
12. Bielgorod, on the Donetz.
13. Korotcha, on the rivulet of that name, falling into the Donetz.
14. Novoi Oskol, on the Oskol.
15. Staroi Oskol, on a river of that name.

XXIX....*Government of Novogorod Severskoi.*

Part of the Ukraine, or Little Russia....Contains eleven districts.

1. Novogorod Severskoi, on the right shore of the Desna.
2. Pogar, on the Sudosh, falling into the Desna.
3. Mglin, on a rivulet falling into the Ipul.
4. Starodub, on a rivulet falling into the Sudosh.
5. Sosnitza, on the Desna.
6. Korop, on the left shore of the same river.
7. Korolevets, on a rivulet falling into the Desna.
8. Glukhof, on the river Yesma, falling into the Seim.
9. Konotop, on a rivulet falling into the Seim.
10. Surash, or Surashsk, on the Ipul.
11. Novomeshsk, on the same river.

XXX....*Government of Tchernigof.*

Formerly part of the Ukraine....Contains eleven districts.

1. Tchernigof, on the right shore of the Desna.
2. Beresna, or Beresin, on the Desna.
3. Gorodnizk, on a rivulet falling into the Snof, which joins the Sosna.
4. Neshin, on the Oster, falling into the Desna.
5. Romen, or Romna, on the river Sula.
6. Glinak, on the same river.
7. Priluki, on the Udai, falling into the Sula.
8. Borsna, on a rivulet of the same, falling into the Desna.
9. Lokhvitza, on the river Sula.
10. Gaditch, on the Psol.
11. Senkof, on a rivulet falling into the Psol.

XXXI....*Government of Kiof.*

Being part of the Ukraine, or Little Russia, was once a duchy belonging to the great dukes, and Kiof, the capital was their principal residence. This country was conquered by the Tartars, came again into the possession of the great dukes, but was over-ran and possessed by the Cossacks, under the protection of Poland.

In 1654, the natives discontented with John Casimir, king of Poland, submitted to Russia, and have ever since continued subject to that empire. The vast privileges enjoyed by the natives have been gradually abolished, and they are now reduced to the same state as the other provinces of the Russian empire....Contains eleven districts.

1. Kiof, on the Dnieper.
2. Oster, on the Desna.
3. Koselatz, on the Oster.
4. Piriatin, on the Udai.
5. Periaslaf, on the Trubesh, falling into the Dnieper.
6. Solotonok, on a rivulet of the same name, falling into the Dnieper.
7. Lubny, on the river Sula.
8. Khorol, on the river of the same name, falling into the Psol.
9. Migorod, on the same river.
10. Goltva, on the Psol.
11. Goroditche, on the Dnieper.

XXXII....*Government of Kharkof.*

Formerly comprised in the government of Ukrania Slovodskaia....Contains fifteen districts.

1. Kharhof, on the Uda, falling into the Donetz.
2. Tchuguief, on the Donetz.
3. Isium, on the same river.
4. Woltchansk, on a rivulet falling into the Donetz.
5. Solatchef, on the Uda.
6. Walki, on a rivulet falling into the Donetz.
7. Bogodukhof, on the Merlo, falling into the Vorskla.
8. Krasnokutsk, on the same river.
9. Akhtyrka, on the rivulet Akhtyrka, falling into the left shore of the Worskla.
10. Khotmysk, on the Vorskla.
11. Lebedin, on a rivulet Olchanka, falling into the Psol.
12. Sumy, on the right shore of the Psol.
13. Miroplie, on the same river.
14. Nedrigailof, on the river Sula.
15. Bielopolie, on a rivulet falling into the Seim.

XXXIII....*Government of Catharineslaf, or Ecaterrinenslaf.*

This government contains the greatest part of that territory which was wrested by the present empress from the Turks, and comprises New Russia, the former government of Azof, and Crim Tartary.

It is divided into two provinces of Catharinenslaf and Taurida.

Province of Catharinenslaf contains fourteen districts.

1. Catharinenslaf, on the Dnieper.
2. Poltava, on the Vorskla.
3. Krementchuk, on the Dnieper.
4. Elisabethgrad, on the Ingul, falling into the Bog.
5. Alexandria, on the Inguletz, falling into the Dnieper.
6. Kherson, on the Dnieper, about fourteen versts below the mouth of the Inguletz.
7. Stavensk, on the Dnieper.
8. Novomorsk, on the Dnieper.
9. Pavlograd, on a river falling into the Dnieper.
10. Mariupal, on a river near the sea of Azof.
11. Bakhmuh, on the river of the same name, falling into the Donetz.
12. Donetz, on the river Donetz.
13. Constantinograd, on the Orel, falling into the Dnieper.
14. Alexopolsk, on the same river.

Province of Taurida, or Crim Tartary.

This fertile peninsula, the great mart of commerce in the Black Sea, was colonized for the purposes of trade by the Greeks, Romans, Genoese, occupied by the Turks under Mahomet the Second, and governed by the Khan of the Tartars, a vassal to the Porte. On the peace of Kainardi, in 1774, it was declared an independent sovereignty, taken possession of by Catharine II, on the abdication of the Khan Sahim Gerai, in 1783, and confirmed to Russia by the Porte in the same year by the treaty of Constantinople. The empress has revived several of the ancient Greek names....Contains seven districts.

1. Levkopol, formerly Achmet-schitt.
2. Synpheropoli, formerly Eski Krim, i. e. Old Crimea.
3. Eupatoria, formerly Koslof, or Gosleve.
4. Perekop.
5. Phanagoria, on the island of Taman.
6. Dneprovsk, on the Dnieper.
7. Melotopol, on the river Melotchnie.

XXXIV....Government of Caucasus.

Divided into two provinces, Astracan and Caucasus, but not yet subdivided into districts.

Astracan was conquered from the Tartars, in 1652, by Ivan Vassilievitch.

Province of Caucasus will comprise the Cuban, and all that district to the east and south, now in the possession of Russia, between the rivers Don and Cuban, and between the Caspian and the Euxine, extending as far as the confines of Georgia, and continually augmenting by the reduction and submission of the wandering hordes of Mount Caucasus.

XXXV....Government of Saratof.

Formerly a province of Astracan....Contains eleven districts.

1. Saratof, on the Volga.
2. Volsk, on the same river.

3. Khvalynsk, on the same river.
4. Kusnetz, on a rivulet falling into the Sura.
5. Serdobs, on the river Serdoba, falling into the Khoper.
6. Petrofsk, on the Medveditza.
7. Atkar, or Atkarsk, on the river Atkara, falling into the Medreditza.
8. Balakef, on the river Khoper.
9. Khopersk, formerly Novokhopersk, on the same river.
10. Kamychin, called formerly Dmitrefsk, on the right side of the Volga.
11. Tzaritzyn, on the Volga.

XXXVI....*Government of Ufa.*

Formerly included in the government of Orenburgh, is divided into two provinces, Ufa and Orenburgh.

Province of Ufa contains nine districts.

1. Ufa, on the right side of the Bielaia, a few versts beneath the mouth of the river Ufa.
2. Birs, on the river Bielaia.
3. Mensclinsk, on the river Mensel, falling into the Ik.
4. Bugulm, or Bugulminsk, on the Bugulm, a rivulet falling into the Ik.
5. Bogorostan, on a river falling into the Samara.
6. Belebeief, on a rivulet falling into the Diema, which flows into the Bielaia.
7. Sterlitamak, on the small river Sterlia, falling into the Bielaia.
8. Ichalyabinsk, on the river Mijap.
9. Troitzsk, on the river Ul.

Province of Orenburgh contains four districts.

1. Orenburgh, on the Ural, formerly the Yaik.
2. Verkhouralsk, on the Ural.
3. Busulutsk, on the Samara, near the river Busuluk.
4. Sergiefsk, on the river Samara.

XXXVII....*Government of Viatka.*

Formerly a province of Casan contains thirteen districts.

1. Viatka, formerly Khlynof, on the Viatka.
2. Slobodsk, on the Viatka.
3. Katelnich, on the Viatka.
4. Orlof, on the Viatka.
5. Faransk, on a rivulet falling into the Viatka.
6. Nolinak, on the Voia, falling into the Viatka.
7. Glasof, on a river falling into the Viatka.
8. Urshum, on the Viatka.
9. Malmych, on the same river.
10. Tsarev-santchursk, on the river Kokchais, falling into the Volga.
11. S rapul, on the Kama.
12. Felabug, on the same river.
13. Kai, on the same river.

XXXVIII....*Government of Perm.*

Formerly a province of Casan....contains two provinces.

A. Province of Perm. B. Province of Catharinenburgh.

Contains eight districts.

1. Perm, on the Kama, where the river Zegochekha falls into it.
2. Solkamisk, on the small river Ussolka, falling into the Kama.
3. Tcherdyn, on the river Kolva, falling into the Victera.
4. Obvin, on the Kamask, near the mouth of the Obva.
5. Okhansk, or Akhansk, on the Kama.
6. Osa, on the left shore of the Kama, where it receives the rivulet Ossinka.
7. Kraanoufinsk, on the Ufa.
8. Kungur, on the river Sylva.

B. Province of Catharinenburgh, or Echaterinenburgh,

Formerly included in the government of Tobolsk....Contains seven districts.

1. Catharinenburgh, on the river Isset, not far from its origin.
2. Schadrinsk, on the left shore of the Isset.
3. Dolmatof, on the left shore of the Isset.
4. Kamychtorsk, on the river Pychma.
5. Irbitz, on the small river Irbit, falling into the Nitza.
6. Alapaiefsk, on the small river Alapeikha, falling into the Neiva.
7. Verkhoturie, on the Tura.

XXXIX....*Government of Tobolsk.*

Comprehends the western part of Siberia, the conquest of which country, began by Yermac Timofeef in 1579, during the reign of Ivan Vassilievitch II, was finally concluded before the death of Feodor Ivanovitch, in 1598.

It is divided into the two provinces of Tobolsk and Tomsk.

Province of Tobolsk contains ten districts.

1. Tobolsk, on the Irtysh, opposite to the mouth of the Tobol.
2. Tiumen, on the Tura.
3. Turinsk, on the Tura.
4. Beresof, on the Sosava, falling into the Ob.
5. Surgut, on the Oby.
6. Tura, on the Irtysh.
7. Yalutorofsk, on the Tobol.
8. Kurgan, on the river Kurgan.
9. Ichimsk, on the river Ichim.
10. Omsk, on the Irtysh, near the mouth of the Om.

Province of Tomsk....contains six districts.

1. Tomsk, on the river Tom.
2. Kainsk, on the river Om.
3. Naryn, on the Oby, below the mouth of the Ker.
4. Magascia, or Turukhanak, on the Yenisei.

5. Yeniseisk, on the river Yenisei.
6. Atchinsk, on the river Tchulym, falling into the Ob.

XL....*Government of Kolyvan.*

Formerly included in the government of Tobolsk....Contains five districts.

1. Kolyvan, the new capital of this government, on the Oby, near the mouth of the Berda, known before the institution of this government under the name of Berdskoi Ostrog.
2. Semipalat, on the Irtyish.
3. Biisk, on the river Bi, or Biia, which, by uniting with the Katunia, forms the river Oby.
4. Kusnezsk, on the river Tom, opposite to the mouth of the Kondoma.
5. Krassnoiarsk, on the river Yenisei, where it receives the Katcha.

XLI....*Government of Irkutsk.*

The largest and least peopled government in Russia, comprises all the eastern part of Siberia, from the Northern Ocean to the frontiers of Chinese Tartary, and from the boundaries of the government of Tobolsk to the Eastern Ocean. This large territory was gradually conquered and appropriated by the Russians in their desultory excursions from Tobolsk.

It is divided into the four provinces of Irkutsk, Nertshinsk, Yakutsk, and Okotzk.

Province of Irkutsk contains four districts.

1. Irkutsk, on the Angara, opposite to the mouth of the river Irkut.
2. Kirensk, on the Lena, above the mouth of the Kirenga.
3. Nishnie-Udinsk, on the river Uda, falling into the Upper Tunguska.
4. Vershnei-Vedinsk, on the river Vecia, falling into the Selenga.

Province of Nertshinsk contains four districts.

1. Nertshinsk, on the Nertcha, falling into the Schilka.
2. Doroninsk, on the Ingoda.
3. Bargusinsk, on the river Bargusin, falling into the lake Baikal.
4. Stretinsk, on the Schilka.

Province of Yakutsk contains five districts.

1. Yakutsk, on the Lena.
2. Olekminsk, on the Lena, several versts above the mouth of the Olekma.
3. Olenok, a town to be erected on the river Olenok.
4. Schigansk, on the Lena, about eight hundred versts from Yakutsk.
5. Sachiversk, on the Indigirka.

Province of Okotzk contains four districts.

1. Okotzk, on the mouth of the Okota, falling into a bay of the Eastern Ocean.
2. Ichiginsk, on the mouth of the river Ichigina, falling into the bay of Penshina.
3. Aklansk, on the small river Aklan, falling into the river Penshina.
4. Nishnie-Kamtchatka, on the river Kamtchatka, about thirty versts from its mouth.

NO. IV.

SINCE this volume was printed, the reverend Mr. Smirnov, chaplain to the Russian legation in London, has published a survey of the Russian empire; which enumerates the governments as in 1792, and differs in a few instances from the geographical divisions formed in 1782 and 1785, which are given in this volume.

The Russian empire is divided into

I. The Northern Region.

II. The Middle Region.

III. The Southern Region.

I. The Northern Region contains the following governments:

1. St. Petersburg.
2. Archangel.
3. Olonetz.
4. Vyborg, or Wyburgh.
5. Revel.
6. Riga.
7. Pscov.
8. Tver.
9. Novogorod.
10. Vologda.
11. Yaroslavl.
12. Kostroma.
13. Viatka.
14. Pirme.
15. Tobolsk.

II. The Middle Region contains:

16. Muscov.
17. Smolensk.
18. Polotsk.
19. Moghilev.
20. Tichernigov.
21. Novgorod Sieverskoi.
22. Kharkov.

23. Koursk.

24. Orel.

25. Kalouga.

26. Toola.

27. Riazane.

28. Vladimir.

29. Nizney Novgorod.

30. Kazane.

31. Sinbirsk.

32. Penza.

33. Tambov.

34. Voronez.

35. Saratov.

36. Oufa.

The hordes of Kirghis kaisacks.

37. Kolhyvane.

38. Irkoutsk.

The Kourilskie islands.

The Aleoutiskie islands.

III. The Southern Region contains:

39. Kiev.

40. Ekatherinoslav.

41. The province of Tavrida.

42. Habitations of the Don Kozaks.

43. The government of Caucasus.

Many of the new territorial acquisitions made by Catharine the Second, were not formed into regular governments at her death. These acquisitions consisted of the district of Otchakof, those parts of Poland which were dismembered by Russia 1793 and 1795, and Courland.

Paul made some alterations in the governments, and particularly changed the name of Ekatherinoslav into New Russia, from antipathy to his mother. He likewise made

several changes in the laws and administration, which have been since abrogated by the present emperor, and the whole empire is again modelled according to the ordinances of Catharine.

NO. V.

Anecdotes of Prince Potemkin.

I AVAIL myself of this new edition, to give some anecdotes of this extraordinary man, who governed Russia with no less despotic authority than Mentchikof or Biron. These anecdotes I collected in the course of my travels in Russia; but withheld them from the public during the lives of the empress and Potemkin.

GREGORY ALEXANDROVITCH POTESKIN was descended from an ancient and noble family, seated in the province of Smolensko; at an early period he entered into the army, and, at the revolution, distinguished himself among the partisans of the empress. He signalled himself under marshal Romanzof, in his campaign against the Turks, and was deputed by count Peter Panin to deliver the keys of Bender to the empress, when it capitulated to the Russians in 1770. Before this period, Potemkin affected a violent passion for the empress, and in the private audience, when he presented the keys, made a declaration of his attachment with such warm expressions and wild gestures, as seemed to indicate that love had deranged his intellects. Catharine, at this time fascinated by Orlof, was not touched by these marks of passion, though she overlooked and forgave them; yet they operated to his advantage, when Potemkin was afterwards introduced as a favourite by Alexey Orlof, after the dismissal of his brother, with a view to counteract the cabals of Panin and Romanzof. Potemkin continued to occupy that post only fifteen months. He received the usual order to absent himself from court; but soon afterwards contrived to regain his political influence, though he was compelled to yield to a new favourite.

From that period he maintained an ascendancy over the councils of the empress, and at his will introduced and dismissed the successive favourites. During the favour of count Panin, the power of Potemkin was counterbalanced by his influence, but, on his disgrace, rose superior to all controul.

He was perfectly acquainted with the temper and disposition of the empress. In his intercourse, he affected to indulge a great spirit of independence, returned only laconic answers to pages written with her own hand, and governed her, no less by remonstrating against her weaknesses, than by administering to her passions. He gave a striking proof of this spirit on the death of Lanskoi. The empress was so affected with the loss of this favourite, that she sunk, like Elizabeth on the death of Essex, into a state of despondency. She shut herself up in her apartment, admitted scarcely any one into her presence but the sister of Lanskoi, and fed her melancholy, by visiting the tomb which she had erected to his memory. All business was suspended. At this crisis Potemkin arrived from the Crimea, and remonstrated against her weakness in such strong terms, that she burst into tears, and complained to Lanskoi's sister of his harsh and unfeeling conduct. His importunities, however, finally prevailed; and one evening she suddenly quitted Zarskoe Zelo, and repaired to the capital, where her grief gradually subsided. Catharine never forgot Potemkin's frankness; she frequently declared her obligations to him, who alone ventured to rouse her from her despondency; loaded him with higher honours, and reposed in him additional confidence.

His honours, titles, and employments exceeded in number and distinction those ever before possessed by a subject: to enumerate them would occupy no less than two or

three pages; I shall therefore confine myself to his principal distinctions. He was dignified with all the Russian orders of knighthood, and the principal orders of Prussia, Sweden, and Poland. He was field-marshal, commander in chief, and inspector-general of all the Russian forces, colonel of the Preobushinski guards, and of three regiments of cuirassiers, grenadiers, and dragoons, and president of the college of war. He was grand admiral of the Euxine and Caspian, grand hetman of the Cossacs, and governor-general of the provinces of Ekatherineslaf and Taurida. He was also created a prince of the German empire.

His revenues were adequate to his dignities. He received during his time of favour large estates, and 9,000,000 roubles in money; he was lord over forty thousand peasants in Polish Russia, and five thousand in Russia; he had a pension of 75,000 roubles, and 30,000 for his table. Being considerably in debt by losses at play, he took an advance of his pension for ten years; but was gratified by the empress with the continuance of his salary.

Yet this unparalleled income was not adequate to his unbounded expences. During his campaigns, his march was constantly preceded by an English gardener, and six hundred helpers; they formed a garden in our style, in the environs of the spot where the tent of the prince was pitched, even if he continued only a day. Walks of sand or gravel were laid out, and decorated with borders of flowers; trees and shrubs of all sorts and sizes were transplanted, and ornamental buildings imitated by temporary wooden structures; if his stay was protracted the withered trees were removed, and replenished with fresh plantations. If the adjacent country produced no wood, shrubs and limbs of forest trees were conveyed from a considerable distance. He purchased an enormous quantity of diamonds, with which he not only ornamented his dress, but frequently amused himself with arranging them in various figures, and tossing them with a childish satisfaction from one hand to the other. He lavished immense sums on his numerous mistresses, and expended still more in buildings which he never inhabited, or never used but for the purpose of giving magnificent fetes.

One of these galas, which he gave on his return from the conquest of Crim Tartary, in his Taurian palace, is minutely described in a foreign publication, which is copied verbatim by the French biographer of Catharine the Second, and literally translated in the English version.* The description of this fete seems to realise the extravagances of an oriental tale.

To supply these expences, and gratify his passion for amassing riches, he drew upon the treasury for sums to an unlimited amount; and none of his drafts were ever rejected.

He died at the close of the successful campaign against the Turks, and during the negotiations for peace. He had been some time slightly indisposed, and presaged his approaching death. At the congress of Yassy, he was attacked by an epidemical distemper, which he increased by every species of excess and intemperance; in his journey from Yassy to Nicolaief, his fever rose to a crisis, he was seized with a violent cholic, alighted from his carriage, and throwing himself on the ground, expired in convulsions. The empress was at first much affected with his death; but soon recovered, and seemed pleased with her emancipation from his influence.

Potemkin was clumsy in his person, but of Herculean size and strength. A defect in his eye rendered his countenance lowering and forbidding; and his first address was

* *Almanach historique et genealogique de Berlin pour l'annee 1790. Castera's Vie de Catharine II., and Tooke's Life of Catharine II.*

not only awkward and embarrassed, but even timid and distant. In mixed companies and with strangers, he was silent and reserved; but with those with whom he was intimate, he was affable, cheerful, and indulged himself in mimicry and sarcastic raillery, in which he excelled. In routs, balls, and large societies, he was frequently seen standing isolated from the company, absorbed in thought; the involuntary gestures of his body, marked the restlessness of his disposition, and the agitation of his mind, which seemed labouring with vast projects. In fact he was satiated with pleasures, and miserable because he had no enjoyment left to desire, and every thing to apprehend.

He was not satisfied with his high honours and exalted station; but was perpetually forming schemes of distinction and aggrandisement. He was solicitous to obtain the order of the garter, and felt extremely disappointed that his application did not succeed. Through his influence, however, a treaty was negotiated between Great Britain and Russia, by which Minorca was to be ceded to the empress; and the whole artillery and stores, which were worth near a million sterling, were to be yielded as a gratification to prince Potemkin. In return, the empress was to send several ships of the line to the assistance of England. This negotiation was interrupted by the capture of Minorca. At one time he aspired, at the instigation of the court of Versailles, to be Hospodar of Moldavia and Wallachia; at another, by the suggestions of the king of Prussia, to become duke of Courland; and by the house of Austria, he was persuaded to aspire to the throne of Poland. All these schemes, rapidly succeeding each other, kept him in a continual state of restless agitation.

He was extremely attached to religious ceremonies, particularly to the pomp of the Greek church, and was well versed in ecclesiastical matters. Whenever discontented with the court, or vexed with the cabals against him, he expressed an intention to retire, and affected an inclination to become a monk.

The room in which he received company was next to his bed-chamber, contained a billiard table, and was usually crowded by persons of all ranks and nations. I have seen at the same time the principal ministers and generals, noblemen of the highest distinction, artists, and mechanics; English, French, Germans, Swedes, Danes, Persians, Georgians, Turks, Calmucs, and Tartars. Chess-boards and back-gammon tables were scattered about the room, and the company engaged in different games, as their fancy suggested. He usually dined at three, then retired into his bed-chamber, to take his afternoon nap, and when he awoke, made his appearance in this room where the company was assembled, sometimes full dressed, at other times in his robe de chambre, and slippers, and occasionally even without stockings. He amused himself by overlooking those who were playing, or in talking with the company, principally with foreigners or artists.

He treated the Russian nobles with great haughtiness; but was attentive and even affable to foreigners, when his first reserve was worn off. In his own household he was kind to his servants, and would not suffer them to be beaten, according to the custom of the country, though he was aware that he was the worse served for this mild treatment.

He was singularly voracious, as well as capricious in his appetite. Besides his usual meals, in which he devoured indiscriminately the most common as well as the most costly dishes, he was continually eating small pates, of which he had a constant supply placed even at his bed-side.

Dining one day at baron Sutherland's, court banker, and a member of the English factory, he was so much pleased with a round of beef, that he desired the remainder,

with the pewter dish, and carving knife and fork, might be sent to his apartments in the palace. It was regularly served at his table, and placed on a side-board in the anti-chamber, until it was eaten. The prince applied to it himself several times in the course of the day, and pressed those who visited him to partake of the English fare.

He was by nature and habit extremely indolent, and often neglected the most important business; but when roused to exertion, his activity was as remarkable as his supineness. He sometimes started from his luxurious life at Petersburg, and, with scarcely a moment's notice, travelled like a courier, night and day, in a common kibitka; in these journeys he adopted the food of the Russian peasants, particularly the black bread, garlic, and salted cucumbers, until he reached the place of his destination, when he re-assumed his customary mode of living.

He was fond of wild and expensive schemes, and was always surrounded with projectors, who continually duped and deceived him.

A proof of his singular and whimsical disposition in the conduct of the most important affairs, was communicated by a person present at the following scene. Sitting after dinner at Karakrim, or Old Crim, in company with several gentlemen, both Russians and English, Potemkin said, "let us ballot for the capital of Crim Tartary." Taking up a rose, he laid a leaf in one place, and a second in another, exclaiming, "let this be for Achmetschit, and that for Batcheserai; let every one put a leaf near that to which he gives the preference, without alledging a reason." All did so, and the prince, counting the leaves, found the majority for Achmetschit, and he said, "let Achmetschit be the capital," and it became the capital.

He warmly encouraged commerce and manufactures, was the great patron of learning, and particularly promoted Greek literature. He possessed a quick comprehension, and surprising memory; his knowledge of books was general, though superficial; his reading was principally confined to the French belles lettres, and translations of the classics, particularly Plutarch, and to Russian authors on religious ceremonies; but the information which he drew from persons of eminence in every profession was prodigious.

A well-drawn character of this extraordinary man, by M. de Segua, French ambassador at Petersburg, is given in Castéra's *Vie de Catharine II*, 1st edition, and in Tooke's translation, vol. iii. p. 326.

CHAPTER XIII.

Account of Peter III.....Appointed great duke by Elizabeth.....Espouses the princess of Anhalt Zerbst.....Discontented.....Resides at Oranienbaum.....Constructs a Fortress.....Disciplines the garrison.....Intrigues to exclude him from the succession.....Defeated.....Death of Elizabeth.....Accession of Peter.....His rage for reformation.....Irritates the clergy, army, and nobles.....Enthusiastic admiration of the King of Prussia.....Inconsistent behaviour to his consort Catharine.....Her great abilities, prudent conduct, and popularity.....In danger of being arrested.....Heads a party.....Meetings of the insurgents.....Infatuation of Peter.....Catharine escapes from Peterhof.....Harangues the guards.....Ascends the throne.....Her manifesto.....Advances against the emperor.....His arrival at Peterhof.....Despondency and Irresolution.....Sails to Cronstadt.....Is refused admittance.....Retires to Oranienbaum.....Resigns himself into the hands of the empress.....Signs his abdication, is conveyed a prisoner to Robscha, and dies.....His body laid in state and interred.....Lenity of the empress to his adherents.

THE revolution of 1741 placed Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, on the throne of Russia. In the following year the empress nominated Charles Peter Ulric, son of Charles Frederic duke of Holstein Gottorp, by Anne, her sister, successor to the crown. Having embraced the Greek religion, he was appointed great duke of Russia, with the accustomed formalities, and assumed the name of Peter Feodorovitch. In 1745 he espoused Sophia Augusta, daughter of Christian Augustus, prince of Anhalt Zerbst, who, being re-baptised according to the rites of the Greek church, was called Catharine Alexiefna. She was born* in 1729, and was sixteen years of age at the time of her marriage. Their only issue were the great duke Paul, born 1754; and Anne, who was born in 1757, and died in 1761.

During the first years of their marriage the most perfect union subsisted between them, which was at length succeeded by mutual aversion and disgust. Peter, whose mind was warped by a bad education, and who was purposely estranged from political affairs, was held by Elizabeth in a state of dependance; a prey to idleness, and without the power of amusing himself with rational occupations of literature, he devoted himself to the most trifling pursuits, or to the lowest gratifications. He was perpetually beset with spies, who made unfavourable reports of his conduct to the empress, ever suspicious of his intentions, and constantly alarmed with the dread of a revolution similar to that which had placed her upon the throne.† At Petersburg he had apartments in the imperial palace, and lived more in the style of a state prisoner, than of a successor to the crown. When the empress removed to Peterhof, he resided at his favourite palace of Oranienbaum; where he amused himself in training his servants to military exercises. The empress, considering this employment as likely to draw his attention

* Catharine was born at Stettin, where her father, who was in the Prussian service, resided as governor, and was educated with great attention under the care of her mother, who was daughter of Christian Augustus, prince bishop of Lubeck. A lady who knew her before her marriage, described her to me as extremely beautiful, accomplished, and amiable, and added, that she expressed great repugnance to go into Russia: she even burst into tears, and declared that she would rather marry a count in Germany than the great duke.

† The horrors of mind which Elizabeth suffered from apprehensions of this kind are scarcely to be credited. Had I not received the following anecdote from the best authority I should not insert it. Besides constant watches and guards about her apartment, a person, who was originally a taylor, and in whom she reposed the most perfect confidence, usually remained at the foot of her bed while she was asleep. He occupied this extraordinary post two-and-twenty years, and at her death was gratified with a pension.

from political intrigues, ordered a corps of soldiers to be draughted from several regiments, and to be quartered at Oranienbaum under his command.

Peter, ardent in pursuit of his new occupation, formed in the garden a fortress in miniature, a few feet square, from which he studied practical fortification. Pleased with this first essay, he caused a larger and more regular fortress to be constructed near the palace: within was a brick building, called the governor's house, wooden habitations for the principal officers, and barracks capable of containing fifteen hundred soldiers. Every thing wore a martial appearance: * the hours of morning and evening parade were marked by the firing of cannon, a regular guard was stationed, the troops were dressed in the German uniform, and taught, under his direction, the Prussian exercise. This house in the fortress was the principal scene of his convivial entertainments; there, when not employed in exercising his troops, or issuing military orders, he passed his time in drinking and smoking with the officers, and generally pushed the pleasures of the table to an excess of intoxication.

Impatient of constraint, he occasionally broke into open and bitter invectives against the empress; he often declared that he was called into Russia to be confined like a state prisoner, frequently expressed a desire to return into Holstein, and founded his only hopes of comfort on the death of Elizabeth. These expressions, always carried to the empress, and either wantonly exaggerated, or malignantly interpreted, made such an impression on that princess, that she was nearly induced, by the chancellor Bestuchef, to exclude him from the succession, and declare Paul her heir, and Catharine regent, in case of a minority. Bestuchef represented to the empress, that Peter had proved himself unworthy of the crown, by openly expressing contempt for the Russians, and placing his whole confidence in foreigners; that he was guilty of the basest ingratitude to her, and that she would confer a signal service on her subjects, by excluding a person so disqualified for directing the reins of empire. Elizabeth, won by these arguments, and alarmed with the apprehensions of a conspiracy said to be forming against her person, almost consented to the proposal; but, on deliberate reflection, persevered in her former appointment of Peter, and Bestuchef was disgraced. Such was the situation of the court, when Elizabeth died on the 25th of December 1761.

* It is singular to observe the conformity in the manners, figure, and pursuits of the emperor and his son Paul. The lively portrait which Rulhiere drew of Peter, equally resembled Paul. "Une sorte de manie militaire se repandait sur toute sa vie; sa figure naturellement ridicule, le devenait beaucoup plus sous un habillement ou il avait outre la maniere Prussienne. Les guetres qu'il portait toujours étoient si serrées qu'elles lui ôtaient le mouvement des genoux, et l'obligeaient à s'asseoir et à marcher tout d'une piece. Un vaste chapeau bizarrement retroussé, couvrant un petit visage laid et malin, d'une physiognomie assez vive; il se plaisait à se défigurer encore par de perpétuelles grimaces, dont il s'étoit fait un amusement. Son esprit n'étoit cependant sans quelque vivacité, et on reconnoissoit en lui un talent assez marqué pour la bouffonnerie." Rulhiere anecdotes sur la révolution de Russie, p. 18, 19.

† Of all the principal nobles disgraced by Elizabeth, Bestuchef alone was not recalled to court by Peter; a strong proof of his intrigues against that prince, who, with all his weakness, was of a temper exceedingly humane and forgiving. He was recalled at the accession of Catharine.

It appears from some of Mr. Keith's dispatches to lord Holderdease, that Bestuchef was disgraced by the intrigues of the French party, and that he was suspected of caballing in favour of the great dutchess. Two extracts from these dispatches will serve to shew her melancholy situation, and the prevalence of these suspicions.

"The poor grand dutchess is still in distress; but it is thought a reconciliation, an apparent one at least, will soon be brought about between the empress and her; and as a forerunner of it, count Peter Schuwallow assured her the other day, from her majesty, that nothing severe should happen to any of the prisoners. I believe this is true, as I know, by another channel, that the empress does not intend to confiscate the chancellor's estate, and it is even said, that her majesty is uneasy about what has already happened to him, as nothing of consequence has yet appeared against him.

Peter assumed the reins of government with all the joy of a person enlarged from a long confinement; he released the principal state prisoners, particularly Biron, duke of Courland, marshal Munich,* and Lestof;† and in all state affairs conducted himself on political principles diametrically opposite to those of the late empress.

Elizabeth, at the time of her decease, was, in conjunction with the courts of Vienna and Paris, engaged in a war with the king of Prussia, which promised a speedy and glorious termination. The resources of Frederick were nearly exhausted; and, notwithstanding his vigorous and successful opposition, he seemed on the point of being overwhelmed by the number and perseverance of his enemies. But Peter no sooner ascended the throne, than, sacrificing every other consideration to his extravagant enthusiasm for the character of the Prussian monarch, he dispatched an envoy to Berlin, to propose an immediate reconciliation, to which Frederick acceded, and a suspension of hostilities was soon concluded. Peter recalled his troops from the Austrian army, and in a short interval sent a reinforcement of twenty thousand men to his favourite hero. Thus, within the space only of a few months, Russian forces joined the Prussian army, in order to drive from Silesia those very Austrians who had been brought into that province by the Russian arms.

Having gratified his inclination without consulting his allies, or the honour of his empire, he aimed at recovering his paternal inheritance, the dutchy of Slesvick; and did not hesitate to involve his subjects in an expencive war with Denmark, on account of claims considered by many as ill-founded and chimerical. Peter, as duke of Holstein, formed pretensions to that dutchy, although ceded by a treaty in 1732: and at the conclusion of the peace with the king of Prussia, ordered an army to march into Holstein, which he purposed to command in person.

With respect to the interior administration of affairs, the emperor turned his atten-

"Count Poniatowski is involved in the late intrigues, and it is thought he will not remain long at this court. Petersburg, March 19/30, 1758. Private and Secret."

"As to the great dutchess, she has been all along in great distress: ill with the empress, and still worse with the grand duke, she received the other day a very sensible mortification; one of her favourite bed chamber women having been taken from her, and put under arrest. This, as I hear, occasioned an interview between the empress and the dutchess about four days ago, in which, after some sharp reproofs on one side, and warm expostulations on the other, her imperial highness fell at the empress's feet, and told her that since she had been so unfortunate as to incur her majesty's displeasure, though innocently, and had thereby drawn upon herself so many, and such sensible mortifications, as, joined to family quarrels, made her life a burthen to her, she had but one favour to ask her, namely, that her majesty would allow her to retire out of Russia, and to pass the rest of her time with her mother, assuring the empress, at the same time, that if her majesty should think it for the interest of her empire, that the great duke should take another wife, neither she nor any of her family would make the smallest objection to it. The empress, they say was greatly affected with this discourse, and talked with much more softness than before to the grand dutchess, entering into several particulars with a greater air of kindness than she had done for a long while past: and when in the conversation her imperial highness was beginning to touch upon some things relating to the grand duke's unkindness (who was present all the while) the empress made her a sign to hold her tongue, and in a low voice told her, that she must have another conversation with her alone, and that it should be very soon. It was thought Wednesday last was the day appointed for it, as her majesty, whose heart is at bottom both good and tender, was to take the sacrament the next day. It is hoped a reconciliation may have been the consequence of that meeting; and certainly the generality of people wish it very sincerely, the great dutchess having many friends among those of the first rank. St. Petersburg, April 7/28, 1758. Secret."

* For an account of Biron, see book v. c. ix. and of Marshal Munich the next chapter.

† Lestof was a surgeon; by birth a German: he was a partisan of Elizabeth, and assisted her in planning the revolution of 1742. But that ungrateful princess forgot this favour; and, because Lestof became haughty and impertinent, banished and detained him in prison until she died.

tion to reform his kingdom; and envy must allow, that, notwithstanding his precipitancy and imprudence, Russia dates several useful alterations from his short reign. Peter annulled the secret council or inquisition* of state; abolished many oppressive prerogatives, formed a plan for correcting the abuses in the courts of judicature, and for introducing a less corrupt system of jurisprudence. He freed the nobles from their obligation of serving in the army, and permitted them to travel into foreign countries, which before depended on the arbitrary will of the sovereign.

During the first six weeks of his reign, Peter proposed so many beneficial regulations, and made so many judicious reflections, that those who had formed a mean idea of his capacity, conceived themselves mistaken; and imagined, that, during the reign of Elizabeth, he had, from motives of policy, affected a deficiency of understanding. His subsequent conduct, however, fully proved that he was still the same weak and imprudent prince; that he could only adopt the schemes suggested by others, but did not possess abilities sufficient to carry them into execution; that he had all the rage of reformation, without the judgment necessary for a reformer. These salutary regulations were accompanied with others that were trifling, some that were detrimental, and several, which, although in themselves useful, yet being contrary to the customs and genius of his people, were imprudently proposed in the commencement of his reign.

He irritated the clergy by secularising the estates of the monasteries, and assigning pensions far inferior in value to incomes of the ecclesiastics before this alteration; by forbidding the admission of novices into convents before the age of thirty, and by ordering many painted images of saints to be removed from the churches. He banished the archbishop of Novogorod, for refusing to consent to these ordinances; but finding this act of arbitrary power attended with general discontent, he was obliged to recall him. Being himself educated in the Lutheran church, he had embraced the Greek religion with a view of succeeding to the throne; but he was no sooner in possession, than he imprudently displayed his contempt of many rites and ceremonies, regarded by his subjects with profound reverence. He built a Lutheran chapel in the fortress of Oranienbaum, was present at the dedication, and distributed with his own hand books of hymns to the German soldiers. This circumstance might have passed unnoticed, had he not been absent at the consecration of a Russian church in the same place.

He offended the army by his preference of the Holstein troops, by introducing the Prussian discipline, and appointing new uniforms to several regiments. He particularly gave umbrage to the guards, accustomed to reside in the capital, by ordering two regiments to march into Pomerania, where the army against Denmark was assembled.

He affronted the nobility by appointing his uncle prince George of Holstein generalissimo of the forces, and by the superior confidence which he placed in foreigners. He inflamed the general odium by the public contempt he expressed for the Russian nation, for their religion and manners. He raised great discontents, as well by engaging in the war with Denmark, a war which seemed totally unconnected with the interests of the empire, as by his boundless admiration of the great Frederick, with

*This state inquisition was invented by Alexey Michaelovitch; it consisted of a secret committee of confidential persons, appointed to judge criminals suspected of high treason. Persons of all ranks and sexes were liable to be arrested upon the slightest suspicions, and tortured in the most dreadful manner. There was a catch word—*Slovo i delo*, "Words and deeds;" which, if any one only pronounced against another, was sufficient cause for his being immediately apprehended, and sent to the secret committee.

whom Russia had been so lately and so long in a state of hostility. During the life of Elizabeth, he expressed his concern to one of the foreign ministers, that the empress had invited him to Russia: "If," added he, "I had remained duke of Holstein, I should now have commanded a regiment in the Prussian service, and have the honour of serving personally so great a monarch; an honour which I esteem far superior to that of being great-duke." After his accession, he used publicly to call him master. Talking with one of his favourites upon this topic, he said, "You know I have been a faithful servant to my master; for you remember that I transmitted to him intelligence of all the secrets of the cabinet." And as the person, to whom this discourse was addressed, hesitated making a reply; "What are you afraid of?" returned the emperor, "the old woman is not now alive, and cannot send you into Siberia." He generally wore a Prussian uniform; expressed the utmost satisfaction at the formality of being appointed an officer in the king's service; and when he sent his minister to Berlin to negotiate a mutual alliance, gave him secret instructions to be careful that no person should be promoted above him in the Prussian army. On receiving the patent which conferred upon him the rank of lieutenant-general in that service, he dressed himself in his new uniform, ordered a general discharge of the cannon in the fortress of Oranienbaum, gave a magnificent entertainment in honour of his promotion, and drank his master's health until he became quite intoxicated.*

During his short reign he maintained a constant correspondence with the king of Prussia, and always received from him the most salutary advice. That able monarch earnestly dissuaded him from the Danish war; but finding him obstinately determined, advised him to be first crowned at Moscow with the usual solemnities, and, when he marched to Holstein, to carry in his train all the foreign ministers, and such of the Russian nobles as were suspected of disaffection. Frederick also cautioned him against alienating the lands of the monasteries, and interfering with the dress of the clergy, and particularly recommended a due attention to his consort. Indeed, the king, whose penetration is equal to his valour, foresaw the consequences which were likely to result from the emperor's imprudent conduct, and ordered his ambassador at Petersburg to show every mark of respect to the empress.

Had the advice of the king of Prussia been adopted, Peter might have avoided his unhappy destiny; but it was the character of that misguided prince to pursue with unremitted obstinacy what he had once resolved. Though his plans of reformation were, in many respects, highly salutary; yet the precipitancy with which he endeavoured to carry them into execution, and his impolitic defiance of popular prejudices, destroyed the affection of his subjects, fomented the intrigues of the opposite party, and terminated in his dethronement.

In no light did the inconsistency of his character manifest itself more strongly, than in his behaviour to his consort. During the reign of Elizabeth, Catharine employed her hours of leisure in a course of assiduous study, and particularly applied herself to those authors who were most eminent for political knowledge: born with superior abilities, she improved them by a constant habit of reflection, and paid an unremitting attention to the cultivation of her mind. Her mild and insinuating manners, her engaging address, the graces of her person, her unwearied assiduities, and a perpetual

* Lord Buckinghamshire, in a private letter to lord Hardwicke, thus accounts for the predilection of Peter in favour of the king of Prussia: "Peter III, was, in his youth, at the court of Prussia, and being greatly struck with the military discipline, the impression it made on him was so strong, that he thought any deviation from it inexcusable, and a little before his misfortunes, he remonstrated in a letter to his majesty, against some alterations he had lately made in the uniform."

fund of interesting conversation, conciliated the favour of the suspicious Elizabeth, who treated her with complacency and affection. Even her husband, though his general behaviour to her was contemptuous and unmannerly, occasionally testified great respect for her superior abilities, and usually demanded her advice in every important emergency. Whenever any misunderstanding arose between him and Elizabeth, Catharine was employed as mediatrix; and Peter not unfrequently owed a favourable reception at court to her influence. After his accession, though he gave public marks of deep-rooted aversion, yet he would often behave to her with deference. By an unaccountable act of imprudence, he, in a full court, invested her with the exterior decorations of sovereignty; while, in the character of colonel, he presented to her the officers of his regiment. At the blessing of the waters, when the Russian monarch appears in all the pomp of majesty, the ceremony was left to the empress, and he mounted guard as colonel, and saluted her with his pike. Under all these circumstances, the dignity of her deportment was so striking, that it was impossible not to contrast her behaviour with the trifling levity of her husband's conduct; and to give the preference where it was so evidently due. Thus this infatuated prince, at the very time he was fully determined to divorce and imprison his wife, imprudently displayed to his subjects her capacity for empire; and, while he proclaimed her forfeiture of his own esteem, adopted every method to secure to her that of the whole nation. Meanwhile the breach was continually widened: he occasionally behaved to her with the most brutal contumely; and once, in particular, at an entertainment he gave in honour of the king of Prussia, he publicly affronted her to such a degree, that she burst into tears, and retired from table. Thus his insults, no less than his deference, equally attracted odium to himself, and popularity to Catharine.

It is also a well known fact, that he more than once avowed an intention of arresting both her and the great-duke, whom he proposed to exclude from the succession, and of marrying Elizabeth countess of Voronzof, his favourite mistress. Information of this alarming measure was immediately conveyed to Catharine, through the imprudence of the countess. By the same, or other means, as well as by the indiscretion of Peter himself, the empress obtained early intelligence of every resolution formed against her person. She was thus enabled to seize the decisive moment of enterprise, and secure her safety by preventing the designs of her husband.

Indeed her danger became every day more and more imminent, and the moment of her arrest seemed at hand. A brick house, consisting of eleven rooms, had, by the emperor's order, been constructed in the fortress of Schlussemburgh,* for a person of very considerable consequence, and with such expedition as to be almost finished within six weeks. Peter went himself to Schlussemburgh with a view to examine it; and no great depth of penetration was requisite to perceive that it was built for the empress. In this important crisis a meeting of her party was held at Petersburg. This party was extremely small, and, excepting the princess Dashkof, and her particular adherents, consisted only of a few among the principal nobility. The most conspicuous of these were prince Volkonski, count Panin, governor of the great-duke, and count Razomofski, hetman of the Ukraine. In the first consultations for dethroning Peter it was proposed, according to the plan of chancellor Bestuchef, to declare the great-duke emperor, and Catharine regent during his minority; and this would have been the measure naturally followed in any country, wherein the order of succession was more fixed than in Russia. Only a few days before the revolution, the inconvenience

* See the description of this building in book iv. chap. 7.

attending a minority, joined to the popularity and abilities of the empress, induced her party to adopt the resolution of placing her upon the throne. At these meetings various plans of an insurrection were proposed; but it was at length unanimously agreed to delay their attempt until Peter's departure for Holstein.

Although only a few persons were engaged in this momentous enterprise; yet the designs of the party could not be concealed from the friends of the emperor, who earnestly intreated him to investigate the foundation of the report. But Peter, who had committed the care of the empress's person to those in whom he placed the highest confidence, could never be prevailed upon to give the slightest credit to the rumour; and indeed he was so convinced of its falsehood that any suggestions on that head always offended him. One of his confidants presented him a memorial in writing, in which the names of several conspirators were mentioned. "What, always the old story!" said the emperor; "here, take back your paper, and do not trouble me any more with such idle tales." His uncle, prince George of Holstein, was frequently heard to say, that he was tired of tendering remonstrances, and that the emperor was insensible to the danger of his situation. On the very morning of the revolution, about two o'clock, an officer, who had a great share in Peter's confidence, arrived at Oranienbaum, and demanded to speak with him on an affair of the greatest importance. Being, after some difficulty, admitted, he acquainted the emperor with several circumstances, which seemed to indicate a conspiracy on the point of breaking out: but the infatuated prince, far from paying the least attention to the intelligence, ordered the officer under immediate arrest, for presuming to disturb him at so late an hour. And yet at this very hour his dethronement was determined, which event was accelerated by a circumstance perfectly unconnected with the intentions of the opposite party.

The arrest of one of the empress's adherents, a lieutenant in the guards, whose name was Passec, greatly alarmed her friends, as they concluded that the emperor had penetrated their design; and although they soon discovered that it had been occasioned by some irregularity of which he had been guilty as an officer; yet their consternation hastened the execution of the enterprise. Every moment was big with danger; and a discovery seemed inevitable if the insurrection was delayed until the emperor's departure for Holstein.

The empress, however, who continued at Peterhof, shuddered at the advice to precipitate the hour of action: her resolution at this awful crisis, when immediate decision was necessary, seemed for a moment to fail, and she hesitated to assent; but her party at Petersburg, convinced that the least delay would prove fatal, dispatched, on the evening of the 27th of June, an empty carriage to Peterhof, the appointed signal for her approach to the capital. Catharine, whose greatness of mind soon returned to support her in this dreadful state of suspense, instantly escaped from her apartment; and, at three o'clock in the morning, having traversed the garden to the place where the carriage* was waiting for her, was conveyed with all speed to Petersburg. It was preconcerted that count Panin should attend to the safety of the great-duke's person; that Gregory Orlof should remain in the capital to win over some of the guards; and that count Razomofski should prepare his regiment for the reception of the empress.

* This carriage was conducted by one of the empress's most confidential adherents, I believe by count Alexey Orlof; but as I found it impracticable positively to ascertain the person, I was unwilling to advance any fact, of which I was not as perfectly convinced as the intricate nature of these affairs would admit. I have reason to believe that he was assisted by prince Baratsinski, who remained with the carriage, while he repaired to the empress's apartment.

In consequence of this determination, Catharine repaired to the quarters of the Ismailofski guards. The hour was so early that Razomolski, the colonel, was not yet arrived, a circumstance sufficient to have disconcerted a person of less spirit; but the empress, having dispatched a messenger to him, summoned the officers and soldiers. A few who had been apprised by Orlof were ready; while the greater part, being roused unexpectedly from their slumber, made their appearance scarcely half dressed.

The empress laid before them the bad conduct of the emperor, his avowed contempt of the Russians, his aversion to their customs, and his attachment to foreigners. She exposed the dangers which awaited herself, her son, and the principal nobility; she expatiated upon the probable subversion of their religion and government, and exhorted all those to follow her, who were desirous of saving their country, and rescuing her and the great duke from destruction. Her speech, occasionally interrupted with sighs and tears, was short and pathetic, and, further enforced by the graces of her person, made an instantaneous impression. The greater part of the soldiers answered her with loud acclamations; a few officers, indeed, at first seemed to hesitate; but the arrival of Razomolski quieted their apprehensions, and the whole regiment offered to sacrifice their lives in her cause. Catharine then proceeded to the church of the Virgin Mary of Casan, and was joined by other bodies of guards, and by many of the principal nobility. Service being performed by the archbishop of Novogorod, the empress took the accustomed oath, after which the nobles and people flocked in crowds to swear allegiance to the new sovereign. At the conclusion of this ceremony she repaired to the senate, the members of which body acknowledged her sole empress. A report, industriously circulated, that Peter was killed by a fall from his horse, proved favourable to the success of the revolution. The suite of the empress continually augmented. Two regiments of guards, who had scarcely quitted Petersburg to join the army in Pomerania, were immediately recalled, and repaired without delay to the standard of the empress.

Even in those governments where the pretorian bands, stationed in the capital, depose sovereigns, or raise them to the throne, some plausible pretence must be urged to render a revolution popular, and engage the general voice to ratify the deed of the soldiery. When Elizabeth seized the reins of empire, the attachment of the nation to the memory of her father induced the public to applaud that transaction; and in this instance Peter had, by some parts of his conduct, rendered himself so odious, and, by others, so contemptible to his subjects, that the first account of his dethronement, and of Catharine's accession, announced in the manifesto, was received with universal joy.

"Catharine II, by the grace of God empress and autocratix of all the Russias, to all our faithful subjects, &c.

"All the true sons of Russia have clearly seen the danger which threatened the whole Russian empire. First, the foundation of our orthodox Greek religion has been shaken, and its tradition exposed to total ruin, so that it was to be feared that the faith, which has been established in Russia from the earliest times, would be entirely changed, and a foreign religion introduced. In the second place, the glory which Russia had acquired at the expence of so much blood, and which was carried to the greatest height by her victorious arms, has been trampled under foot by the peace lately concluded with its greatest enemy. And, lastly, the domestic regulations, which are the basis of the country's welfare, have been totally overturned."

"For these causes, overcome by the imminent dangers with which our faithful subjects were threatened, and seeing how sincere and express their desires were on this

head, we, putting our trust in the Almighty and his divine justice, have ascended the imperial throne of all the Russias, and have received a solemn oath of fidelity from all our faithful subjects.

"Petersburgh, June 28, O. S. 1762."

All the adherents of the emperor were arrested; among the rest prince George of Holstein, who came to Petersburgh on the 26th, under pretence of making preparations for the emperor's departure; but, in reality, to watch the opposite party. Not the least opposition was made from any quarter to the proceedings of the empress; and, notwithstanding the streets of Petersburgh were filled with soldiers, who are generally tumultuous and ungovernable in such dreadful periods; yet the greatest order and discipline were preserved, and no injury was offered to any individuals.*

At six in the evening the empress, habited like a man, in the uniform of the guards, with a branch of oak in her hat, a drawn sword in her hand, and mounted upon a gray steed, marched towards Peterhof, accompanied by the princess Dashkof, the Hetman Razomofski, the Orlofs, and her principal adherents, at the head of ten thousand troops.

About eight miles from the capital, Catharine entered a public house called Krasnoi-Cabak,† and employed herself for some time in tearing and burning a large quantity of papers. She then flung herself in her clothes upon an ordinary bed, slept about an hour and a half, was on horseback by break of day,‡ and proceeded about four miles to the convent of St. Sergius at Strelna, into which she retired while the troops encamped around. At eight general Ismailof arrived at Strelna with a message from the emperor, whose situation was now become truly critical.

While the revolution was carrying on at Petersburgh, Peter remained at Oranienbaum in thoughtless security. He passed the evening which preceded the revolution in the fortress, in company with a few chosen friends, with whom he indulged, as usual, in the pleasures of the table, and retired late to rest intoxicated. In the morning he dressed himself in his Prussian uniform, and set out at eleven for Peterhof, in order to celebrate the feast of the Apostles St. Peter and Paul, expecting to meet the empress at dinner, and intending, as it is reported, to put her under an arrest.§ He was accompanied by Elizabeth Vorontzof, her uncle count Vorontzof, his favourite Godovitz, marshal Munic, and many of the nobility of both sexes, who formed his court.|| He

* Several English merchants had quitted their houses before they were apprised of the revolution; but found no difficulty in returning through the soldiers posted in different parts of the town. One gentleman in particular informed me, that he went about six in the morning to the custom house, and was surprised to find no one there. After staying some time, he returned home: and in his way over the bridge of the Neva, met a friend, who asked him what was the matter, for every thing appeared in confusion. He had scarcely finished these words, when about three hundred horsemen, with drawn swords in their hands, galloped across the bridge; a priest traversing the bridge at the same time in a carriage, the two Englishmen stood by the side of it. Some of the guards, as they passed by the priest, waved their swords over their heads, crying out at the same time, "All goes well? vivat Catharine II." And this was the first intelligence these merchants received of the revolution.

† Rulhiere dignifies this public house with the appellation of Chateau.

‡ From the landlady of the inn, who was alive when I visited Russia, and still kept the house.

§ If Peter really, as it is said, intended to arrest the empress, his former conduct is in some measure accounted for. He thought that her party was of no consequence, and accordingly disbelieved, or pretended to disbelieve, all the reports of the conspiracy, thinking to crush it at once by securing her person. He put implicit confidence in the nobles whom he placed about the empress; and these very persons were the first to betray him.

|| From the intendant of Oranienbaum, who witnessed these transactions.

had not proceeded far before he was met by a person* who had escaped from Petersburg, and stopping the carriage, acquainted the emperor that he wished to speak with him in private. Peter, however, ordered his attendants to proceed, adding, "Why are you in such a hurry? turn back to Peterhof, and there you will have time enough to speak to me." The other repeating his solicitations, the emperor at length alighted from his carriage, and was informed of the revolution at Petersburg. Yet his infatuation was still so great, that he doubted the truth of the intelligence; but, when an enumeration of particular circumstances at length awakened him to a sense of his danger, he testified the strongest symptoms of amazement and horror, and was reduced almost to a state of stupefaction. Recovering from this paroxysm of despair, he dispatched an adjutant to Oranienbaum, ordering the garrison to Peterhof. On his arrival, he found the empress departed, and could obtain no information of her proceedings from any person of her court. Marshal Munic advised him to put himself at the head of his Holstein troops, and march without delay to the capital: "I will go before you," said the gallant veteran: and your majesty's person shall not be touched but through mine." Had this advice been followed, it would have been attended with a glorious, and perhaps a successful event. The Holstein troops, though not exceeding a thousand, were zealously attached to Peter; and Munic was worth a regiment. The courage of the emperor, however, deserted him in this emergency; he fluctuated between hope and fear; formed new resolutions one moment, and renounced them the next.

His own agitation was still further increased by the behaviour of the principal persons, who accompanied him from Oranienbaum, or whom he found at Peterhof. The women vented shrieks, and hung about the emperor in agonies of the deepest distress; every one clamorously offered advice; but the uproar was so great, that the advice could scarcely be heard, and if heard was not attended to, because it was repeatedly changed. Several of the empress's party were present, and artfully fomented the general confusion: under the specious appearance of affection and zeal, they alarmed the fears of the emperor, and objected to every rigorous measure as inadmissible and dangerous. In these circumstances Peter, perplexed by such discordant or treacherous advice, was softened into cowardice by the tears of the women, and remained the whole day in a state nearly bordering on distraction. Every moment brought him fresh cause of terror and dismay. He was successively informed, that the empress had received the oath of allegiance from persons of all ranks, that she was mistress of the capital, and was advancing at the head of 10,000 troops. Disheartened by this intelligence, he dispatched repeated messengers to his consort, with proposals of accommodation; and as not one of them came back, he at length determined to take refuge in Cronstadt; a measure which, if he had earlier embraced, might have given a favourable turn to his affairs.

Soon after his first arrival at Peterhof, he had dispatched general Devier and another officer to Cronstadt to reconnoitre the place; the general was admitted without difficulty, and the officer returned to Peterhof with the account that no news of the revolution had reached Cronstadt, that Devier was preparing for his immediate reception,

* According to Mr. Keith, the person who met him was the servant of count Alexandrovitch Narischkin.

† A town upon a small island in the Gulf of Finland, where the Russian navy is stationed. See the description in the chapter on the Russian navy. Book vi. ch. 2.

that his majesty would find there an asylum, where the empress's troops could not penetrate, and from whence he might, in case of extreme necessity, escape by sea to his dominions in Holstein. In consequence of this representation, the emperor ordered the Holstein troops, who were on their march to Peterhof, to return to Oranienbaum; but, by an unaccountable fatality, protracted his departure till near midnight. On his arrival at the harbour, the imperial boat was refused admittance by the centinels, who objected to the lateness of the hour; and when it was represented to them that the emperor was on board, they still persisted in their refusal, and threatened to fire from the batteries if the vessel did not instantly retire.

This unexpected reception was occasioned by the following circumstances. General Devier, on his arrival at Cronstadt, took the command of the fortress; perceiving that the garrison had no knowledge of the revolution, he was unwilling to give alarm by spreading the report, and thought it more advisable to wait for the emperor's appearance before he attempted to secure the fidelity of the garrison, or issued orders hostile to the party of the empress. During this interval, admiral Taliezen came to Cronstadt; he was dispatched from Petersburg by the empress, who had forgotten, in the first hurry of the revolution, to secure that important fortress; and was now sent, if not too late,* for that purpose. Being admitted without opposition, and perceiving the situation of affairs, he instantly commanded the arrest of general Devier, which was instantly obeyed; the marines and sailors being more inclined to execute the orders of an admiral than those of a general. Having secured the general's person, he announced to the garrison the revolution at Petersburg: the emperor, he said, is deposed; the army and senate have declared for Catharine, and all opposition will be fruitless and dangerous. These arguments, joined to a large quantity of spirituous liquors, produced the desired effect; and Catharine was proclaimed empress. Thus a place of so much importance as to have delayed, if not prevented, the final success of the insurrection, was seized by admiral Taliezen without opposition.

On this disappointment, Peter's only remaining resource was to crowd sail for the Gulf of Bothnia, and seek an asylum in Sweden; from whence he might penetrate to his army in Pomerania, or to his dominions in Holstein. But it was the fate of the unfortunate monarch to act no decisive part in this important crisis:† still flattering

* Considering the great importance of Cronstadt, this neglect seems hardly credible; but I was informed from very good authority, that so late as ten in the morning no step had been taken at Petersburg towards obtaining possession of that fortress. About that time a private person mentioned it by chance to one of the principal insurgents, who, without delay, acquainted the empress. She, conscious of its great importance, immediately dispatched admiral Taliezen. It was past eleven before he left Petersburg, and as he went by water, the distance being twenty miles, it must have been past three before he arrived at Cronstadt. The distance from Peterhof to the same place being only six miles, the emperor might have arrived there long before Taliezen.

† A note from the earl of Buckinghamshire to the earl of Hardwicke, will shew that the misfortunes of the emperor arose from his want of resolution as well as from treachery.

April 16, 1766.

Many ladies, some of whom were wives to persons engaged in the conspiracy, attended the emperor to Cronstadt, and their tears and terrors added to his irresolution. I have had account of what passed from almost all of them, and they were too much frightened to be consistent in their relations. In two points they all agreed, his timidity, and the reproaches made him by his mistress, for not having followed her advice, and prevented all mischief by confining the empress. One expression they in general say she made use of. "Thou fool (Durach) had you complied with my request, and shut up this bad woman, the ruin of this day had never fallen upon us." Panin and Villebois were the only men of consequence amongst them; for, notwithstanding all the assertions to the contrary, I know the Hetman did not engage in the design till the morning it took effect, and even then he was not without difficulty persuaded to act the part he did.

himself with the hopes of a reconciliation with the empress, and prevailed upon by the cries and entreaties of the women who were on board, he returned to Oranienbaum, where he arrived at four in the morning. When Peter quitted that palace on the preceding morning, he was dressed in his Prussian regimentals; on his return he was in his Russian uniform; he now saw his error in despising the prejudices of his subjects, but it was too late. Little circumstances of this kind are not unworthy of the historian's notice, as great events frequently turn upon them; and they often discover the true character of the principal personages concerned in the scene.

On his return to Oranienbaum, he retired alone, and in great agitation, to his house in the fortress, leaving marshal Munic and the rest of the court in the palace. At ten he again made his appearance in a more composed state of mind. The Holstein guards no sooner beheld their royal master, than they all* crowded round him; some struggled to kiss his hand, others hung about his person; many knelt down; some even prostrated themselves before him; all shedding tears of affection, and in terms of the strongest attachment conjuring him to lead them against the empress, offering to sacrifice their lives in his defence. Peter, animated by these affecting marks of zeal and fidelity, caught their spirit for a moment, and cried out, "to arms!" but the tears of the women, and his own irresolution, soon damped this momentary fit of courage, and he again reconciled himself to submission.

Early in the morning he dispatched major general Ismailof, in whom he reposed implicit confidence, to the empress, with a letter, offering to resign his crown, on condition that he should be permitted to retire into Holstein, with Elizabeth Vorontzof and Godovitch. Ismailof found the empress in the convent of Strelna, and was immediately admitted to her presence. The great policy on the side of Catharine now consisted in obtaining possession of the emperor's person without effusion of blood; it was her object, therefore, to amuse him, without driving him to desperate measures; for it was yet in his power to head his Holstein troops, and defend his life to the last extremity; or he might be able to make his escape, and involve the empire in all the horrors of a long civil war. The judicious manner in which she conducted this delicate affair, shews her no less able in the arts of negotiation than in the spirit of enterprise.

She calmly represented to Ismailof the madness of opposing her, now in full possession of sovereign authority: she pointed to her troops, who were posted in large bodies upon the adjacent grounds, adding, that resistance would only draw on Peter and his party the vengeance of an enraged army; she proposed, therefore, that he should himself repair to Peterhof, where the terms of his abdication might be adjusted. Ismailof, finding the tide of success on the side of the empress, and perceiving the clergy, army, and principal nobles engaged in her cause, was convinced that nothing was left to Peter but submission. Seduced by the insinuating eloquence, engaging address, and promises of the empress, he undertook to persuade his unhappy master, by immediate submission, to save an effusion of blood, which could be productive of no effectual advantage to his cause. With this view he returned to Oranienbaum between ten and eleven, and found the emperor in the palace with Munic, Elizabeth Vorontzof, Godovitch, and others, anxiously expecting his arrival. Having retired into another apartment, the result of their conference was, that in less than an hour the emperor, with Elizabeth Vorontzof, Godovitch, and Ismailof, entered the carriage in which the latter had returned to Ora-

*I was informed of these circumstances from the intendant of Oranienbaum; he shed tears while he described the animated behaviour of the Holstein troops. He said he never witnessed a more affecting scene.

nienbaum. Peter quitted the palace without a single attendant; but he had scarcely proceeded a mile, before a corps of hussars, of the empress's party, surrounded the carriage, and accompanied it to Peterhof, where he arrived at half past twelve. He was immediately separated from his companions. The empress declined a personal conference; but sent count Panin, who was admitted alone. What passed during this awful interview between that nobleman and his deposed sovereign, is not, nor probably ever will be, disclosed to the public; but nothing can convey a stronger picture of the emperor's weakness and pusillanimity, than the abdication in form which was the result of their conversation.*

"During the short period which I have reigned over the Russian empire, I have found from experience, that my abilities are insufficient to support so great a burden; and that I am not capable of directing the Russian empire in any way, and much less with a despotic power. I also acknowledge that I have been the cause of interior troubles, which, had they continued much longer, would have overturned the empire, and have covered me with eternal disgrace. Having seriously weighed these circumstances, I declare, without constraint, and in the most solemn manner, to the Russian empire, and to the whole world, that I for ever renounce the government of the said empire, never desiring hereafter to reign therein, either as an absolute sovereign, or under any other form of government. I declare also, that I will never attempt to re-assume the government. As a pledge of this, I swear sincerely before God, and all the world, to this present renunciation, written and signed with my own hand,

PETER.

"June 29, O. S. 1762."

Having signed this abdication, he was conveyed in the evening to Robscha, a small imperial palace twenty miles from Peterhof; and the empress returned about the same time to Petersburg. At seven she made her triumphant entry on horseback, amidst continued huzzas; the streets were filled with a prodigious concourse of people, who were drawn up in lines, and kissed her hands, which she held out to them as she passed along. A great number of priests were assembled upon this occasion about the avenues of the palace; as she rode through their ranks, she stooped down to salute the cheeks of the principal clergy, while they were kissing her hand; a mode of salutation in Russia, expressive of the highest deference.

The first hurry of the revolution was no sooner past, and the spirit of revolt had scarce time to subside, before many repented of having deserted their sovereign. The populace, always prone to change, began to pity their dethroned monarch, and lost sight of his defects in the contemplation of his calamity; they regarded him no longer in the light of a misguided ruler, but as an unfortunate prince, driven from the height of power to the most abject state, and subject to the horrors of perpetual imprisonment. Peter, notwithstanding his violence and incapacity, possessed several qualities of a popular nature, and was greatly beloved by those who had access to his person. During the empress's march to Peterhof, several soldiers manifested strong symptoms of dissatisfaction; some openly murmured at being led against their sovereign, and had Peter, on the first news of the revolution, made his appearance in person, many would have deserted to his standard. This spirit of discontent was observed, and secretly fomented by the

* I have sufficient reason to believe that this abdication was made at Peterhof; if, however, as some persons with less probability have asserted, he signed it at Oranienbaum, before he was in the hands of his enemies, his pusillanimity admits of no palliation.

partisans of the emperor; the tide of popularity was even turning in his favour, and a new rising hourly expected: at this crisis the decease of Peter delivered Russia from the impending horrors of a civil war.* This event happened at Robscha on the 6th of July, O. S. on the seventh day of his confinement, and in the thirty-fourth year of his age. His body was brought to the convent of St. Alexander Nevski at Petersburg, and there lay in state; where persons of all ranks were admitted, according to the custom of Russia, to kiss the hand of the deceased. His remains were then buried in the church of the convent, and the place of the sepulchre was not distinguished either with a tomb or inscription.†

The death of Peter was not followed by any of those tragical scenes which had hitherto disgraced the revolutions in Russia: not one of the nobles were sent into Siberia; there were no public or private executions; even the personal enemies of the empress were forgiven. Marshal Munnich had offered to support the emperor at the hazard of his own person. Catharine mildly inquired the motives of such an opposition to her interests. "I was at that period," replied Munnich, with a spirit which twenty years imprisonment could not subdue, "engaged by the strongest ties of duty and gratitude to exert myself in behalf of my late master: Your majesty is now my sovereign, and you will experience the same fidelity." The empress, struck with the magnanimity of his answer, with equal greatness of mind reposed in him the most unbounded confidence, which was justified by his subsequent conduct. As soon as the danger of a new insurrection was dispelled, count Vorontzof was released, and afterwards employed. Elizabeth Vorontzof experienced from the empress no expression of either jealousy or resentment; her person was untouched, and she even retained, undiminished, all the fruits of Peter's bounty. Catharine, with peculiar magnanimity, forgave the indignities which she had received at her suggestion, and even her presumption in aspiring to a participation of the crown. She was permitted to espouse a private person, and still remains at Petersburg, a living monument of the empress's unparalleled lenity.‡ Godovitch, who was particularly obnoxious to the empress, was allowed to retire to his native country,§ and the Holstein guards, who had importuned the emperor to lead them against his consort, were not treated with the least severity: those who chose to enlist were incorporated in the different regiments, and the others withdrew themselves unmolested from Russia. Prince George of Holstein, uncle to Peter, and not unacquainted with the design of arresting the empress, was detained a prisoner in his own palace during the progress of the revolution; but was afterwards promoted to the rank of field-marshal, and appointed administrator of Holstein during the minority of the great-duke.

* There can be no doubt but this unfortunate monarch was put to death; but in what manner the deed was perpetrated, or by whom, no authentic account has ever transpired. Nor is it a matter of wonder that so dark a transaction should be involved in the deepest mystery. Public report designated count Alexey Orloff, and prince Baratinski, as the principal actors in this horrid tragedy. I am, however, firmly convinced in my own opinion, that the death of the emperor was not perpetrated by the command, nor even with the knowledge of the empress.

† On the accession of Paul, as I have before observed, his remains were re-interred with imperial honours in the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul.

‡ I was often in her company during my second residence at Petersburg. She was then in an advanced age, and possessed no remains of elegance or beauty.

§ The empress was so much pleased with the fidelity of Godovitch to his unfortunate master, that she afterwards recalled him into Russia, and employed him.

Catharine was in the thirty-fourth year of her age when she ascended the throne; and the success of this revolution* was no less owing to her own personal

* Gregory Orlof, who is mentioned in this account as one of the principal agents of the revolution, was aid-de-camp to count Peter Schewalof, and bore an inferior rank in the army, when his youth and comeliness captivated Catharine, then grand dutchess, soon after the recall of her favourite count Potiatowski. Even at this early period she did not attempt to conceal her attachment from those in whom she reposed any confidence. Pointing him out one day to Mr. Wroughton, "Do you see," she said, "that young man? He has had the audacity to make love to me." This intrigue greatly contributed to facilitate the revolution which placed her on the throne. Orlof himself was a man of a determined and enterprising spirit, and had considerable influence among the officers and soldiers of his own regiment; his attempts were also supported by his four brothers, Alexey, Vlodomir, Feodor, and Ivan, but particularly by Alexey, who was in the guards, and was one of the most active agents in the revolution.

It was principally owing to the suggestions of Orlof that Catharine ventured to assume the authority as empress, and not as regent. He was little known before the revolution, and Mr. Keith thus mentions his first public appearance at court. "He wore the ribband of St. Alexander, and the key of chamberlain, and is a good looking man, with a very modest behaviour. I could not recollect having ever seen him before." He was afterwards rapidly promoted to the highest honours and offices of government, both civil and military, and was created prince of the German empire. He gained such an ascendancy over his royal mistress, that she was only prevented from marrying him by the strong remonstrances of count Panin, and marshal Razomofsky.

Orlof gradually diminished the affection of the empress by the coarseness of his manners, his gross inattention, and frequent infidelities. During his journey to Moscow in 1771, to check the progress of the plague, his enemies availed themselves of his absence to undermine his influence. Informed of these cabals, he suddenly returned to Petersburg, and regained, by increased assiduity, his former ascendancy, though he did not wholly recover her affections.

Deeming his power too strongly rooted to be again shaken, he repaired to Potzani in 1772, to negotiate a peace with the Turks, where he displayed all the pomp of imperial magnificence. This absence gave success to the cabals of his enemies, and his disgrace was announced by the introduction of a new favourite, Vassilchikof, at the instigation of count Panin and marshal Romanzof.

With a view to crush this cabal by his presence, Orlof instantly broke up the congress of Potzani, and travelled with such expedition as to perform a journey of one thousand eight hundred miles in nine days and nights. Arriving at the gates of Petersburg, he was refused admittance, and received an order from the empress to repair to his country house at Gatchina, under pretence of performing quarantine. Still, however, he flattered himself with hopes of being recalled, and when undeceived by a letter from the empress, forbidding him to appear at court, was so much affected that he fainted away.

Being afterwards ordered to Revel, he passed through Petersburg, and without previous notice, called upon his brother Alexey, while he was at dinner with a large company. A gentleman who was present described the prince as extremely agitated; after embracing his brothers, he sat down to table, started up, resumed his seat, again rose, whispered his brothers, and retired with them into another apartment. On the following day he departed for Revel, and soon after set out on his travels; but he had scarcely reached Dresden before the empress recalled him to Petersburg, and offered him his former apartments in the palace, which he declined, probably at the instigation of his brothers, and resumed his journey.

He afterwards espoused his niece, and was so much affected with her death, that he lost his senses, and died in a state of insanity.

By prince Orlof the empress had a son, whom I saw at the corps de cadets, where he was educated; he appeared to me, in 1779, to be about 17 years of age. He lodged in the house of Ribas, the principal manager under M. de Betskoi. He passed at first for the son of a gentleman of the name of Schwerin, but resumed that of Bobrinski, from an estate which the empress purchased for him. He was apprised of his origin from the high marks of distinction which he received. He was often admitted to the empress. Prince Orlof called him his son, and carried his portrait in the lid of his snuff-box. A Russian nobleman told me that he once took up the box by chance, and knew the picture from its striking resemblance. He ventured, however, to ask whom it represented, and princess Orlof, who was present, replied with a smile, "It is my portrait in a man's dress, before I was married." Bobrinski afterwards travelled, and I heard of him when I was at Geneva, in 1784.

The empress always retained a high degree of regard for the memory of prince Orlof, and treated his brothers with great marks of favour and confidence. The family received estates, containing forty-five thousand peasants, and to the amount of 3,000,000*l.* sterling in money, houses, plate, and jewels.

spirit and engaging address, than to the zeal of her party, and the popularity of her cause.*

CHAPTER XIV.

Family and Birth of Ivan....Emperor on the Death of Anne....Deposed by Elizabeth....Imprisonment at Riga, Dunamund, Oranienburgh, and Schlusselfburgh....Description of his Apartment....Mode of Life....Intellects....Ferocity....Visited by Peter III....Removal to Kexholm....Brought back to Schlusselfburgh....Attempt of Mirovitch in his Favour....Death of Ivan...Trial and Execution of Mirovitch....Punishment of his Accomplices....Suspicion of a Collusion between the Court and Mirovitch....Refuted....Account of Ivan's Parents and Family....Biographical Anecdotes of Count Munitz.

Ivan, the unfortunate subject of the present narrative, was lineally descended, on the female side, from the Tzar Ivan Alexievitch, elder brother of Peter the Great;† and was son of Anne of Mecklenburgh, an Anthony Ulric prince of Brunswick. He was born on the 4th of August, 1740, created great duke by his aunt the empress Anne, and at her demise, on the 28th of October, succeeded to the throne, from which he was deposed by Elizabeth on the 6th of December, 1741.

* This was the first circumstantial account ever published of this extraordinary revolution; and I have the satisfaction to find, from the perusal of several documents which have since fallen into my possession, and of the various narratives which have appeared since the death of the empress, that no material fact has been justly controverted. This Tour being published during the life of the empress, and of the principal persons concerned in the revolution, delicacy prevented me from acknowledging the sources from which I derived the principal information; but I now have it in my power to disclose many of my authorities.

I was principally indebted to count Solmes, the Prussian envoy, who had resided at Petersburg since 1763, and collected various anecdotes relative to the life and accession of the empress. From these materials he formed an interesting narrative, which he read to me, during my continuance at Petersburg.

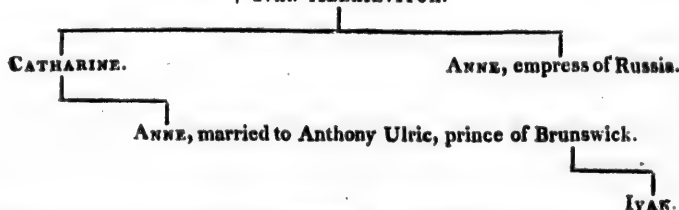
I also received from Muller, the celebrated historian, much interesting information, as well as from Staehlin, counsellor of state, and author of several valuable publications, and from several British merchants, who witnessed the revolution. Besides these, some anecdotes were communicated to me by several Russian nobles and officers, some of whom were with Peter at Oranienbaum, and others who espoused the party of the empress. These different accounts I noted down, and afterwards compared and combined them, to form my narrative.

During my stay at Warsaw, many circumstances were communicated by sir Thomas Wroughton, who long resided at Petersburg. He was the intimate friend of the king of Poland, when count Poniatowski, and possessed the implicit confidence of the empress.

After my return, I had the good fortune to obtain from the late earl of Hardwicke, two curious dispatches from Mr. Keith, the English minister at St. Petersburg, to the secretary of state, and a private note from the earl of Buckinghamshire, who succeeded Mr. Keith. This note I have printed in this chapter, and have given in the Appendix the letter of Mr. Keith as an authentic document.

Rulhiere has written the history of this revolution, which was long anxiously expected but was not published till after the death of the empress. It contains many interesting anecdotes, which could only have been collected by a person who was at Petersburg, at the time of this event; but they are blended with vague accounts and coffee-house stories.

† IVAN ALEXIEVITCH.



See Genealogical Table of the House of Romanof, chap. iv. of this volume.

The soldiers sent to arrest the young emperor, were ordered to steal softly into his apartments, and if asleep, not to disturb him. As he was slumbering by the side of his nurse, they stood round the cradle in respectful silence, at least an hour before the prince opened his eyes, then the soldiers disputing who should carry him, the child was terrified, and cried; they immediately desisted, and permitted the nurse to approach, who covered him with a cloak, and accompanied him in a sledge to the palace. Elizabeth took the child, kissed it, and while it was yet in her arms, a body of soldiers passing by, shouted, "long live Elizabeth!" The infant, pleased with the acclamations, stretched out his little hand, and smiling, tried to imitate the shouts of the soldiers; on which Elizabeth exclaimed, "Innocent creature! thou perceivest not that thou art endeavouring to speak against thyself."*

It is difficult to trace Ivan distinctly from the time of his deposition to his imprisonment at Schlussemburgh; but the following account seems the most probable. He and his parents were first confined in the fortress of Riga, a year and a half; removed from thence to Dunamund,† and afterwards to Oranienburgh, a small town in the province of Vorentz. Here they remained two years under the care of baron Korf, who behaved to his prisoners with great humanity. From Oranienburgh the whole family was transferred to Kolmogori; but Ivan was imprisoned there for several years separately, and unknown to his parents.

Busching says, that when his parents were sent to Kolmogori, Ivan, then in the eighth year of his age, was left at Oranienburgh; and that some time afterwards a certain monk contrived to release him from prison, and convey him as far as Smolensko, where they were surprised and taken.‡ He was also confined in a convent situated on an island in the lake of Valдай, not far from the high road between Petersburg and Moscow. The time of his imprisonment in this convent, and his situation until his removal to Schlussemburgh, are circumstances which I was not able to ascertain: but it is not surprising, that there should be much obscurity in the history of a state prisoner immured from his infancy.

During the last eight years of his life, Ivan was imprisoned in the fortress of Schlussemburgh, whither he was brought in 1756, in the sixteenth year of his age. In the same year he was secretly conveyed, by count Peter Shuvalof, grand master of the artillery, to the house of his cousin Ivan Shuvalof, at Petersburg, where Elizabeth saw and spoke to him without making herself known. It is said that she burst into tears at this interview. On the ensuing day the prince was re-conducted to his prison.

When I visited Schlussemburgh, I was admitted into the fortress, but was not suffered to enter the room in which he had been confined; yet as I examined one that was similar, and have conversed with several persons who have seen it, I am able to give the following description; it is situated towards the farthest extremity of the corridor, described on a former occasion; § is about twenty feet square, and vaulted; the walls are of bare stone, and the floor of brick. The window was not closed, like those of the adjacent cells, but glazed, and covered with a kind of plaster, which, while it admitted

* Bus. His. Mag. vol. i. p. 374.

† Manstein's Memoirs, p. 315.

‡ Bus. His. Mag. vi. p. 529. There is an inaccuracy in Busching's account, probably only a false print, viz. that he was in the eighth year of his age when his parents were sent to Kolmogori; for in March 1746, the time of Anne's death, he was only six years and seven months old: and some time must be allowed for conveying his parents from Oranienburgh to Kolmogori. Busching was informed, by baron Korf, that they were all confined together at Oranienburgh; and I was told by an English gentleman, who had been at Kolmogori, that Ivan had been there imprisoned for a short time.

§ Chap. vii.

the light, could not be seen through.* There was no other furniture than a truckle-bed, a table, and some chairs. In this dismal apartment he was immured during the space of eight years, excepting when he was occasionally conducted to the interior fortress† which communicated at top with the air; but in the enjoyment of which the apprehensions of his escape rendered it impolitic to gratify him, as often as humanity could have wished.

With respect to his intellects, as he had been imprisoned from the second year of his age, his ideas of course were few, and his knowledge exceedingly limited, and though not absolutely an idiot, he discovered occasional symptoms of insanity. He could neither read nor write; he spoke the Russian language, and knew a few German words, which he must have learned when almost a child from his parents; he was rather inarticulate in his speech, and when agitated, stammered exceedingly.‡ He was not ignorant of his descent, and that he had once been emperor. He was strongly prepossessed with the hopes of re-ascending the throne, used frequently to allude to his behaviour when that event should take place, and whenever he was roused to passion, would threaten to punish those who provoked him. He was exceedingly choleric and ferocious, and would rage almost to madness whenever he was intoxicated. For some time he was improperly indulged in every article for his table; he was served in plate, had a great variety of dishes, and all kinds of wine. But to prevent his frequent excesses, these luxuries were judiciously diminished, though his maintenance was still amply provided for by the allowance of 20l. a month.§

He would change his dress twenty times a day, and walk about his room, admiring himself with puerile satisfaction. In regard to his religious opinions, he had a faint knowledge of the Greek persuasion, and used frequently to pray in the most fervent manner. Once a year he was accustomed to confess, and receive the sacrament, and often boasted of obtaining revelations from the angel Gabriel.

He certainly knew that the empress Elizabeth was seated upon that throne from which he had been deposed; but it does not appear that he was ever acquainted with her death, and the subsequent changes. Peter III, soon after his accession, came to Schlüsselburgh, accompanied by Godovitch, Lef Alexandrovitch Narishkin, Volkof, and baron Korf. In crossing the arm of the Neva to the island, the boat which conveyed Peter and his suite struck against a fragment of the stone, and was nearly overset. On land-

* In some recent publications, the apartment of Ivan is erroneously described as a casemate of the fortress, the very hole of which was bricked up.

† See the account of Schlüsselburgh, chap. vii.

‡ As Castéra, in his life of Catharine the Second, and others on the authority of M. de Segur, some time French ambassador at the court of Petersburg, have asserted that Ivan was not deficient in sense, did not stammer, and was capable of reading and writing, I deem it necessary to mention the authorities from which I derived my information. 1. Count Solmes, who was at Petersburg before the death of Ivan. 2. Mr. Lieman, a Dane, who had been long resident in England, was, during my travels in Russia, settled at Schlüsselburgh, where he had established a manufactory for printing cottons, and was in habits of intimacy with Berednikof, the governor of the fortress. 3. Berednikof himself, whom Mr. Leiman at my request invited to dinner. 4. A Russian nobleman of undoubted veracity, who received the account from Volkof the counsellor of state, sent by Peter the Third to Schlüsselburgh, to discover the real character of Ivan. 5. Lef Alexandrovitch Narishkin, great chamberlain to the empress, who was present at the interview between Peter and Ivan. In my second visit to Petersburg, he confirmed my narrative, and even expressed his surprise at the accuracy of my statement. From these authorities, and others which I am not at present at liberty to mention, I compiled the whole of my narrative.

It is barely sufficient to notice the improbability of another assertion advanced by the biographer of Catharine, that Peter intended to nominate Ivan his successor, and had even brought him to Petersburg for that purpose, where he is said to have been at the time of the revolution.

§ An ample allowance in Russia, where provisions were so cheap.

ing, the emperor sent one of his suite to the governor, with an order of admission signed by himself, was immediately received within the fortress, and conducted to the prince's apartment. Peter for a short time remained concealed, while his nobles and attendants conversed with Ivan; but he soon joined the company, drank a dish of coffee, and entered into discourse with the prince.

I endeavoured to collect some intelligence of what passed at this conference; but the information I received, even from persons of good authority, was extremely various and contradictory. Instead, therefore, of detailing uncertain and discordant anecdotes, I shall submit to the reader a translation from Busching's account of this interview, which must be deemed authentic, because he received it from baron Korf, who was present.

"In March 1762, Peter III, desirous of seeing Ivan, set off early in the morning for Schluselburgh, accompanied by baron Korf, Left Alexandrievitch Nariashkin, and Volkof. He travelled with post horses, and kept his intention so secret, that it was noon before his uncle prince George of Holstein was made acquainted with his departure. Peter assumed the character of an officer; and having shewn the governor of Schluselburgh an order for admission, previously signed by himself, went, with his attendants, to the apartment of prince Ivan, which he found a wretched place, provided with the meanest furniture. His clothes were clean and in good condition, but extremely coarse, and he was remarkably neat in his person, as well as in his linen. He had the appearance of an idiot, and spoke in a confused manner. One moment he affirmed that he was the emperor Ivan, and the next, that the soul of that emperor, who was no longer alive, had migrated into his body. On being asked what induced him to imagine that he was an emperor, he replied, 'he learnt it from his parents and the soldiers who guarded him.' Being questioned whether he recollected his parents, he answered in the affirmative; and then bitterly lamented, that the empress Elizabeth had always kept them, as well as himself, in a wretched state; adding, he well remembered that he and they were formerly under the care of an officer, who was the only person that had ever shewn them any tenderness or humanity. Korf instantly demanding, whether he still should know this officer, 'I could not recollect him at present,' answered Ivan, 'as it is so long ago since I saw him, and I was then a child, but his name I have not forgotten, it is Korf.' The general was greatly affected. Ivan had heard of the great duke and his wife;* and as he repeatedly said that he hoped again to be emperor, he was asked in what manner he would then behave to them; 'I would have them both executed,' returned the prince. Peter was much shocked; he determined, however,† to order the construction of a small house in the fortress for the unhappy prisoner, and proposed to treat him in a more humane manner. Prince George of Holstein even advised Peter to restore the prince to liberty, to send him into Germany, together with his father, Anthony Ulric, and the rest of his family, and allow them a handsome pension; but the emperor did not seem to approve the advice."‡

To this curious account I am enabled to add an authentic anecdote. Peter had not been long with Ivan before he became dispirited and suddenly indisposed; he accordingly quitted the room, and went out into the air. "I feel myself now," said he, to

* Namely, Peter and Catharine.

† We may collect from these expressions, that Busching supposed the house within the small fortress to have been constructed for Ivan, and not for the empress; but he was probably unacquainted with the circumstance, that Ivan was removed to Kexholm the beginning of June: this removal was perhaps occasioned by the design which the emperor had formed, of confining the empress in the fortress of Schluselburgh. When Peter visited Schluselburgh the shell of the house was nearly finished.

‡ See Geschichte des Russischen Kayzers Johann, des Dritten. Bus. H. M. VI, p. 320, & seq.

one of his suite, "much refreshed; I was indeed, exceedingly shocked, and very near fainting." He then returned into the apartment, and renewed his conversation with Ivan, with whom he staid near an hour.

Peter, it is said, proposed to release Ivan from his imprisonment; and as he had conceived an idea that, perhaps, policy had induced the prince to counterfeit idiotism, for the purpose of discovering the truth, he ordered a confidential person* to remain for some days in Ivan's apartment. This person soon perceived that his behaviour was not the effect of dissimulation; he at times talked wildly, as if he was really disordered in his understanding; and frequently with raptures asserted, that the angel Gabriel appeared to him in visions, and brought him revelations from heaven. Being asked by this person, why he imagined that he had once been emperor, he replied, "I was told so by one of my guards, who looking stedfastly at me, burst suddenly into tears; on my demanding the reason, he informed me, that he, as well as the whole nation, had formerly taken the oath of allegiance to me as emperor; and he then gave me the account of my dethronement, and of the accession of Elizabeth."

Peter, fully convinced that Ivan's understanding was disordered, soon relinquished all thoughts of releasing him; and afterwards ordered him to be sent by water to Kexholm, a fortress situated in a small island where the Voxen flows into the lake of Ladoga. He was conveyed across that lake in a small open boat to a galliot, which lay at anchor to receive him at some distance from Schlussemburgh. The wind being boisterous, and the water extremely agitated, he at first trembled with fear, but in a short time became composed, although there arose a violent storm, which the watermen could scarcely weather. The waves indeed ran so high, that the boat was overset, and the prince was not saved without the greatest difficulty. In the month of August, Ivan was again removed from the fortress of Kexholm to that of Schlussemburgh, by order of the empress Catharine. The carriage in which he was conducted breaking down near the village of Schlussemburgh, he was let through the palace covered with a cloak, and thus settled again in his former habitation.†

This unhappy state prisoner was detained in the same fortress until his decease, the morning of the 5th‡ of July, 1764. Two officers, captain Vlasief and lieutenant Tchekin, were appointed for his guard, and stationed in his apartment. In the fortress was a company, consisting of near an hundred soldiers, of whom eight or ten stood centinel in the corridore close to the door of his room, and within the passage leading to it; the rest were posted in the guard house, at the gate, and in different parts of the fortress, under the command of the governor. At that time the regiment of Smolensko was quartered in the village of Schlussemburgh, and every week an hundred men relieved the guard in the fortress. Vassili Mirovitch, an under lieutenant in this regiment, by attempting to release Ivan, was the cause of his death. He was grandson of the rebel of the same name, who followed Mazeppa Hetman of the Cossacs, when he revolted from Peter the Great, and joined Charles XII, in his ill-concerted expedition into the Ukraine. Mirovitch had applied to the empress to restore the estates of his grandfather, which had been confiscated after the battle of Pultava; but meeting with a refusal, as well in this as in other applications, he formed the desperate resolution of delivering Ivan, and replacing him on the throne. Being, however, without fortune or connexions, the means he was enabled to adopt were inadequate to the rashness of the enterprise.

* Volkof, who was afterwards governor of Petersburg.

† These two curious circumstances I received from Berednikoff himself.

‡ O. S. 16th N. S.

A few months before the purposed time of executing this daring enterprise, he communicated it at Casan to Apollon Ushakof, a lieutenant in the regiment of Veliki-Luki. These two associates repaired to the church of the Virgin Mary, where they took an oath of secrecy and fidelity on the altar, and mixing fanaticism with treason, invoked the Almighty to assist and sanctify their designs. They also joined in drawing up a manifesto, which they purposed to distribute as soon as Ivan should be restored to liberty. The execution of this enterprise was delayed until summer, when the empress was expected to be absent from the capital on an expedition into Livonia. Soon afterwards Mirovitch joined his regiment, which was quartered at Schluselburgh; but his confederate Ushakof was accidentally drowned, on the 29th of March, in his journey to Smolensko.

Mirovitch, deprived of his associate, does not appear to have found any other person in whom he could repose equal confidence. He sounded, however, Tikon Casatkin, a servant of the court; and artfully endeavoured to infuse into his mind rebellious principles, in order to make him, at a proper season, the instrument of his purposes. But he was somewhat more explicit with Simeon Tchevaridsef, lieutenant in the corps of artillery, to whom he communicated, first by dark and obscure hints, and then in somewhat plainer terms, a design of releasing Ivan, and of conducting him to that corps stationed at Petersburg. But he mentioned it merely as a project, without fixing any precise time for attempting it, or naming himself as the person who would dare to undertake it.

With so little management, and no precaution in case of failure, did Mirovitch resolve to carry his design into execution; but he was upon duty during a whole week in the fortress, without finding a favourable opportunity. He observed, however, and set a private mark on the door of Ivan's apartment, and shewed it to Simeon Tchevaridsef, who came from Petersburg to visit him. At the close of the week his turn expired; but he obtained, under some specious pretence, the permission of being continued on guard on the evening of the 4th of July.* He did not, however, previously gain more than one common soldier, whose name was Jacob Piskof. It was not till about ten at night that he first hinted his intention to three corporals and two soldiers, who, though they at first positively refused to join him, yet, by the assistance of Piskof, and by his own artful persuasions, were at length prevailed upon to favour his designs; but could not be induced to act with that determined resolution which the circumstances required. On the contrary, they continued wavering, and alarmed with the danger, proposed to defer the enterprise until a more convenient opportunity. Mirovitch at first artfully appeared to yield to their fears; but between one and two in the morning he suddenly renewed his solicitations; when, incapable of resisting his plausible manner, the distribution he made among them of some money, the promise of more, the expectation of great promotion, and his authority, as commanding officer, they were induced to second his attempt.

Having thus secured six assistants, he summoned about forty of the soldiers stationed in that part of the fortress, some of whom were asleep, and others upon guard; and under pretence of an order from the empress, commanded them to load their pieces with ball, and to follow him; and before they were aware of his intention, led them towards the apartment of Ivan. In his way he was met by Brednikof the governor. This officer had retired to rest, but being alarmed by one of the guards, hastily dressed himself, and accosting Mirovitch, commanded him to declare the cause of the disturbance.

* 15th, O. S.

Mirovitch returned no answer, but striking him on the forehead with the butt-end of his musket, delivered him a prisoner to some of his party, and with the remainder advanced to a wooden gate, which guarded the passage leading to the prince's apartment. He demanded admittance; but meeting with a refusal from the centinels, ordered his followers to discharge their muskets and force their way; they obeyed, and the centinels returned the fire. The soldiers, deceived by Mirovitch, had expected no opposition; surprised, therefore, and alarmed at the resistance of the centinels, they retired with precipitation, notwithstanding all the efforts of their leader, and insisted on seeing the order of the empress. Mirovitch immediately read to them a paper,* which he had forged, at the bottom of which he had counterfeited the imperial signature; and as it was no difficult matter to deceive ignorant men, few of whom could read, he prevailed upon them by entreaties, promises, and threats, to make a second attempt. During this short interval, a cannon was drawn from one of the bastions, which Mirovitch himself pointed against the passage leading to the prince's apartment, when the door was suddenly opened, and the whole party suffered to enter without opposition.

On the first attempt of Mirovitch, Vlasief and Tchekin had dispersed the assailants by ordering the centinels to fire; but when they returned, and Mirovitch, with his cannon pointed, seemed determined to force his way, the officers, finding no possibility of further resistance, attacked with their drawn swords the unfortunate object of this contest, who had been awakened by the tumult, and had started out of bed. The prince, though without any weapon, and almost naked, yet, animated with despair, made a vigorous defence; he parried their repeated thrusts; and, though pierced through the hand, broke one of their swords, until overpowered and stabbed in several places, he was dispatched by a wound in the back. The officers immediately threw open the door, and, pointing to the body of Ivan, exclaimed, "Here is your emperor!" Mirovitch, beholding the dead body, started back in an agony of surprise; soon, however, recollecting himself, he made no other attempt; but returned with perfect composure to the governor, and delivering up his sword, calmly said, "I am now your prisoner."†

On the following day, the body of Ivan was exposed in a shirt and a pair of drawers before the guard-house in the fortress, whither an immense concourse of people flocked

* It is difficult, at this distance of time, to find out the contents of this paper; but it appeared, from the examination of Mirovitch and his associates, to have been obscurely drawn up. As he asserted that what he read to them issued from the empress, he could not lay open his design of releasing Ivan; and probably the paper contained only an order to take the prince from the custody of Vlasief and Tchekin, who might be represented as betraying their trust: this supposition is confirmed by the violent abuse which the soldiers, on their return to the second attack, threw out against these two officers. Nikita Lebedef, the next in command to Mirovitch, was the only person who perceived that the order was counterfeited, and, though he did not assist Mirovitch, he was afterwards punished for not discovering the imposition to the misguided soldiers.

† Such was the account of this transaction, which I received from the governor; but I deem it a duty to insert a note from the earl of Buckinghamshire to the earl of Hardwicke, which relates more circumstantially the behaviour of Mirovitch.

July 26th, 1784.

"The officer then (after having stabbed Ivan) produced the body to the lieutenant and his soldiers, and told them they might now do with their emperor what they thought proper. Mirovitch carried the corpse to the foot of the guard, and covered it with the colours, and then, with all his soldiers, prostrated himself before it, and kissed the hands; then taking off his own gorget, sash, and sword, laid them by the body, and addressing himself to the colonel of Korgalow, who was then arrived, and pointing to the body, told him, 'There is your emperor, you may do as you please. Adverse fortune has blasted my design. I mourn not for my own fate, but for the misery of my poor fellow soldiers, the innocent victims of my undertaking.' He then embraced the under officers, and surrendered himself and his soldiers."

from all quarters. I was informed by a gentleman,* who was present on the occasion, that he found it impossible to describe the animated grief which appeared in the countenances, attitudes, and expressions of the people at the sight of a prince, who had once been seated upon the throne, whose misfortune only, and no crime, had occasioned his imprisonment, and whose wretched existence had been prematurely closed by the hand of violence. The concourse at last being so great as to excite apprehensions of a tumult, the body was wrapped in a sheep-skin, put into a coffin, and buried in an ancient chapel of the fortress, which is now demolished.

According to the information I received from those who had seen the body of Ivan, he was six feet in height, handsome, and athletic; he had small fiery eyes, reddish hair and beard, and a complexion uncommonly fair, though pallid from confinement.

The account of this wild enterprise, and of Ivan's death was forwarded to count Panin, together with several copies of the manifesto, found upon Mirovitch. It contained the most virulent abuse and dreadful imprecations against the empress, who was represented as an usurper of the throne of which Ivan was the lawful sovereign; and the copies were to have been distributed as soon as the prince should be rescued and brought to the capital. Count Panin dispatched immediate intelligence to the empress in Livonia; who commanded lieutenant-general Weymar to repair without delay to Schlussemburgh, to examine Mirovitch and his associates. This information, together with the confession of Mirovitch and his accomplices, was laid before a committee composed of five principal ecclesiastics, the senate, and of other nobles high in rank and office. Mirovitch and his abettors, being removed to Petersburg, were examined at different times before this committee, both separately and together; and the result of all these inquiries tended to shew, that Mirovitch had not been instigated to this attempt; but had originally contrived the plot, and acted throughout the whole transaction solely from himself.

During several meetings held on this occasion, Mirovitch astonished the committee by his insolent undaunted behaviour; at last, however, he was brought in some measure to a sense of his crime, by the representations of the archbishop of Rostof, and four nobles specially deputed for that purpose, and being again exhorted to confess if he had any associates, he firmly replied, "As a man devoted to die, I solemnly declare, that my confession contains all I know. I call upon the Almighty to witness the truth of this assertion, and denounce his severest vengeance upon me in the next world, if I have misrepresented any circumstance, or concealed any accomplice." Being convicted of high treason, he was condemned to lose his head; and the body, together with the scaffold upon which he was to suffer, were ordered to be burnt upon the spot. The sentence was performed on the 26th of September, in the city of Petersburg. Mirovitch walked to the place of execution along the streets, through an innumerable concourse of people, with an unconcerned air, and steady countenance. Having mounted the scaffold, he cast his eyes around him with a look of indifference, then crossed himself, and without uttering a single word,† laid down his head upon the block, and it was severed from his body at one stroke.

Mirovitch alone suffered capitally; his abettors were subjected to different penalties, according to the degrees of their guilt. Piskof, who was the most criminal, was sentenced to run the gauntlet twelve times through a line of a thousand men, and his five associates ten times; they were then condemned for life to hard labour and imprison-

* Mr. Lieman.

† It may not be improper to remark, that Mirovitch was not gagged, as has been falsely asserted.

ment; a sentence heavier than death itself. It is needless to discriminate the penalties imposed upon the others, which consisted chiefly in the gauntlet, in degradation, and in condemnation to serve in distant garrisons. It will be sufficient to observe, that fifty-five delinquents were involved in the guilt of Mirovitch: to these must be added Casatkin and Tchevaridsef, who were convicted of holding treasonable conversations with him; and Nikita Lebedef, who was punished for not having undeceived the soldiers, by exposing the falsity of the order forged by Mirovitch.

Such are the principal facts which I was able to collect respecting the life and death of Ivan; and I have endeavoured to state them with perfect impartiality. The same regard to truth prevents me from concealing reports industriously circulated, that the court not only connived at, but even encouraged the attempt of Mirovitch. The accusation is thus stated. Orders were previously given to Vlasief and Tcheikin to destroy Ivan, if any attempt to release him should be likely to succeed, and for the purpose of furnishing them with a pretence for dispatching him, Mirovitch was privately instigated to form a conspiracy in his favour. In support of this accusation it is urged. In the attack of Mirovitch and his party on the guards of Ivan, not one person on each side was either killed or wounded. 2. The conduct of Mirovitch on the failure of his project, his daring behaviour under his trial, and his calm composure at the place of execution, are not, on any other supposition, to be accounted for. 3. Orders were given to Vlasief and Tcheikin for putting Ivan to death; and they were promoted for executing those orders.

1. With respect to the first assertion, we may readily allow the fact to have been very extraordinary, but by no means improbable. It is a well-known circumstance, that in the outskirts of an army large bodies of light troops frequently approach close to each other, and fire without effect. And if this frequently happens in the day-time, the probability is still further increased, when we consider that the rencounter in question happened at two in the morning, and in the midst of a thick fog.* Nor is it extraordinary, that the centinels of Ivan, who were but few, and some of these few sheltered in the passage, and others probably behind the pillars of the corridors, should not be wounded by the random shots of the assailants, wavering in their resolutions, and uncertain whether to comply with, or disobey, the orders of their leader. With respect to the party of Mirovitch, the whole number did not attack in a collective body; many of them continued at some distance; and they were all so alarmed at the unexpected return of their fire, that they instantly dispersed, and probably before all the guards had discharged their muskets; and as the guard consisted only of eight or ten, as the night was dark, and the area large, it cannot be deemed surprising that they missed the assailants. To a person who has been upon the spot, and examined the position of the place, these suppositions are far from appearing improbable; whereas, on the other hand, if we conclude the whole to have been concerted, we must allow that every individual, on both sides, was previously informed that the attack, as well as defence, should be feigned: a case in itself impossible, that a design of such importance, and the mode of accomplishing it, should be entrusted to so many, and those of no higher rank than common soldiers.†

* The truth of this circumstance has been erroneously called in question; for I was informed at Schluselburgh, that almost every morning in summer a fog precedes sun-rise, which is naturally accounted for from the situation of the island on which the fortress stands, in a marshy soil, and close to the largest lake in Europe.

† In reply to this argument, it has been said that the cartridges distributed to the soldiers on both sides were without balls; but no authority has ever been adduced in support of this assertion. If we

2. The second argument is drawn from the conduct of Mirovitch on the death of Ivan, during his trial, and at the place of execution. In regard to his behaviour on the death of Ivan, it is objected, that, instead of attempting to make any resistance, he calmly, and of his own accord, delivered himself a prisoner. To this it may be answered, that he had founded all his hopes of success on obtaining possession of Ivan's person; the moment, therefore, that those hopes were frustrated by the death of the prince, his fate was decided. He had great difficulty in persuading the soldiers to make the second attack, when the prince was alive; what assistance, therefore, could be expected from them when they knew that he was dead? They had no other object than to release Ivan, and had even been unwillingly hurried on to favour that attempt. Could Mirovitch suppose that they would desperately assist him in attacking the officers, and in forcing an escape? And indeed whither could he escape? He could neither conceal himself in the fortress; nor could he easily withdraw from the island. He had, therefore, no other alternative than self-destruction, or an immediate surrender. His preference of a surrender may be attributed to impulse of the moment, or rather perhaps to the cool intrepidity of his character. He had ventured his life and fortunes upon one risk of extreme hazard, and when that failed him, he knew and was prepared for the worst, and sullenly resigned himself to his fate. But after all, it is too much to expect that we should justify the conduct of an enthusiast, in the moment of disappointment and despair, on the principles of sound judgment and deliberate reason.*

His daring insolence before the committee, and his calm indifference at the place of execution, are, it is alledged, not to be accounted for, but on the supposition that he either endeavoured to prevent the idea of collusion, or because he was secure of pardon. It is surmised, therefore, that he was only to lay down his head on the block, and a reprieve was to be ready at the place of execution. To this I briefly answer, that it is not to be conceived by what promises a man could possibly be persuaded to hazard himself in so critical a state. What could induce him to risk his life under a momentary stroke, to be given or suspended by a power interested in his destruction? For the dead betray nothing; and his death would preclude all discovery of so infamous a transaction. And these strange suppositions are advanced, as if no rebel was ever un-

could suppose that the murder was committed intentionally, ball cartridges could not have been withheld from a motive of humanity.

* I cannot in this place avoid citing a passage from an anonymous author, who supposes a collusion between Mirovitch and the court: "Après un si noble exploit Messrs. Wlasief et Tchekin jettent le corps du prince assassiné devant la porte; et par un effet miraculeux Mirovitch, qui ne connoissoit alors le prince Ivan que de nom, le reconnoit dans ce moment pour son empereur non obstant le brouillard épais." A strange objection! as if, because Mirovitch was not acquainted with the person of Ivan, he should not know, or at least believe, the dead body to be his, when the guards cried out, "Here is your emperor!" Could he conceive they had murdered an innocent person, merely with the view of deluding him? And were not the doors of the apartment thrown open, and he at full liberty to search and satisfy himself? Another passage from the same author must be mentioned for its glaring falsity: "Le coup inattendu le frappa tellement, qu'il temoigne son repentir et son affliction a toute sa troupe, se rend prisonnier; et de toute sa garde qui étoit complice du même crime, lui seul qui en est le chef est arrêté, et lui seul en est puni." The reader will be able to judge whether the soldiers who assisted Mirovitch were equally guilty with him; and whether he was the only person arrested, and the only person punished. The author of the above malevolent paragraph did not know, perhaps, that, by the laws of Russia, capital penalties are seldom inflicted; or that the accomplices of Mirovitch were severely punished. We may remind him that even in the rebellion of Pugatchef, that impostor and four of his principal confederates were the only persons who suffered death; the other rebels were knoote and condemned to hard labour and imprisonment. The cause must be very bad indeed, when its defenders have recourse to such frivolous objections, and such glaring falsehoods. See pieces concernant la Mort du prince Ivan.

daunted during trial; nor any malefactor ever met death with firmness and even indifference.

3. With respect to the third argument, which rests on the previous orders to the officers Vlasief and Tchekin, their execution of those orders, and promotion in consequence, I clearly and decisively reply, that such orders were not peculiar to the guards of Ivan; they are always given to those who are appointed to secure state prisoners of any consequence in Russia. During the whole reign of Elizabeth, this precaution had always been taken; and the orders were renewed whenever the persons entrusted with the care of Ivan were changed.

But, in support of this argument, it is further alledged, that the officers were too precipitate in dispatching the prince; they might have conveyed him to some place of greater security, when the conspirators had been repulsed in their first onset. But whether could they convey him? They could not conceal him in the fortress, or remove him from the island. There could be no apartment more secure than that in which he was confined; and even if they had attempted to remove him, the shortness of the interval between the first and second assault would have prevented them. The assailants instantly returned as soon as the forged order was read to them, and they returned with a loaded cannon. It follows, therefore, that the officers and centinels found themselves incapable of resistance, and that Ivan must have fallen into the hands of Mirovitch: they had, therefore, no other alternative than to put him to death. Dreadful alternative indeed! but which they were obliged to embrace, for the preservation of the public tranquillity. If they performed their duty in this emergency, the approbation of their sovereign, and their subsequent promotion, were the natural, and I even add, the just consequences.

But surely the whole conduct of Mirovitch, his association with Ushakof, their oath of fidelity, the violent manifesto against the empress, together with his treasonable intercourse with Casatkin and Tchekardsef, are evident proofs that his design was not feigned, that it originated from himself, and had been planned some time before an opportunity offered for its execution. To suppose that the empress had formed the project of destroying Ivan, that she employed Mirovitch as the instrument, that she secretly promised him his pardon, that she suffered him to go to the place of execution fully secure of a reprieve, that she there deceived him, that she punished his associates, of whose criminality she was herself the immediate cause, imply such an absurd complication of the basest fraud and horrid barbarity, that we ought not to listen to the imputation, were it founded even on some degree of probable conjecture; whereas the arguments alledged amount only to mere surmises and vague suppositions; and are totally refuted by the most valid arguments and indisputable testimony.

I cannot close this history without annexing a short account of Ivan's family. His father Anthony Ulric was son of Ferdinand Albert, by Antonietta Amelia, sister of Charlotte Christina, who espoused the Tzarovitch Alexey. He was brother of Charles duke of Brunswick, and of that distinguished general prince Ferdinand. Anthony Ulric was born in 1714; in 1733 was betrothed, on his arrival at Petersburg, to the princess Anne of Mecklenburgh, the presumptive heiress of the Russian throne. He served in the campaign against the Turks, under general Munnich, assisted at the siege of Otchakof, and was a true Brunswick for valour and spirit of enterprise. On the 14th of July 1739, his nuptials with the princess Anne were celebrated with great magnificence. On the day of that ceremony, * who would have imagined that their union

* Manstein's Memoirs, p. 248.

would one day produce their greatest misfortune?" and that the prince was called into Russia, not to share a throne, but a prison with his consort?

The mother of Ivan, Elizabeth Catharine Christina, was daughter of Charles Leopold, duke of Mecklenburgh, by Catharine Ivanofna; she was born in 1718, and in 1731 invited to Petersburg by her aunt the empress Anne. Having embraced the Greek religion, she was re-baptized by the name of Anne, and espoused in 1739 Anthony Ulric. Soon after the birth of Ivan, she was not only excluded from the throne, but even from any share in the administration of affairs during her son's minority, by the intrigues of Biron, who, upon the accession of Ivan, was declared regent. Having, by the assistance of count Munich, arrested Biron, the princess Anne assumed the regency and title of great dutchess, and was on the point of declaring herself empress, when Elizabeth seized the reins of government.

Upon that revolution this illustrious couple were successively confined at Riga, Dünemund, and Oranienbaum; from thence they were removed to Solomonskoi Ostrof, an island in the White Sea, and finally, to Kolmogori, a small town, situated in an island of the Dvina, about forty miles from Archangel. Anne had four children by her husband during their joint imprisonment, and died in child-bed at Kolmogori, in March 1746. Her body was brought to Petersburg, and buried in the church of the convent of St. Alexander Nevski.

Manstein* has well drawn the weak, capricious, and indecisive character of the regent Anne; who, with a moderate degree of firmness and prudence, might have defeated the designs of Elizabeth; but an anecdote recorded by Busching, will perhaps display, in the strongest light, her mild and indolent character. During her confinement in the fortress of Riga, the prince of Brunswick frequently blamed her for having disregarded the information she daily received concerning the attempts of the opposite party: once in particular he vehemently reproached her for rejecting his advice to arrest Elizabeth, adding, "had that advice been followed, you and your family would not have been involved in your present misfortunes." "It may be so," returned the princess with great indifference; "but I shall never repent of my conduct; and it is better as it is, than to have preserved our sovereignty by shedding a deluge of blood."†

Besides Ivan, she left four children, two sons, and as many daughters, who were confined with their father at Kolmogori.

Anthony Ulric died in 1776, in the thirty-fifth year of his imprisonment, and in the sixty-third year of his age. He had been long afflicted with the gout, and a year before his death was totally blind.

The place of their confinement at Kolmogori was the bishop's ancient palace and garden; separated on one side from the cathedral by a high wall, and on the other surrounded by palisades.‡ Within the enclosure, near the entrance, was a barrack for the soldiers who guarded them, commanded by a lieutenant and three inferior officers. Another guard, commanded by lieutenant Karikin, was stationed in the episcopal palace, in which the illustrious prisoners were confined; these two guards had no communication with each other.

* Memoirs, p. 316.

† Bus. Hist. Mag. vol. i. p. 32. Busching had this anecdote from a favourite maid of honour who attended the regent in her confinement.

‡ Busching's Hist. Mag. vol. xxii. p. 418.

The governor of Archangel kept the keys of the gates, and without his permission no one, not even the physician, if they were indisposed, could venture to visit them. From the windows of their house they were able to descry, towards the south-east, a small turn of the river Dvina, and towards the south-west, the high road leading to St. Petersburg. They inhabited the apartments on the ground-floor, which lead by a small flight of steps into a garden, planted with a few birch, and containing a muddy fish-pond, surrounded with avenues of trees. In this fish-pond floated an old and crazy boat. They had the use of an old-fashioned coach, drawn by six horses, and attended by the soldiers, in which they could drive backwards and forwards along an alley about a quarter of a mile within the enclosure.

These illustrious prisoners, whose birth entitled them to a better fate, saw no other persons but their attendants; had no other amusement than to play at whist or ombre, and dared not read any thing but books of prayer in the Russian language.

Godovin, governor of Archangel, under whose inspection they remained seventeen years, treated them with great neglect. He suffered the house and garden to fall into decay, furnished an indifferent table, and gave no account of the money allotted for their support. But in 1779 they experienced a more favourable change of circumstances. Melgunef being dispatched by the empress to divide the province of Archangel into two governments, visited the prisoners, and was moved with compassion at their forlorn situation. By his advice the youngest princess Elizabeth wrote to the empress, in an artless and pathetic manner, and laid before her majesty an account of their deplorable situation. Catharine, greatly affected at the perusal, restored them to liberty, and placed them under the protection of the queen-dowager of Denmark.

By her order, Melgunef prepared every thing for their departure: and at two o'clock in the morning, on the 27th of June 1779, released them from the prison-house, and accompanied them to Archangel. On their arrival in the fortress, he informed them of the empress's gracious intentions to send them into Denmark. This unexpected news at first filled them with apprehensions; they mistrusted some hidden danger, and expressed a desire to remain at Kolmogori with the enjoyment of more liberty. But when Melgunef assured them, in the strongest terms, of the goodness of the empress, delivered to them a valuable present of clothes, plate, and diamonds, and informed them, that they would be placed under the protection of the queen-dowager of Denmark, their aunt, they burst into tears, and falling upon their knees, expressed the warmest gratitude for this unexpected favour, and offered up prayers to Heaven for their kind benefactress.

On the 30th of June they went on board the frigate prepared for their voyage, set sail on the following night, and after a passage of three months, and being exposed to a violent tempest, reached Berghen in Norway. There they embarked on board a Danish vessel and landed at Flatstrand, on the coast of Jutland. Being conveyed to Aalberg, they remained five days with the governor, count Osten,* and from thence proceeded by easy journies, and fixed their residence at Horsens, a town of Jutland, situated at the extremity of a bay of the Baltic, a few miles from the frontiers of Sleswic.

In my second tour to the North, in 1784, I pursued my travels to Horsens, from a desire to pay my respects to these illustrious personages. On our arrival we waited on

* I received these particulars from count Osten himself, whom I met at Copenhagen.

the principal officer attendant on the Russian princes, and requested to have the honour of being presented. We received a favourable answer; but when we expected our request to be complied with, we were put off with various excuses. We did not know, until we were informed by Mr. Guldberg, whom we had the honour of seeing at Aarhus, that by special orders from the court of Denmark no foreigners were presented to them. They were only accompanied by a Russian lady, and a priest and his wife. From their ignorance of any language but the Russian, and their inability to converse with most of those who were placed about them, on their first arrival at Horsens they appeared even to regret their prison at Kolmogori. But they were soon reconciled, and became quite delighted with the change in their situation.

They are still a kind of state prisoners, though, in comparison with their former situation, they may be said to enjoy perfect liberty. They never go out without attendants, and have not yet been permitted to visit any family in the town. The gates of their house or palace, as it is called, are carefully closed in winter at ten, and in summer at eleven. They amuse themselves with reading, playing at billiards, cards, riding, and walking; they walk much about the town, and in the environs, and drive out in carriages. The princes often ride, particularly Alexey, who is fond of that exercise, and is said to be expert. They not unfrequently pay visits in the country, and dine with the neighbouring families.

The names of these descendants of the imperial family are Catharine, born July 26, 1741, Peter, born March 31, 1745, Alexey, born March 7, 1746, of whom Anne died in childhood. This prince is since dead. Elizabeth, the youngest sister, was a woman of high spirit and elegant manners. On being released, she wrote a letter of thanks to the empress, so well expressed as to excite admiration. Her father is said to have instructed her; but she likewise obtained considerable information from several officers who were her guards, and whom she conciliated by her captivating manners. On her arrival at Horsens she possessed portraits of her father and mother, and had even contrived to procure a rouble of her brother Ivan struck in his short reign. She alone of her brothers and sisters could speak a little German, and served as an interpreter between them and prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, who more than once visited his nephews and nieces. She is reported to have died of chagrin; but, as far as I could collect, her death was occasioned by a violent fever, which was soon attended with a delirium, and hurried her to the grave on the sixteenth day of her illness.

But though we were unsuccessful in our attempt to be presented, we did not quit Horsens without seeing their persons; as on the day after our arrival there was a great fair, and many people were assembled in the market-place, the princes frequently appeared at the windows of their palace. The princess seemed pale and thin, the princes were about the middle size, fair complexioned, with strong features, light hair, and expressive eyes.

As I beheld these august descendants of the Tzar Ivan, I felt extreme satisfaction, in reflecting that they were enlarged from the precincts of a Russian prison; and admired the humanity and magnanimity of Catharine the Second, who, above the suspicions of state-jealousy, released from a long confinement persons whose parents had died in prison, whose brother had once filled the Russian throne, and closed his unfortunate life by the hand of violence.

Having had frequent occasion to mention count Munitz, I shall here throw together a few anecdotes of that extraordinary man, who enjoyed the favour of five sovereigns, who attained, at one period of his life, the highest honours, and at another was

doomed to a rigorous confinement of twenty years, which he sustained with an unbroken spirit.*

Count Burchard Christopher Muenic, son of a Danish officer, was born at New-Huntorf, in the county of Oldenburgh, on the 9th of May 1683. He received an excellent education, and in the seventeenth year of his age, entered into the service of the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, who, on account of his knowledge in tactics, conferred on him the rank of captain. He served his first campaign in 1701, when the emperor Joseph commanded against the French, and was present at the siege of Landaw. In 1705 he was employed as a major by the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and improved himself in the art of war under the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene. He distinguished himself for his cool intrepidity in several engagements and sieges, and particularly at the battle of Malplaquet, when, in recompence for his bravery, he was made lieutenant colonel. Being, in 1712, dangerously wounded at the battle of Denain, he was taken prisoner by the French, and soon after his release in the ensuing year, raised to the command of a regiment.

In 1716 he quitted the Hessian, and entered into the Polish service under Augustus II, and was soon promoted to the rank of major general; but, in 1721, being insulted by count Fleming, the king's favourite, he went into Russia, and was received in the most honourable manner by Peter. Being charged by that great monarch with the execution of several important trusts, both civil and military, he successively filled the highest posts in the army and state. He was created marshal by the empress Anne, and placed at the head of the war department; he obtained the command of the army against the Turks, and proved his military talents by his successes in the campaigns of 1737 and 1738.

Soon after the death of the empress, he advised, planned, and executed the arrest of Biron, and was rewarded by the regent Anne with the office of prime minister. But as he was discontented at not being appointed generalissimo, and as his power and ambition gave umbrage to the court, he requested permission to resign his employments, and was astonished at the readiness with which his request was granted. Instead of repairing to the Prussian court, to which he was strongly invited, he imprudently remained in Russia, flattering himself with the hopes of being re-instated in his former dignity, and was arrested on the 6th of December 1741, by order of Elizabeth. The ostensible reason of his disgrace was, that he had persuaded the empress Anne to nominate Ivan her successor; but the real cause, as I was informed by a person of veracity, who received it from count Muenic himself, was that, by order of that empress, he had taken into custody one of Elizabeth's favourites.

Muenic was brought before a committee appointed to examine the state prisoners. Being fatigued with repeated questions, and perceiving the determination of his judges to find him guilty, he said to them, "Dictate the answers which you wish me to make, and I will sign them." The judges immediately wrote down a confession of several charges, which being subscribed by Muenic, his mock trial was concluded. Being thus convicted of high treason, he was condemned to be quartered, but his sentence was changed by Elizabeth to perpetual imprisonment. For the space of twenty years he was confined at Pelim in Siberia, in an ostrog, or prison, of which, according to Manstein,

* I have chiefly extracted this account from the Life of count Muenic, by Busching, who was intimately acquainted with him; I have been enabled to add a few anecdotes, which I obtained from unquestionable authority. See *Lebens Geschichte Burchard Christophs von Muenich*. In *Bus. Hist. Mag.* III. p. 389 to 536.

he had himself drawn the plan for the reception of Biron. It was an area enclosed with high palisadoes, about one hundred and seventy feet square, within which was a wooden house, inhabited by himself, his wife, and a few servants, and a small garden, which he cultivated with his own hands. He received a daily allowance of 12s. for the maintenance of himself, his wife, and domestics; which little pittance he increased by keeping cows, and selling part of their milk, and by occasionally instructing youth in geometry and engineering. He behaved, during his long confinement with the utmost resignation, tranquillity, and even cheerfulness. He was accustomed every day at dinner to drink to his wife, "a happy return to Petersburg." He had prayers twice a day, from eleven to twelve in the morning, and from six to seven in the evening; they were read in the German tongue by his chaplain Martens, who dying in 1749, the count himself afterwards performed the service. Beside the culture of his garden, and the hours he passed in giving instruction, he found sufficient leisure for composing hymns; for translating several psalms and prayers into German verse; and for writing a treatise on the art of war, which he proposed, if released from his confinement, to present to the king of Prussia. In the last year of his imprisonment, a centinel informing against Munc's servants for supplying him with pens and paper, the count, in order to prevent discovery, was obliged to destroy all his writings, the amusements and labour of so many solitary years.

He had always supported himself with the expectation of recovering his liberty at the accession of Peter the Third; but he was no sooner informed of that event, than, with the agitation natural to a person in his state, he began to dread that his expectation was ill founded. He suffered, during several weeks, the most alarming anxiety, perpetually fluctuated between hope and fear, and often declared that these few weeks appeared to him much longer than all the former years of his confinement. At length, on the morning of the 11th of February 1762, the long-expected messenger arrived from Petersburg with the order for his release. Munc, who happened to be engaged in his prayers, did not perceive him, and his wife made signs to the messenger not to disturb her husband. Being informed of his recall, he was so affected as to faint away; but soon recovering, he fell down upon his knees, and, in the most fervent manner, offered up his thanks for this change in his situation. On the 19th he departed from Pelim, and on the 24th of March arrived at Petersburg, in the same sheepskin dress which he had worn in his prison. On the 31st he was admitted to an audience by the emperor: * Peter, after hanging round his neck the order of St. Andrew, and restoring him to his ancient rank, said to him, "I hope that your advanced age will still permit you to serve me." "Since your majesty," replied the count at the conclusion of a long speech, "has raised me from darkness into light, and recalled me from Siberia to pros-

* An account of his first appearance at court is contained in a letter from Mr. Keith to the earl of Bute, dated April 13, 1762.

"Marshal Munc was presented to the emperor last Sunday morning, and in the evening the duke of Courland and he appeared together at court with their ribbands, and were both treated by his imperial majesty with great marks of distinction. It was really an affecting scene to see those two respectable persons, after having survived so long a course of misfortunes, appear again, at their age, at a court where they had formerly made so great a figure, and to see them, that being their first interview, converse together with great civility, and without any appearance of that animosity and jealousy, which had drawn all their unhappiness upon them. The duke of Courland's two sons are both made major generals, and count Munc is declared first veldt marshal, prince George of Holstein having, in a very handsome manner, quitted the pas to him. The emperor, to compliment him, gave for the parole that evening, *Vive le premier veldt marshal de Russie*. The duke of Courland is in the seventy-second year of his age, and count Munc in the seventy-ninth of his.

trate myself before your throne, I shall always be most willing to expose my life in your service. Neither a long banishment from the throne of majesty, nor the climate of Siberia, have been able to damp, in the smallest degree, that fire which formerly shone with such lustre for the interests of the Russian empire, and the glory of its sovereign."

Munic enjoyed the favour and protection of Peter and Catharine, and died on the 16th of October, 1767, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

CHAPTER XV.

Impostors who assumed the Name of Peter the Third, particularly Pugatchef.....His Origin and History.... State of the Russian Sectaries, and the Mutiny of the Cossacs of Yaitsk favour his Rebellion.....He assumes the Character of Peter the Third....Collects an irregular army....His Progress....Barbarity....Weakness and Ill-conduct....Repeated Defeats, and Escapes, subsequent Appearance....Finally routed....Betrayed by his Adherents....Executed at Moscow.

ALTHOUGH the body of Peter III, was exposed to public view in the convent of Alexander Nevski; yet several impostors started up in the distant regions of the Russian empire, and passed for that monarch.

The first was a shoe-maker of Voronetz, who appeared under the name of Peter, a few years before the rebellion of Pugatchef; but he was soon taken and executed.

The second was a deserter from the regiment of Orlof: his name was Tchernichef, and he rose in 1770, in the small village of Kopenka on the frontiers of Crim Tartary, as a corps of troops was marching through that place. Some dissenting priests, having suborned a number of followers, raised him upon the altar of the church, and were preparing to acknowledge him; but the colonel of the regiment repairing to the church at the head of a strong guard, took him from the altar, and led him to immediate execution.

A third was a peasant belonging to the Vorontzof family, who deserting from his village, engaged as a common Cossac among those who are settled upon the Volga at Dubofka. A body of these Cossacs marching in the spring of 1772, from Tzaritzin to join the Russian army, he assembled them in a small post-house situated in the lonely desert between the Don and the Volga, and declared himself Peter the Third. Having persuaded them to salute him emperor, and take the oath of allegiance, he appointed several officers of state. A few hours after this transaction, the commander of the troop unexpectedly arriving, confounded the soldiers by his presence, seized the impostor by the hair, and with the assistance of the astonished Cossacs, bound and conducted him a prisoner to Tzaritzin. During his trial the inhabitants, excited by false reports of his followers, rose in his favour, and were not without great difficulty dispersed by the commander colonel Zipletof. The impostor being conveyed to an island of the Volga, was knotted to death.

About the same time a malefactor, who had been transported to Irkutsk, made a similar attempt, and even gained over an officer who had a pension from the crown; but his secret being discovered, he was also put to death.

Yemelka Pugatchef narrowly escaped the same fate at his first appearance. This extraordinary man, son of the Cossac Ivan Pugatchef, was born at Simoveisk, a village on the Don. He was a common Cossac in the war against the king of Prussia, and served likewise during the campaign of 1769 against the Turks. He was at the siege of Bender; and on the surrender of the town, demanded his dismissal, which being refused, he deserted and fled into Poland: he was there concealed by some hermits of the Greek

religion, and afterwards supported himself by begging alms in the town of Dubranka. From thence he repaired to the colonies in little Russia, and continued among the sectaries, who are there established in great numbers; but apprehensive of discovery, he went to the principal settlement of the Cossacs of the river Yaik,* and persuaded several to accompany him to Kuhan. Being arrested at Malekofka for treasonable conversation, he was sent for trial to Casan; where the indolence of the governor, and the delays in bringing him to justice, gave him an opportunity of escaping with a priest, who privately furnished him with money for intoxicating the centinels. He then went down the Volga, and up the river Irghis into the desert; and not long afterwards appeared under the character of Peter, at the head of numerous insurgents. The peculiar circumstances which served to favour his enterprise were derived from the religious prejudices of the Russian dissenters, and the mutiny of the Cossacs of the Yaik.

The Russian dissenters, called by the established church Roskolniki or separatists, distinguish themselves by the name of Staroverski, or old believers. These sectaries have been frequently persecuted, particularly under Peter I, who compelled them to pay double taxes, and wear a badge of distinction. Persecution, however, only tended to increase their numbers; and they are still numerous in Siberia, and among the Cossacs in the government of Orenburgh, where the rebellion of Pugatchef first broke out. They consider the service of the established church as profane and sacrilegious; they have their own priests and ceremonies; and Pugatchef artfully availed himself of their religious opinions, which he professed to espouse and protect.

The mutiny of a large body of Cossacs operated no less in favour of Pugatchef. The Cossacs of the Yaik, descended from those of the Don, are a valiant race, enthusiasts for the ancient ritual, and prizing their beards almost equal to their lives; they are rich from their considerable fisheries of sturgeons; they have also acquired a spirit of independence by being situated in a desert between the Calmucs and the Kirghese, who are continually at variance with each other, and often with the Cossacs themselves. During the war with the Turks in 1771, some recruits were required of these Cossacs for a corps of hussars; their beards were ordered to be shaven; and as they opposed this infringement of their liberties, major general Trautenberg, a Livonian officer, who was sent at the head of a few soldiers to Yaitsk to quell the tumult, imprudently commanded the recruits to be publicly shaven in the midst of the town. The inhabitants, irritated by this wanton insult, rose in arms, wounded several officers, massacred the general and the chief of the Cossacs, and broke into open rebellion. In spring, general Freyman forced Yaitsk, captured several ringleaders of the mutiny, and garrisoned part of his troops in the town. Many of the rebels made their escape, and retiring into the desert, chiefly resorted to the marshy grounds about the lake Kumysh-Samara, where they derived a subsistence from fishing, and shooting wild boars, and were supplied by their relations with bread and provisions. By these means this desperate troop supported themselves during the space of two years, until Pugatchef made his appearance among them.

On his escape from prison, Pugatchef went secretly to Yaitsk about the middle of August, 1773; where he gained over a number of followers among the people, who were enraged against the garrison, and had shewn a strong disposition to revolt, when a report was circulated that a new emperor was coming amongst them; a report probably occasioned by the first appearance of Pugatchef in these parts. Obtaining, at Yaitsk, intelligence of the late mutiny, he followed the deserters; and having, in October,

* In order to extinguish all remembrance of this rebellion, the river Yaik is now called Ural, Yaitsk. Ural's, and the Cossacs of the Yaik, the Uralian Cossacs.

found a large body employed in fishing, informed them that he was the emperor, and had made his escape from prison, where persons were suborned to assassinate him; he added that the rumour of his death was only a fiction invented by the court, and that he now threw himself under their protection.

Pugatchef did not bear the smallest resemblance to Peter; but founded his hopes of gaining belief on the distance from the capital, on the ignorance of the people, on their actual insurrection, and above all, on their attachment to their religious prejudices. Few arguments being necessary to win over these Cossacs, already in a state of rebellion, they unanimously saluted him emperor, and offered to sacrifice their lives in his defence. With these, and other bodies of Cossacs, whom he found equally inclined to follow his standard, he made his first expedition to the new Polish colonies lately established on the river Irghis; where he gave no proof of his subsequent barbarity, despoiling the inhabitants of nothing but arms and horses. He then presented himself before Yaitsk; and after ineffectually summoning the governor to surrender, gave orders for an immediate assault. Being repulsed by the intrepidity of the garrison, he blockaded the place with a view of reducing it by famine; but his attempt was frustrated by the resolution of the governor Rendsdorf, and the incredible perseverance of the garrison, who refused to capitulate, although they were so far straitened for want of provisions, as not only to eat their horses, but even to feed upon leather. This obstinate resistance protracted the siege until Yaitsk was relieved.

Pugatchef, baffled in this enterprise, was more successful in his future operations: he led his followers against the Cossac colonies of Ilets, assaulted and carried, without opposition, the fortresses of Rasypnaya and Osernaya, attacked Tatischeva, where he met with greater resistance; but as the fortifications were only of wood, he set fire to them, and forced the place. A body of troops sent against him from Orenburgh, under colonel Bulof, partly through weakness, and partly through misconduct, was overpowered. Another corps, who in order to join the former, marched from Simbirsk up the Samara, under the command of colonel Tchernichef, arrived too late. Deceived by parties of Pugatchef's followers, they were drawn into the defiles near Tchernoretchinsk, and so suddenly beset, that they were incapable of making resistance. In all these actions, the officers who fell into Pugatchef's hands, were indiscriminately massacred; and the common soldiers were either made prisoners, or joined the rebels. His army being considerably augmented by these successes, he ventured to besiege Orenburgh, where the governor had not force sufficient to defend the fortifications; and the town would have been inevitably taken, had not the garrison of Krasnagorsk thrown themselves into the place by forcing their way through the besiegers.

The report of Pugatchef's progress being disseminated, the Baschkirs, a people unsettled under the Russian government, declared for the impostor, and joined him in large bodies: their example was followed by many Russian colonists, particularly by the peasants employed in the mines and founderies of the Uralian mountains.* These forces he either employed in the siege of Orenburgh, before which town he spent part of the winter in acts of wantonness, drunkenness, and cruelty, or sent them to collect money from the founderies, and to cast copper guns, and balls. This winter he received a powerful reinforcement by the junction of eleven thousand Calmuc horse from the neighbourhood of Stauropol, who revolted and killed their commander, brigadier Veghezak. Strengthened by these accessions, his troops roved over the whole mountainous district of Orenburgh, where only the small town of Upha made the least resistance.

* The Uralian mountains abound in copper mines.

He was even advancing to Catharinenburgh, where he would have found copper coin to the value of 200,000l. ; but a delay, occasioned by a false report that a superior force was marching against him, fortunately afforded time to collect the soldiers stationed on the Siberian frontiers, and cover the place.

The people were so generally attached to the cause of Pugatchef, that he never wanted provisions. Colonel Michaelson, to whose spirit and activity the defeat of Pugatchef was owing, suddenly entering a large village at the head of his corps, the inhabitants taking him for the impostor, flocked about his standard, and exclaimed, " We have long expected your majesty's presence as that of a god ! " * The colonel observed before each house a table spread with bread, milk, honey, and other provisions, for the purpose of regaling the followers of Pugatchef, which were unwillingly resigned to the imperial troops.

At first Pugatchef affected the appearance of uncommon sanctity : he frequently wore the episcopal dress, gave benedictions to the people, renounced all ambitious views for himself, and expressed a resolution that, as soon as he had raised his son the great duke to the throne, he would again retire into the monastery, in which he had found an asylum. He was also active and enterprising, eager to signalize his arms, and ready to seize every advantage which the situation of the enemy presented ; but incapable of supporting with equanimity his rapid successes, he began to consider all further dissimulation as unnecessary ; and his natural temper broke out into the most unwarrantable excesses. He massacred, with the most savage barbarity, all the officers and nobles who were brought before him ; and openly avowing an intention of exterminating the whole Russian nobility, he spared neither sex nor age. His conduct was as imprudent as it was barbarous. Though already married to Sophia, the daughter of a Cossac, by whom he had three children, he espoused a common woman of Yaitsk, delayed his march against the enemy for the celebration of his nuptials, and exhibited continued scenes of intoxication and riot.

He was supported by no persons of rank or consequence ; but, to impose upon his army, some of his most confidential adherents assumed the names of the principal Russian nobles, and wore the orders of knighthood. By a signal to his attendants, he ordered all the German officers who were brought into his presence, to be massacred, in order to prevent his ignorance of their language from being observed by his followers.

During these transactions, general Bibikof, advancing at the head of a very considerable army, detached his major-general, prince Peter Galitzin, against the rebels, who surprised Pugatchef with his whole force near Tatischeva, and worsted him for the first time.† He was closely pursued and overtaken by prince Galitzin near Kargula, upon the river Sakmara, about the distance of twelve miles from Orenburgh ; he was completely routed, his troops were dispersed, and he himself, with a few followers, narrowly escaped into the Uralian mountains. Notwithstanding this discomfiture, he collected his scattered men, and soon re-appeared with a formidable force on the east side of the mountains. He carried several small fortresses, and burnt Troitzk ; but being attacked by lieutenant general de Colm, was obliged to retreat a second time into the mountains.

* This anecdote I had from colonel Michaelson himself.

† This first defeat of Pugatchef himself in person happened on the 23d of March, but on the 22d, colonel Michaelson, with only one thousand troops and six cannon, had routed his general, who called himself colonel Tchernichef, at the head of sixteen thousand men, and took forty-two cannon and eight mortars. Pugatchef offered a reward of 100,000 roubles for the head of colonel Michaelson.

Rendered desperate by these repeated defeats, and desirous of again signalizing his arms by some brilliant exploit, he suddenly directed his march towards Casan, committing in his progress the most dreadful devastations. Having burnt the suburbs, he laid siege to the citadel, whither major-general Paul Potemkin the governor, and all his attendants, had retired. Forced to raise the siege, by the approach of colonel Michaelson, at the head of only twelve hundred troops, he was routed near Casan, after several obstinate engagements, which continued with little interruption during three days. In these engagements six thousand were taken prisoners, and so many killed, that the peasants employed six days in burying the dead; and Pugatchef, accompanied by only three hundred well-armed Cossacs of Yaitsk, who were the most desperate rebels, fled across the Volga. But he was afterwards joined by large bodies of Cossacs and Bashkirs; while ill-armed peasants flocked to his standard from considerable distances. In this manner the impostor seemed to gain strength from his losses; and derived such delusive hopes from the number of his troops, which occasionally amounted to seventy thousand men, that he even formed the resolution of proceeding to Moscow, where one of his emissaries had raised a spirit of sedition among the common people. But apprehensive, least, as peace was concluded with the Turks, part of the army on the Danube might be employed against him, he changed his plan of operations.

He marched down the Volga, routed at Dubofka a party under the command of Baron Dies, stormed Pensa and Saratof, where the governor escaped only with fifty soldiers, obtained possession of Demitrefsk by treachery, and executed the commander. Near that fortress, the astronomer Lowitz, who was employed in levelling the projected canal between the Don and Volga, was murdered in a most inhuman manner. In this instance, insult was added to cruelty; being informed that he was an astronomer, Pugatchef wantonly ordered him to be transfixed upon pikes, and raised in the air, that he might be nearer the stars; and in that situation ordered him to be massacred.

But the enormities of this monster were soon closed by a fate which he had long deserved. The court, no longer embarrassed with a Turkish war, was able to turn its whole attention towards crushing this distant rebellion; and count Peter Panin, who had distinguished himself by the capture of Bender, was sent against the impostor. Panin, moving towards the Volga, detached several troops to the assistance of colonel Michaelson, who compelled Pugatchef to raise the siege of Tzaritzin, drove him towards Tchernoyarsk, cut off his provisions, and finally attacked him unawares as he was marching with his half starved multitude, embarrassed with a large train of loaded carriages and women. The rebel army, surprised in a defile between two ridges of mountains, which run towards the Volga, was entirely routed; many were cut to pieces; more, endeavouring to escape, were forced down the steep precipices with their horses and carriages, and the greater part of the remainder surrendered at discretion. Pugatchef, after many desperate efforts of valour, escaped, with a few of his principal followers, by swimming across the Volga, and retired through the desert towards the river Ufem, where he began his expedition. Here he was gradually deserted by his followers, who were worn out with misery and hunger, and was at last betrayed by those in whom he placed the greatest confidence. Tvorogof, a Cossac of Iletz, and Tchumakef and Fidulef, Cossacs of Yaitsk, were induced by the promise of a pardon to betray him. One of them represented to the impostor, that surrounded as he was by the enemy, he could entertain no hopes of safety; and he advised him to resign himself into the hands of the Russians, on condition of pardon. Pugatchef, enraged at his proposal, drew his dagger and attempted to stab the author of such dastardly advice; but his companions

instantly disarmed, bound, and conducted him prisoner to a corps of troops posted on the river Yaik, under the command of general Suvarof.* He was conveyed to

* This was the celebrated general, who has since been so justly distinguished for his military exploits.

Alexander Vassilievitch Suvarof, descended from a Swedish family ennobled in Russia, was born in 1730, and at the age of twelve enrolled in the Russian army. He made his first campaign against the Prussians in 1759; became brigadier in 1768, and first distinguished himself as a general against the confederates in Poland, in 1771, when he obtained the order of St. Alexander Nevski for his military services.

He afterwards signalled himself on various occasions, too numerous to be repeated, and closed his military career by his astonishing campaign against the French in Italy, and his no less astonishing retreat over the Alps of Switzerland.

Several accounts of his life and character have been already given to the public; and I am happy to have it in my power to add some authentic anecdotes of his disgrace and death.

After the unfortunate battle of Zurich, Suvarof was seized with a dangerous illness, probably occasioned by the violent fatigue he had undergone in his passage through Switzerland. The news of his indisposition had no sooner reached Petersburg, than a physician (Dr. Vischart) was dispatched to attend him; orders for his return were at the same time forwarded; and it was signified to him, that apartments were prepared in the palace for his reception, and that he was to receive the same honours as the imperial family.

Suvarof, suspecting the intention of the emperor to secede from the alliance, pleaded ill-health to remain at his post, and represented, in strong terms, the necessity of an immediate re-inforcement. These representations ill accorded with the views of Paul, who had conceived a violent disgust against the house of Austria. Orders being again dispatched to Suvarof to return, he repeated his remonstrances; but at length commenced his march, moving by slow stages, and fixed his winter quarters in Bohemia. At last a courier from St. Petersburg arrived with positive commands to return to Russia without delay; and acquainted him, in terms strongly marking the high displeasure of the sovereign, that the apartments destined for him in the palace were already disposed of, and that his presence was not necessary in the capital.

From this moment his intellects were sensibly affected. Notwithstanding the efforts of his physician, he persisted in travelling incessantly; and on the days in which his fever intermitted, underwent such fatigue as those in health could not bear without inconvenience.

At length reaching Petersburg, he was obliged to take refuge in a small house situated in an obscure quarter of the town, and belonging to a distant relation, of the name of Quastof. On the night of his arrival, according to the information of a person who saw him, his appearance was humiliating and affecting; he was wan and emaciated, more resembling a corpse than an animated being; his intellects were disordered, but his understanding returned at intervals, and he occasionally recollected, and spoke affectionately to many of those who were present.

The medicines which were administered, and the repose which he enjoyed after his fatiguing journey, restored his faculties, and he gave a proof of the singularity of his disposition, and the independence of his spirit, by the manner in which he received a message from the emperor Paul who two days after his arrival, sent his favourite and prime-minister, count Rastofsin (who had been formerly a subaltern in his regiment) to inquire after his health. He affected to disbelieve that Rastofsin was prime-minister, because he appeared in the new military costume, and when his quality was repeatedly declared, at length pretended to apologise, and said he had mistaken him for his jack-boots for an officer of the police. In the course of the conversation, he suddenly apostrophised the minister by his christian name, and said, surely you were an under officer in my regiment. Rastofsin replying in the affirmative, Suvarof exclaimed, "happy Russia! whose ministers are drawn from every station. In other countries, indeed, the employments of state are filled by those who have been bred up in the details of office, and grown gray in the service. But Russia is above these antiquated prejudices!"

A person who visited him two days before his death, found him totally childish; he amused himself with giving away estates which he did not possess, as well as in making imaginary gifts of Persian horses, and rich furs, which those to whom he distributed his largesses pretended to receive with great acknowledgments of his liberality.

In this melancholy state, he continued till the hour of his death, which happened on the 18th of May. His body was laid in state in the house where he died, and the room was so small as scarcely to admit sufficient space for the canopy, and for the numerous cushions on which his different orders of knighthood were placed. All ranks of people crowded to visit his remains, and the enthusiastic attachment of the Russians to their general was as great at this period, as in the midst of his victorious career, notwithstanding the disapprobation of the sovereign.

The indignation of the emperor, which had been first excited by his bitter sarcasms against the new military system, and his delays in marching back his troops, was increased by his treatment of Rastofsin, and survived his decease. The funeral of Suvarof completed his singular and unmerited

Yaitsk, and delivered to count Panin at Simbirsk, who sent him, with his principal associates to Moscow; where he arrived in the month of November 1774. On his examination, he acknowledged all the circumstances of his imposture, and was publicly beheaded in the city of Moscow, on the 21st of January. His body was then quartered, and exposed in different places.

Nothing can place the humanity of the empress in a stronger light, than that, at the conclusion of a rebellion which almost shook her throne, the impostor Pugatchef was not put to the torture;* and that only he and four of his principal confederates suffered death.

CHAPTER XVI.

Description of the Knoot.... Penal Laws of Russia.... Abolition of capital Punishments by the Edict of Elizabeth.... Remarks on that Edict.... Abolition of Torture by the present Empress.... Her Majesty's Answers to the Authors Queries on Prisons.... Outlines of the new Regulations.... Their excellence and beneficial tendency.

ONE morning, as I strolled through the streets of Petersburg, near the market-place, I observed a large crowd of people, and on inquiring the cause of this concourse was informed, that the multitude was assembled to see a felon, who had been convicted of murder, receive the knoot. Although I naturally shuddered at the idea of being a spectator of the agonies of a fellow-creature, yet curiosity overcame my feelings. I penetrated through the crowd, and ascended the roof of a wooden house; from whence I had a distinct view of the dreadful operation. The executioner held in his hand the knoot:† this instrument is a hard thong, about the thickness of a crown-piece, and

disgrace: after having been honoured by every distinction a sovereign could bestow, after being prayed for in the chapel of the court, together with the imperial family, after being made a prince of the empire, and generalissimo of all the forces, a rank equal to that possessed by the emperor himself, and after having conducted a brilliant and victorious campaign, he was buried without common military honours. A few soldiers from a marching regiment attended the procession, instead of the battalions of guards, no artillery was allowed excepting some small pieces of cannon, which seemed to burlesque instead of adding dignity to the ceremony, and even the caparisoned horse was forbidden to be led. The populace felt and displayed their indignation at this insulting and studied disrespect: but the vigilance of the police obliged them to murmur in secret; and in a short time all seemed to have been forgotten, excepting by those who were able to appreciate the merit of Suvarof.

The resentment of the emperor did not confine itself to the remains of the deceased hero, but extended to his family. His son, who, in consideration of his father's services, had been suddenly raised to the rank of major-general, was totally deprived of his military character, and reduced to the post of chamberlain, which he held before his elevation, and his marriage with the daughter of the duke of Courland was broken off, by the interference of the court.

It appears from recent accounts, that the emperor Alexander has attempted to compensate for the neglect of Paul, by erecting the statue of Suvarof in the imperial garden at Petersburg.

* When I visited the prison of Moscow, I saw several horrid instruments, which had been made to torture Pugatchef, but which, by the empress's positive orders, were not used. L'Evesque, who is seldom mistaken, is therefore wrong, in asserting that he was racked to death. "Il perit du supplice de la roue. Vol. v. p. 143.

† The following are the exact dimensions and weight of a knoot, which I procured in Russia, and which is now in my possession.

Length of the thong 2 feet; breadth of the top $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch; at the bottom $\frac{1}{4}$. Thickness $\frac{1}{4}$. Length of the platted whip 2 feet. Circumference of ditto $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Diameter of the ring 1 inch and $\frac{1}{4}$. Length of the leather spring 1 inch and $\frac{1}{4}$. Length of the handle 1 foot $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Length of the whole 5 feet 5 inches and $\frac{1}{4}$. Weight 11 ounces.

three quarters of an inch broad, and tied to a thick plaited whip, which is connected, by means of an iron ring, with a small piece of leather fastened to a short wooden handle.

The executioner, before every stroke, receded, and at the same time drew back the hand which held the knoot; then, bounding forwards, he struck the flat end of the thong on the naked back of the criminal in a perpendicular line, reaching six or seven inches from the collar towards the waist. He began with the right shoulder, and continued his strokes parallel to each other quite to the left shoulder; nor ceased till he had inflicted three hundred and thirty-three lashes, the number prescribed by the sentence. At the conclusion of this terrible operation, the nostrils of the criminal were torn with pincers, his face was marked with a hot iron, and he was re-conducted to prison, in order to be transported to the mines of Nerzhinsk in Siberia.

As several authors have erroneously described the punishment of the knoot, I have been thus particular in relating what fell under observation; and I shall take this opportunity of making a few remarks on the penal laws of Russia.

By the ancient statutes, felons, as well as traitors, were publicly executed; but by an edict of Elizabeth, corporal penalties were, except in some cases of high treason, substituted in the room of capital sentences; a circumstance peculiar to the Russian code.

According to the present penal laws, offenders are punished in the following manner. Persons convicted of high treason are either beheaded or imprisoned for life. Felons, after receiving the knoot, having their nostrils torn and their faces marked, are condemned for life to work in the mines of Nerzhinsk. Petty offenders are either whipped,* transported into Siberia as colonists, or sentenced to hard labour for a stated period. Among the colonists are included peasants, who may be arbitrarily consigned by their masters to banishment.†

All these persons are transported in spring and autumn from different parts of the Russian dominions. They travel partly by water and partly by land, are chained in pairs, and fastened to a long rope. When the whole troop arrives at Tobolsk, the governor assigns the colonists, who are versed in handicraft trades, to different masters in the town; others he disposes as vassals in the neighbouring country. The remainder of the colonists proceed to Irkutsk, where they are distributed by the governor in the same manner. The felons are then conveyed to the district of Nerzhinsk, where they are condemned to work in the silver mines, or at the different forges.

Travellers, who visited Russia before the reign of Elizabeth, uniformly concurred in relating the various modes of public executions, and in reprobating the severity of the criminal laws. But though we may join with every friend to humanity in rejoicing that many of these dreadful punishments no longer exist; yet we cannot assent to the high encomiums passed on the superior excellence of the penal code since the edict of Elizabeth, which is supposed to have totally annulled capital condemnations.

From this suppression of capital punishment in all instances excepting treason, Elizabeth has been represented, not only by the lively Voltaire, but even by the sagacious

The reader will judge of the great force which the skilful executioner can give to this instrument, when informed, that if he receives a private order, he can dispatch the criminal by striking him two or three blows upon the ribs.

* There are three instruments for whipping in Russia; the knoot, the katze, and the plett, both of which latter are a kind of cat-o'-nine-tails.

† Their masters are empowered to inflict this punishment, only assigning the offence.

Blackstone,* as a pattern of legislative clemency. Though the infliction of death for offences, which ought not to be capital, is too frequent in many countries; yet Elizabeth's modification of the criminal laws is perhaps no less exceptionable, in point of policy and expedience, than illusive in regard to its supposed lenity.

For should we even erroneously imagine, with some authors, that the edict has been literally obeyed, and that, during the space of forty years, not one criminal suffered death throughout the vast empire of Russia; surely this lenity to the most atrocious crimes must be considered as extremely injurious to society. As a denunciation of death is, to the generality of mankind, the most formidable prevention of crimes, the removal

* Voltaire thus expresses himself upon this edict. "L'Imperatrice Elizabeth a acheve, par la clemence, l'ouvrage que son pere commença par les loix. Cette indulgence a ete meme pousse a un point, dont il n'y a point d'exemple dans l'histoire d'aucun peuple. Elle a promis, que pendant son regne personne ne serait puni de mort, & a tenu sa promesse. Elle est la premiere souveraine qui ait ainsi respecte la vie des hommes. Les malfaiteurs ont ete condamnés aux mines aux travaux publics: leurs chatimens sont devenus utiles a l'etat; institution non moins sage que humaine. Partout ailleurs on ne sait que tuer un criminel, avec appareil, sans avoir jamais empêche les crimes. La terreur de la mort fait moins d'impression peut-être sur des méchants pour la plupart fainéants, que la crainte d'un chatiment & d'un travail pénible qui renaissent tous les jours." *Hist. de Russie*, p. 120.

Sir William Blackstone makes the following remark upon the same prohibition.

"Was the vast territory of all the Russias worse regulated under the late empress Elizabeth, than under her more sanguinary predecessors? Is it now, under Catharine II, less civilised, less social, less secure? And yet we are assured, that neither of these illustrious princesses have, throughout their whole administration, inflicted the penalty of death; and the latter has, upon full persuasion of its being useless, nay, even pernicious, given orders for abolishing it entirely throughout her extensive dominions." *Commentaries*, vol. iv. p. 10.

And lately L'Evesque, "Les grands crimes ont commence a devenir plus rares sous ce regne, ou personne n'a ete puni de mort." *Hist. de Russie*, tom. v. p. 92.

Voltaire assigns, as the grounds of his encomium on Elizabeth's suppression of capital punishment, two reasons: 1. The permanent chastisement which entails on the offender a long continuance of hardships and misery, has a greater effect on the multitude, than the summary pangs of death. 2. The preservation of malefactors is subservient to public emolument. 1. On the first reason I shall briefly remark, that the horror of dissolution has been repeatedly observed in the generality of mankind to preponderate beyond any other terrors; and if we could devise a punishment more terrible than death, this new punishment, in order to work its effect upon vulgar minds, ought to be inflicted within the reach of vulgar observation, and not in the remote region of Siberia. For can we suppose that the lower class of mankind, who are governed by their senses, receive any strong impression from the casual report of sufferings endured at a great distance? 2. Voltaire's second reason for his applause of Elizabeth's edict, namely, the profit which the community derives from the labour of a malefactor whose life is spared, will hardly be allowed to hold good in regard to murderers; for if capital punishments be really the most efficacious prevention of crimes, they will necessarily form a stronger bulwark round the lives of orderly citizens than any other penalties. The legislator, therefore, who subverts this security with a view to the emolument of the state, actually revives the old barbarous custom of weighing the life of man in a scale against pecuniary advantage, with this material difference, however, in favour of that barbarous custom, that the latter assigned the price of blood to the relations of the person whose blood had been shed, and who had a more immediate claim, than the community at large, on any compensation made by the offender.

Judge Blackstone intimates his doubts concerning the superior efficacy of capital punishments over other penalties in the shape of a query. Was the vast territory, &c.? But no reader can perhaps answer this question in the negative; nor could the sagacious author himself answer it in the affirmative. For can it be decisively determined, except by a collection and comparison, during a long series of years, of felonies respectively committed under the two different modes of jurisprudence? and judge Blackstone does not pretend to have formed his theory on this ground. But after all, this reasoning supposes a fact which in reality does not exist, that no criminal has suffered capitally since the accession of Elizabeth; the fallacy of which assertion is, I flatter myself, abundantly proved in the text.

I entered Russia fully prejudiced in favour of the notion, that no persons were ever punished with death. I was first undeceived by a foreign gentleman, to whom I addressed the question, Whether there were any capital executions in Russia? "Malefactors, indeed," he returned, "are not beheaded or hanged; but are not unfrequently knotted to death."

of this salutary terror withdraws a material safeguard from the lives and property of worthy citizens, and diminishes that security which they have a right to claim from the protection of the laws.

The most benevolent person will probably entertain no extraordinary veneration for this boasted abolition of capital punishment, when he reflects, that though the criminal laws of Russia do not literally sentence malefactors to death, they still consign many to that doom through the medium of punishments in some circumstances, almost assuredly, if not professedly, fatal, which mock with the hopes of life, but in reality protract the horrors of death, and embitter with delay an event which reason and humanity wish to be instantaneous. For when we consider that many felons expire under the infliction, or from the consequences of the knout; that several are exhausted by the fatigue of the long journey to Nershinsk,* and that the forlorn remnant perish prematurely from the unwholesomeness of the mines, it will be difficult to view the doom of these unhappy outcasts in any other light than that of a lingering execution. In effect, since the promulgation of the edict, a year has never passed in which many atrocious criminals, though legally condemned to other penalties, have not suffered death. And indeed, upon a general calculation, perhaps it will be found, that notwithstanding the apparent mildness of the penal code, not fewer malefactors suffer death in Russia, than in those countries wherein that mode of punishment is appointed by the laws. It is therefore evident, that capital penalties are virtually retained, although the chief utility resulting from the terror of death is considerably diminished.

The panegyrists of Elizabeth would have entertained some doubts concerning her boasted clemency, had they recollected that she still retained a horrid process for the purpose of extorting confession from persons charged with treasonable designs. The arms of the suspected person being tied behind by a rope, he was drawn up to a considerable height; from whence, being suddenly precipitated and suddenly checked, the violence of the concussion dislocated his shoulders, and in that deplorable situation he underwent the knout. To this dreadful engine of barbarity and despotism, Elizabeth gave unlimited scope: during her whole reign it was applied even at the discretion of inferior and ignorant magistrates, and was not abolished until the accession of Catharine, who has prohibited the use of torture.

Although the sovereign is absolute in the most unlimited sense of the word; yet the prejudice of the Russians in regard to the necessity of torture (and a wise legislator will always respect popular prejudices, however absurd) was so deeply rooted by immemorial usage, that it required great circumspection not to raise discontents by an immediate abolition of that inhuman practice. Accordingly, the cautious manner in which it was gradually suppressed, discovered as much judgment as benevolence. In 1762, Catharine took away the power of inflicting torture from the vavodes, or inferior justices, by whom it had been shamefully abused. In 1767, a secret order was issued to the judges, that whenever they should think torture necessary to force confession, they should lay the general articles of the charge before the governor of the province for his consideration; and all the governors had received previous directions to determine the case according to the principles laid down in the third† question of the tenth chapter of instructions for a code of laws; wherein torture is proved to be no less useless than cruel. This, therefore, was a tacit abolition of torture, which has been since formally

* Four thousand seven hundred and seventy-six miles from Petersburg.

† Question III. "La question ne blesse-t-elle pas la justice, et conduit-elle au but, &c." See Instructions de Catharine II, &c. p. 51 to 55.

and publicly annulled. The prohibition of this horrid species of judicature throughout the Russian empire, forms a memorable æra in the annals of humanity.

At Moscow and Petersburg I visited the prisons, of which I have given an account in a former publication.* In this place I shall only remark in general, that the empress, informed of my researches in relation to prisons, with a condescension peculiar to her character, permitted me to deliver to count Ivan Tchernichef, vice president of the admiralty, a list of queries, on some of which I received information, by her orders, from her best informed governors,† and others she even condescended to answer herself. Her answers I shall here subjoin, with a full conviction, that observations even of less moment would be rendered acceptable by the authority of so distinguished a character.

Queries upon the Russian prisons, delivered to the empress.

1. *Is there any general plan for the construction of prisons, and their interior distribution? and are they usually situated in the suburbs, and near the running water?*

2. *What precautions are taken, in order to keep the prisons clean, and to prevent epidemical distempers?*

3. *Is there a separate infirmary for the sick?*

4. *Are petty offenders kept apart from the felons, and are the felons also separated from each other?*

5. *Are the prisoners permitted to purchase spirituous liquors, and do the jailors sell them?*

6. *Are female criminals put in irons?*

Answers dictated by the empress to her secretary, and sent to the author.

"1. There has been hitherto no general plan for the construction of prisons, nor rules for their distribution and situation.

"2. There is no more regulation for the cleanliness of the prisons, than for their construction and situation. By an abuse favourable to the prisoners, they are in many places permitted to go to the baths. It is probable that the cold alone prevents epidemical disorders.

"3. Not every where.

"4. Although it is prescribed by the ancient laws that a felon, sentenced to death, shall be kept in a separate room, called the chamber of repentance, nevertheless, there are no where chambers of that description.

"5. Every species of food is sold in the prisons, but the jailor cannot sell spirituous liquors, and that for two reasons: First, because spirituous liquors can only be sold by those who farm the right of vending them from the crown. Secondly, which is very extraordinary, there are no jailors‡ to any of the prisons, although the laws make mention of them.

"6. The laws are silent upon this head. So that whenever this custom is practised, it must be reckoned among those

* Account of the prisons and Hospitals in Russia, Sweden, and Denmark.

† I have made use of these papers in the treatise mentioned in the last note.

‡ The prisoners are guarded by soldiers.

7. *Is the fate of criminals condemned to hard labour ever mitigated in case of reformation? Do they wear any badge of infamy, and is it taken away upon good behaviour?*

8. *Are there fixed times and places in the several provinces for the trial of criminals?*

innumerable abuses which ought to be abolished.*

"7. Criminals condemned to public labour are transported: for murder they are branded in the face with a hot iron, &c.; some are chained, others have their nostrils torn, and, unless upon a general or particular amnesty, they receive no mitigation.

"8. The laws settled indeed certain times for this purpose; but as a great number of different affairs and trials were decided in the same tribunal, the courts of criminal justice were very dilatory in their proceedings.

"See the manifesto of 1775, at the head of the regulations,† &c."

"New plan for the Russian prisons, to be introduced into each government.

"1. To divide the prisons into civil and criminal. 2. The criminal prison shall be distributed into three parts. The first for criminals before and during trial; the second for persons sentenced to confinement for a stated time; and the third for felons capitally convicted, condemned to perpetual imprisonment, or to the public works. 3. Each part shall be separate, one for the men, the other for the women. 4. There shall be an infirmary for sick prisoners. 5. The prison shall be constructed without the town, in an airy situation, and near the water."

It cannot be otherwise than a subject of pleasing reflection, that this great princess thus condescends to contemplate and alleviate the sufferings of even the wretched victims to public justice; but how much more will our veneration be increased, when we consider her as erecting the glorious superstructure of national happiness on the firm basis of equal legislation?

The empress, at her accession, found the Russian code of laws a rude and indigested chaos, and saw the immediate necessity of reformation. The courts of justice were regulated by the statutes of Alexey Michaelovitch,‡ extremely defective both as to order and precision; and by the ukases or imperial mandates issued by Peter and his suc-

* The original passage, which is in the French language, does not admit of a literal translation:

"Les loix passent sous silence ce point: ainsi ce que pourroit se faire a cet egard peut etre compte parmi l'innombrable quantite des abus. Ces abus sont pour la plupart autant de cloux qu'il faut tirer du corps politique de l'etat ou on les trouve."

† Reglements de Sa Maj. Imp. pour l'administration des gouvernements, &c.

‡ The earliest regular code of written laws was formed in 1542, by Ivan Vassilievitch II, from precedents and ancient customs. The statutes of Alexey Michaelovitch, alluded to in the text, were chiefly composed from the above-mentioned code, from the mandates of the sovereigns subsequent to Ivan Vassilievitch II, from the decisions of the boiars, who in those times presided in the high courts of justice, and from the Byzantine laws or edicts issued by the Greek emperors of Constantinople. The new statutes compiled from these sources, with a few additions, being in 1650 read in the Tzar's presence, were printed, and a copy sent into each province.

See Statuta Moschovitica in Herbersteinii Itin. in Moschoviam; also Von Justiz-Wesen in Haygold's Beylagen, p. 379.

cessors, uncommonly numerous, and in many important points contradictory to each other.

The vast empire of Russia was distributed into a few extensive governments; each government was subdivided into provinces, and each province into districts, or circles. Over each government was a governor, over the provinces a wayvode and his officers, who formed a chancery; over the districts an inferior wayvode, or justice of peace. The abuses resulting from this distribution are sufficiently detailed in a passage, from the manifesto of the empress prefixed to the first part of the new code:*

"We find that many governments are not sufficiently provided with tribunals or officers of justice, in proportion to their extent; that not only the affairs of the treasury and police, but also civil and criminal causes, are tried in the same court in which the administration of the government is carried on. Nor are the provinces and districts less subject to similar inconveniences; as the sole chancery of the wayvode is the only court which has cognizance of so many and such different affairs. The disorders resulting from these circumstances are but too evident. On one side delays, omissions, and vexations, are the natural consequences of so incongruous and defective a constitution; where one business impedes another; and where the impossibility of terminating matters so various in the sole chancery of the wayvode occasions procrastination, neglect of duty, and admits only a partial dispatch of business. On the other side, these delays generate chicanery, and encourage the commission of crimes; because the punishment does not follow the transgression of the laws with that celerity which is necessary to repress and strike terror into offenders; while endless appeals from one court to another are perpetual obstructions to justice."

But the greatest evil to the lower class of people arose from the enormous authority of the inferior wayvode, who, though usually a person of low birth, and totally ignorant of the laws, yet could not only impose punishment for petty offences, but had even the power of ordering the knout, inflicting torture, and transporting to Siberia. Hence, persons suspected of crimes were detained in prison several years without being brought to a final trial, were tortured without sufficient proof, and frequently more than once.

Many sovereigns since Alexey Michaelovitch, particularly Peter I, framed projects for amending the Russian jurisprudence, but never carried it into execution. The completion of this arduous undertaking was reserved for Catharine II,; who, in 1767, summoned deputies to Moscow from every part of her extensive dominions, and having appointed commissioners for composing a new code of laws, delivered to them her grand instructions,† written by her imperial majesty in the true spirit of genuine legislation. In conformity to these instructions, the first part of a new code appeared in 1775, and a second part in 1780, and it has been received in many of the new governments into which the Russian empire is divided. Many abuses have been removed by these new institutions; and many still existing are to be abolished.

Though an ample detail of these regulations falls not within the compass of the present work; it is to be hoped that the curiosity of the public will be in some measure gratified by enumerating the most striking peculiarities in this extensive plan, which has modified the whole system of government.

* *Reglements de Catharine II, &c.* p. vii.

† "*Instructions de Catharine II, pour la commission chargée de dresser le Projet d'un Nouveau Code de Loix.*" St. Pet. 1769. These instructions have been translated into most modern languages, and into English by Tatishchef, a Russian gentleman, to which is prefixed, a description of the manner of opening the commission, with the order and rules for electing the commissioners appointed to frame a new code of laws. See the grand instructions, &c. printed by Jefferys.

The empire, divided by Peter the Great into nine extensive governments, is now distributed into a larger number,* each upon an average containing only from three to four hundred thousand males. One or more of these governments is superintended by a Namestnik, or lord-lieutenant, and each has a vice-governor, a council, civil and criminal courts of judicature, some of whose members are appointed by the sovereign, and the others chosen by the nobles. By this institution Catharine has in some instances, circumscribed her prerogative, by diminishing the power of those tribunals which were only dependent upon the crown, or transferring it to the nobles, and investing them with many additional privileges with respect to the administration of justice. By introducing likewise into each government superior tribunals, whose decision is final, she has prevented frequent appeals to the imperial colleges at Petersburg and Moscow, which were attended with considerable expence and delay. By establishing or separating the different boards of finance, police, &c. from the courts of law, which before impeded each other by meeting in the same place, she has facilitated the dispatch of business, and rendered the administration of justice more speedy. She has increased the salaries of the judges, who, from the narrowness of their income, were exposed to almost irresistible temptations from bribery; or, to use her own expressions to the judges, in her celebrated edict, "Formerly your necessities might have induced you to be too attentive to your own interests: your country now pays your labours, and what before might admit of some excuse, from this moment becomes a crime."

To these regulations must be added the abolition of torture; the establishment of proper boundaries between the governments, which has prevented many dissensions and law-suits; the appointment of regular physicians and surgeons, in various districts, at the expence of the crown; the foundation of schools, and the establishment of new seminaries for those intended for holy orders; the erection of new bodies corporate with additional immunities; the grant of freedom to numberless vassals of the crown; and the means taken to facilitate the emancipation of the peasantry. But of all the plans, none is more useful and praise-worthy than the establishment of schools in every government, formed on the most comprehensive scale and liberal principles.

An academy is established at St. Petersburg for the instruction of two hundred students, designed to be masters of the provincial schools. It is provided with professors of history, mathematics, rhetoric, and natural history; with a German master, and a drawing master. The students are selected from the different seminaries of the Russian empire, and, as they have received their education as priests of the regular clergy, understand Latin. They are twenty years of age, and are to remain at Petersburg three years; during which period they are instructed in history, geography, the various branches of natural philosophy, and natural history. They are all boarded, lodged, and instructed at the empress's expence. At the conclusion of this term their places to be supplied by others, and they will be distributed in the different parts of Russia. Two of these students will be established in the principal town of each government; one as teacher of mathematics, the other of history, geography, and natural history. Each student, thus established, is to instruct other students as preceptors of the smaller schools in the lesser towns. The regulation of this useful establishment is entrusted to a committee consisting of five members, who have the superintendence of the whole.

* The first provinces erected into governments, according to the new institution, were Tver and Smolensko, in January 1776. Those which have been since established, either before or during my residence in Russia, were in the following order: Novogorod and Kaluga, in December 1776; Plescof, Yaroslaf, and Tula, in December 1777; Polotsk and Mohilef, in May 1778; Resan, Volodimir, Kostroma, and Orel, in December 1778; See a list of the governments, Book vi. chap. i. p. 339.

Thus, the great schools in the principal towns will depend on the academy of Petersburg, and each school in the smaller towns on the principal school in each government; a scheme, which if carried into execution, will effectually promote the interior civilization of this vast empire.

Such are the outlines of these excellent institutions. How far, or in what degree, they may operate upon a people so widely dispersed, and of such different manners and customs, can only be proved by time and experience. But though they may fail in producing all those advantages which the speculative reasoner might expect, yet they must be attended with most beneficial effects; as sufficiently appears from the flourishing state of those provinces in which they have been already admitted. If it be allowed that many evils have been reformed, and many improvements introduced, it cannot at the same time be supposed that the national manners should be suddenly changed, or that the most absolute sovereign can venture to shake those fundamental customs which have been sanctioned by ages. It is surely sufficient if the abuses are remedied, as much as can be expected in such a country; where the vast disproportion of rank and fortune, and the vassalage of the peasants, render it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to establish at once an impartial administration of justice.

Russia, with respect to the vast mass of people, is nearly in the same state in which the greater part of Europe was plunged during the eleventh and twelfth centuries; when the feudal system was gradually declining; when the unbounded authority of the landholders over their slaves was beginning to be counter-balanced by the introduction of an intermediate order of merchants; when new towns were continually erecting, and endowed with increasing immunities, and when the crown ventured to give freedom to its vassals.

CHAPTER XVII.

Inquiry into the present State of Civilization in the Russian Empire....Division of the Inhabitants into Nobles, Clergy, Merchants, and Burghers....Peasants....Privileges granted to the Merchants, Burghers, and Peasants....State of Vassalage.

MUCH has been written concerning the great civilization which Peter the Great introduced into Russia; that he obliged the people to shave their beards, and relinquish their national dress; that he naturalised the arts and sciences, disciplined his army, created a navy, and made a total change throughout his extensive empire. We may readily admit the truth of this eulogium with respect to his improvements in the discipline of his army and the creation of a navy; for these were objects within the reach of his persevering genius: but the pompous accounts of the total change which he is said to have effected in the national manners, from the mere echoes of foreigners, who never visited the country, and who collected the history of Peter from partial information. For though a nation, compared with itself at a former period, may have made a rapid progress towards improvement; yet, as the exaggerated accounts which I had heard and read of the great civilization diffused throughout the whole empire led me to expect a more polished state of manners, I must own I was astonished at the barbarism in which the bulk of the people still continue. I am ready to allow that the principal nobles are as civilized, and as refined in their entertainments, mode of living, and social intercourse, as those of other European countries. But there is a wide difference between polishing a nation, and polishing a few individuals. The merchants and peasants still universally retain their national dress, their original manners, and, what is most remarkable, the greater part of the merchants and burghers of the large towns, even the citizens of Pe-

tersburgh and Moscow, resemble, in their external appearance and general mode of living, the inhabitants of the smallest village; and notwithstanding the rigorous edicts issued by* Peter I, the far greater number still wear their beards; being scarcely less attached to that patriarchal custom than their ancestors, when the fine for mutilating a finger was rated at 1s. 3d.; that for cutting off the beard, or whiskers, at 4s. 10d.†

In fact, the peasants, who form the bulk of the nation, are still almost as deficient in the arts as before the reign of Peter, although the sciences have flourished in the capital. But the civilization of a numerous and widely dispersed people is not the work of a moment, and can only be effected by a gradual and almost insensible progress.

If from these general reflections we distinctly consider the different classes of subjects in the Russian empire, we shall be enabled to form some probable judgment concerning the present state of civilization.

The inhabitants may be divided into four orders: nobles and gentry, clergy, merchants, burghers, and other freemen, and peasants.

The three first include almost all the free subjects of the empire, and the latter all the vassals or slaves.

I. The first order comprehends the nobles and gentry; the sole persons who, in the true spirit of feudal despotism, have a right to possess land; but instead of appearing themselves, according to the tenure of that system, at the head of their retainers, are now only expected to serve in the army, and obliged to furnish recruits in proportion to the number of their vassals.

In Russia, as in the Oriental governments, there is scarcely any distinction of ranks among the nobility, excepting what is derived from the service of the sovereign. Even the eldest sons of those persons, who have been raised to the most considerable honours and highest employments, excepting the advantages which they undoubtedly retain of facilitating their promotion by a ready access to court, do not derive any solid benefits from their birth, like those which the peers of England, the grandees of Spain, or the dukes, who are peers of France, enjoy from their hereditary descent. The importance of a noble family of large property and official honours, is almost annihilated on the death of the chief; because his property is equally divided among his sons; and because titles, though allowed to be hereditary, do not, independent of the sovereign's favour, contribute much to aggrandise the possessors; that of a prince, a count, or a baron, conveying in themselves little personal distinction, unless accompanied with a civil or military employment.

Before the æra of Peter the Great, the only title in Russia, excepting that of boyar, which signified privy counsellor, and was not hereditary, and other appellations annexed to civil employments, was that of knaes, which was esteemed synonymous to prince. Persons who assumed this title were descended, or pretended to be so, either from the different collateral branches of the reigning family, or from some Lithuanian princes who

* "Il ordonna aux Russes de quitter l'habit long et la barbe. Une amende fut imposée aux amateurs obstinés de l'ancien usage. Bien des Russes, et surtout les Rozkolniks, regardaient le changement d'habit comme un renoncement à la religion, et disaient qu'il valaient mieux perdre la tête que la barbe: ils furent obligés de payer un droit pour n'être pas rasés, et ils recevaient un jeton qui leur servait de quittance. Souvent à la cour on enivrait les vieux boïars, et on leur taillait la barbe d'une manière si ridicule, qu'ils étaient obligés de garder la chambre pendant plusieurs mois, ou de se faire raser. On attachait aux portes des villes un modèle du nouvel habit, et on rognait la robe de ceux qui ne voulaient pas payer; on les rasait malgré eux dans les rues." L'Evesque, iv. p. 157.

† Haygold, i. p. 337.

‡ Catharine, in confirming the immunities of the nobles, decreed, "que le droit d'acheter ou de vendre des terres seroit propre ou particulier aux seuls nobles." Le Clerc, p. 472.

established themselves in Russia in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries; or from the numerous Tartar nobles who became subjects to Ivan Vassilievitch II, and his immediate successors; or from several Polish and other foreign families, who settled in this empire. In process of time the number of these princes increased so considerably, that, according to lord Whitworth, no less than three hundred were common soldiers in prince Mentchikof's regiment of dragoons. Though Peter the Great, in imitation of other European courts, introduced the titles of count and baron, and his example has been followed by his successors, yet neither these titles, or that of knaes, have been esteemed a sufficient aggrandisement, because the greatest favourites of the sovereign have been occasionally created, by the emperor of Germany, princes of the Roman empire; as prince Mentchikof at the request of Peter, and princes Orlof and Potemkin, during the present reign.*

According to the system introduced by Peter I, but which has gradually been corrupted as it has receded from its source, every person takes precedence from his military rank; he must rise in regular gradation, and before he can be an officer, must have served as a corporal or serjeant. But this ordinance is easily eluded; frequently infants are made serjeants and corporals, and it is not necessary to have served even one campaign in order to obtain precedence, as it may be conferred by civil offices. Although the law of Peter I, which compelled each nobleman or gentleman, under pain of degradation, to serve in the army, was abolished by Peter III;† yet the effects still subsist. No one under the rank of a major is permitted to drive more than two horses; under that of brigadier, more than four: a nobleman of the highest fortune and distinction, who has never been in the army, is not allowed, excepting by the special permission of the crown, to use in the capital a carriage drawn by more than one horse, while a merchant may have two. There are various methods, however, of procuring military dignity, and the privileges annexed to it. Amongst others, a chamberlain, for instance, to the sovereign, ranks as major general; the office of a secretary, in the different departments of government, confers the rank of an officer, and the contributor of a certain sum to the foundling hospital at Moscow, obtains the rank of a lieutenant. These regulations, and the ease with which military rank is acquired, has induced a German, settled in Russia, to express himself with some humour in the following manner: "A nobleman is here nothing; his situation in the army alone marks the value of his existence. A physician has the rank of major, and dares, as a staff-officer, put four horses to his carriage, while others can only drive two; an apothecary in the imperial service has the rank of a captain; his apprentices that of ensigns; and the two surgeons of the district bear the rank of lieutenant."‡ But however ridiculous those promotions may appear, yet they are founded on principles of the soundest policy: for as, by a decree of Peter the Great, every officer is noble during his life, and the children of a staff-officer are classed among the nobility, any institution tending to increase the number of this order of men, who alone are entitled to possess land, cannot fail of being highly beneficial to society. On their own estates the nobles and gentry are almost uncontrouled, having absolute authority over their vassals.

* Also prince Besborodko and prince Zubof.

† The abbe de Chappe, in a remark upon the abolition of this law by Peter III, is guilty of a ridiculous mistake, when he supposes, that before this decree the nobles were slaves. About a week after his accession to the throne, Peter went to the senate, and declared, "that he had granted the privilege of freedom to the nobility." This mistake arose from an omission in his decree, in which the nobles were only declared free, without the addition of to serve, or not to serve, as they thought proper. See *Antidote*, p. 148 to 150.

‡ Schloetzer's *Briefwechsel* for 1781, p. 365.

II. The next order of subjects is the clergy.

I have already had occasion to mention the origin and suppression of the office of patriarch, who was formerly the head of the Russian clergy. Peter finally abolished that dignity in 1719; but instead of formally declaring himself the head of the church, he prudently consigned the chief ecclesiastical authority to a tribunal which he called the sacred synod, which was in effect subservient to him, as all its members took an oath, acknowledging him as their supreme judge. The synod is composed of the sovereign, who is president; a vice president, who is generally the metropolitan archbishop, and a number of counsellors and assessors.

The clergy are divided into, 1, regular, or monks; and 2, secular, or parish priests.

1. The principal wealth of the church is centered in the monasteries, which formerly had estates to the amount of 400,000*l.* per annum; and, like the other land holders, enjoyed uncontrolled authority over their peasants, who are equally bondsmen as on the possessions of the laity. The empress has annexed these church lands to the crown, and in return grants annual pensions to the hierarchy, the dignified clergy, and the monks. The archbishops and bishops receive each about 1,000*l.* or 1,200*l.* per annum, and the subordinate ecclesiastics in proportion. Soon after this regulation, many of the monasteries were suppressed; and the members in those which were spared, were considerably reduced as well by the prohibition to admit more than a certain number, as by limiting the age of noviciates. The abolition of monasteries must be acknowledged a beneficial circumstance in most countries; yet one evil is to be apprehended from it in Russia: they were the only seminaries of education for those persons designed for the sacred function; and the monks are, if I may so express myself, almost the sole proprietors of the learning which subsists among the clergy. But, most probably, the ill effects which may be expected from the suppression of some convents, will be compensated by the improvement introduced into the administration of those which are continued, and by the schools lately established in various parts of the empire for the education of ecclesiastics.

All the dignitaries of the church are chosen from the order of monks; these are archbishops and bishops, archimandrites or abbots, and igoomens or priors. "The episcopal order in Russia is distinguished by the different titles of metropolitan, archbishop, and bishop. The titles of metropolitan and archbishop are not attached to the see; but are, at present, merely personal distinctions conferred by the sovereign, which give the possessors no additional power, and scarcely any precedence."*

The monasteries are governed by archimandrites and igoomens; and the nunneries, superintended by abbesses.

2. The Russian parish priests are called papas, or popes; a word signifying father, and indiscriminately applied in the early ages of Christianity to all ecclesiastics, until it was confined to the bishop of Rome by an edict of Gregory VII. The members of the Greek communion, however, did not obey this order, and the priests of that persuasion are still distinguished by the appellation of pope.

The parochial clergy, who may, and ought to be, the most useful members of society, are in Russia the refuse of the people. It is literally true, that many of them cannot even read,† in their own language, the Gospel which they are commissioned to preach; but deliver from memory the service, a chapter of the New Testament, or part of a

* Dr. King on the Greek church, p. 272.

† This shameful ignorance is certainly less common than formerly; as the bishops are more cautious in ordaining such improper persons.

homily, which they repeat every Friday and Sunday. Nor is it in the least surprising that some are so illiterate, when we consider the scanty maintenance which they derive from their profession. Beside the surplice fees, which in the poorest benefices amount to 4l. per annum, and in the most profitable to but 20l.; they have only a wooden house, scarcely superior to that of the meanest among their parishioners, and a small portion of land which they usually cultivate with their own hands; while the highest dignity to which they can ever attain, as long as they continue married, is that of a protopope of a cathedral, whose income scarcely exceeds 20l. a year. As the parish priests are undoubtedly the principal sources from which instruction must be generally diffused among the lower class of people, if they, who ought to enlighten others, are so ignorant, how gross must be the ignorance of their parishioners! In no instance, perhaps, has the empress contributed more towards civilising her people, than by instituting seminaries for the children of priests, by endeavouring to promote among the clergy a zeal for liberal science, and to rouse them from that profound ignorance in which they are plunged.*

The monks are not permitted to marry, while the parish priests are compelled to take a wife as a preliminary to ordination; and if their wives happen to die, they may enter into a convent, and become dignitaries of the church. They cannot engage in a second marriage unless they become laymen; neither can they continue parish priests without the express permission of a bishop. The children of the secular clergy are all free: their sons are usually brought up for orders, or employed in the service of the church.

All the clergy wear long beards and long hair, which flows down their shoulders, without being tied or curled. Their dress is a square bonnet, and a long robe of a black or dark colour, reaching to the ankles. The secular and regular priests use, in some instances, a different habit, and the dignitaries of the church are distinguished by a more costly vestment.†

I cannot forbear mentioning that, during the five months we passed at Petersburg, and in our daily intercourse with the nobility and gentry, I never once saw in company a single person of the sacred profession. It must be allowed, indeed, that the parish priests are, for the most part, too low and ignorant to be qualified for admission into genteel societies; while the dignitaries, being a separate order, and restrained by strict regulations, reside chiefly in their palaces within the monasteries; and contract an aversion, perhaps an unfitness, for social intercourse. This general character of the Russian hierarchy does by no means comprehend all the individuals; as some of them, with whom I occasionally conversed, were men of liberal manners and enlightened understandings.‡

The third division of Russian subjects comprehends that intermediate class of men between the nobles and peasants, which is thus defined by the empress, in the sixteenth chapter of her instructions for a new code of laws.

* An instance of her majesty's zeal in this particular fell under my observation. When I visited the press of the Holy Synod at Moscow, three volumes of sermons were printing in the Russian tongue; they were translations, by the empress's command, from the best English, French, and German authors, of those principally which contained a clear discussion of the moral duties. They were to be distributed among the parochial clergy, who had orders to read them occasionally in the time of divine service.

† See prints of the several ecclesiastical dresses in King's state of the Greek church in Russia.

‡ The dignitaries occasionally dine at the tables of the nobility upon days of great ceremony, as on that of St. Alexander Nevski, when I met the archbishop of Rostof at prince Volkonski's. See vol. I. book iii. chnp. ii.

"This class of men, worthy to be mentioned by us, and from whom the country may promise itself great advantages, when it shall have received a stable form, and which has for its end the encouragement of good morals, and the love of industry, is the middle state. This state, composed of freemen, belongs neither to the class of nobles nor to that of peasants. All those who, being neither gentlemen nor peasants, follow the arts and sciences, navigation, commerce, or exercise trades, are to be ranked in this class. In this class should be placed all those who, born of plebeian parents, shall have been brought up in schools or places of education, religious or others, founded by us or by our predecessors. Also the children of officers, and of the secretaries to the chancery. But as this third estate is susceptible of different degrees of privileges, which we do not mean to detail in this place, we shall only here open the way for a more ample examination."

Although, before the reign of Peter the Great, certain bodies of merchants enjoyed peculiar privileges, which raised them above the condition of peasants, yet these were few, and their advantages, considering the immense monopolies in the hands of the crown, and the oppression under which they laboured from the power of the great, extremely precarious. Peter, who during his travels perceived the utility of a third estate for the purposes of commerce, made many regulations, with this view, which, though excellent in themselves, yet being not adapted to the state of property in Russia, did not answer the end proposed. Among these regulations, he endowed some free towns with certain privileges, which were afterwards augmented by Elizabeth. But these privileges were confined to Petersburg, Moscow, Astracan, Tver, and a few other great provincial towns: and all the inhabitants, even merchants not excepted, were not distinguished from the peasants in two instances, which are considered in this country as indelible marks of servitude; they were subject to the poll tax, and to be draughted for the army and navy. Catharine has exempted the body of merchants from these two instances of servitude, has increased the number and immunities of the free towns, and permitted many of the crown peasants, and all free men, to enrol themselves, under stipulated conditions, in the class of merchants or burghers.

The merchants are distributed into three classes. The first comprehends those who have a capital of 10,000 roubles; the second those who possess 5000; and the third those who are worth 500. By the forty-seventh article of the celebrated manifesto of graces, which the empress conferred upon her subjects at the conclusion of the Turkish war in 1775, all persons who choose to enter themselves in any of these classes are exempted from the poll-tax, on condition of paying annually one per cent. of their capital employed in trade to the crown. The extent of their capitals, however, is not rigorously examined, for the merchants may fix their capital at any amount; as a person possessing above 10,000 roubles may enrol himself in any of the inferior classes, or even in that of the burghers.

This alteration in the mode of assessing merchants is advantageous both to the crown and to the subjects; the former receives, and the latter cheerfully pay, one per cent. of their capital, because they are exempted from the poll-tax, and are entitled to additional immunities. It is also a just impost, as each merchant pays according to his fortune: if his profits increase, his assessment increases; if they diminish, his contribution proportionably diminishes. with respect to the general interests of the nation, it is a master piece of policy; it excites industry, by holding up to the people a principal of honour, as well as of interest, to be derived from the augmentation of their capital; and affords an additional security from arbitrary impositions, by pledging the good faith of government in the protection of their property. It is likewise productive of another

essential public benefit, by creating, as it were, a third estate, which, as it increases in wealth, credit, and importance, must by degrees acquire additional privileges, and gradually rise into consequence.

The burghers from the second division of this order: the term burgher is applied to all inhabitants of free towns, who declare that they possess a capital less than 100*l.*; or who, having that sum, do not choose to assume the more honourable name of merchants. They possess many privileges superior to the peasants; but are distinguished from the merchants by being still subject to the poll-tax, and to enrolment in the army or navy.

Under this third order must be included all the other free subjects of the empire; namely, those slaves who have received liberty from their masters; those who have obtained their dismissal from the army and navy; the members of the academy of arts, and of other similar institutions; orphans from the foundling hospital, and, lastly, the children of all these freemen. All these persons have permission to settle and trade in any part of the empire, and may enrol themselves, according to their capital, among the burghers or merchants. By these wise regulations, the number of persons above slaves will gradually increase, and must in time form a very considerable order of men, as soon as they shall acquire the right of possessing land.

It is a circumstance not unworthy of remark, that the Russian merchants and tradesmen seldom keep books of accounts (as few of them can either read or write) and are unacquainted with the knowledge of figures. Their manner of reckoning is by a machine,* with several rows of wires, upon which beads are strung. The beads on the first row stand for units, those on the second for tens, on the third for hundreds, on the fourth for thousands, and in a similar progression. By means of this machine they subtract, multiply, and divide with great exactness. An exception, among a few others, to this general observation, should be mentioned. The most honest and intelligent persons of this order are the inhabitants of Archangel and its environs: they are mostly able to read, write, and cast accounts; many of them are much employed at Petersburg, by the members of the British factory, to superintend their warehouses, and they have the general character of faithful and industrious servants. It may, perhaps, be difficult to account for the peculiar circumstances which have concurred to render the inhabitants of the town and environs of Archangel more intelligent than the other Russians, unless the following cause should be thought sufficient. Archangel, from the time of its first discovery by the English in 1554, was, during a considerable period, the great emporium of Russia; many of the inhabitants, therefore, being connected with foreign merchants, who required great exactness in their dealings, were gradually trained to business. By a kind of local enthusiasm and traditional instruction, they have continued to distinguish themselves among their countrymen, by acquiring the rudiments of arithmetic, and by a diligent discharge of their trust.

IV. The fourth order of subjects comprehends the peasants.

The peasants of Russia are generally serfs, or slaves,† and may be divided into,
1. Peasants of the crown. 2. Peasants belonging to individuals.

* Similar to the Chinese. Professor Saunderson, who was blind, used an improved machine of this kind in his mathematical computations.

† In the former editions of this work, and according to the state of the peasants in 1779, I had the satisfaction of adding to this list of free peasants, those of the Ukraine and Russian Finland, who preserved a considerable degree of freedom until the late extension of the poll-tax has reduced them almost to a level with the rest. For by subjecting them to that assessment, the empress has unconsciously

1. The crown peasants inhabit the imperial demesnes; and probably comprehend, including those belonging to the church lands, which are now annexed to the crown, about the sixth part of the Russian peasants. They are immediately under the jurisdiction of the imperial officers or bailiffs. Although liable to great exactions, by the tenure of their subjection, from these petty tyrants, yet they are much more secure of their property; and being under the protection of the sovereign, any flagrant instances of oppression are more easily made known and redressed. Many of these vassals, in particular districts, have been enfranchised, and permitted to enrol themselves among the merchants and burghers; and the whole body will gradually receive more privileges, as the spirit of humanity and policy penetrates further into these regions.

2. Peasants belonging to individuals are the private property of the landholders, as much as implements of agriculture, or herds of cattle, and the value of an estate is estimated, as in Poland, by the number of boors, and not by the number of acres. No regulations have, perhaps, tended more to rivet the shackles of slavery, than the two laws of Peter the Great; one which renders the landholder accountable to the crown for the poll-tax of his vassals, and the other which obliges him to furnish a certain number of recruits; for by these means he becomes interested to prevent the migration of his peasants without permission from the place of their nativity. With respect to his own demands on his peasants, the lord is restrained by no law. He is absolute master of their time and labour; some he employs in agriculture, a few he makes his menial servants, perhaps without wages; and from others he exacts an annual payment.* Each vassal, therefore, is rated according to the arbitrary will of his master. Some contribute four or five shillings a year; others, who are engaged in traffic or business, are assessed in proportion to their supposed profits. Any capital which they acquire by their industry, may be seized, and there can be no redress; as, according to the old feudal law, which still exists, a slave cannot institute a process against his master.

The mode adopted by many landholders with their peasants, reminds me of the practice among the Romans. Atticus, we are told, caused many of his slaves to be instructed in the art of copying manuscripts, which he sold at a very high price, and raised a considerable fortune. On similar principles, some of the Russian nobility send their vassals to Moscow or Petersburg, for the purpose of learning various handicraft trades; they either employ them on their own estates, let them out for hire, sell them at an advanced

counteracted the general principle which had hitherto been the chief object of her reign, that of gradually extending the privileges and freedom of the lower class of people. By introducing among the peasants of the Ukraine, or Russian Finland, a tax, which is considered as a badge of slavery, she has been reduced to the necessity of rendering them serfs, or *glebæ adstricti*, who were before free peasants, from the impolitic law, which is the unavoidable consequence of the poll-tax, in a country where the nobles can alone possess landed property, that of making the landholder answerable for the assessment of his peasants; as under that circumstance he must have the power of preventing their migration.

* The empress thus expresses herself on this head:

"Il n'y a guere de village, qui ne paye ses redevances en argent. Les possesseurs, qui ne voyent jamais ou que tres rarement leurs villages, imposent chaque tete a un a deux et jusqu'a cinq roubles sans s'embarasser comment le paysan s'y prendra pour gagner cet argent.

"Il seroit tres necessaire de prescrire aux possesseurs des Loix qui les obligent a agir avec plus de circonspection dans la maniere dont ils se font payer leurs droits, et a exiger du paysan des redevances qui soient de nature a l'eloigner le moins qu'il sera possible de sa maison et de sa famille. Par ce moyen l'on mettra l'agriculture en vigueur, et la population augmentera dans l'empire." Instruction, &c. p. 79.

This custom of obliging the peasants to pay an annual sum in money, frequently drives the necessitous to the most desperate modes of acquiring it.



price, or receive from them an annual compensation for the permission of exercising their trade for their own advantage.

In regard to the lord's authority over their persons, according to the ancient laws, he might try them in his own courts of justice, or punish them without any process; he could inflict every species of penalty excepting the knout, order them to be whipped, or confined in dungeons; he might send them to houses of correction, or banish them into Siberia; or, in short, take cognizance of every misdemeanour which was not a public offence. He had, indeed, no power over their lives; for, if a slave was beat by order of his master, and died within the space of three days, the master was guilty of murder, unless other reasons could be assigned for his demise. But was not this almost a mockery of justice? For surely a man might be terribly chastised without suffering death within three days; and if a vassal died within that space, and his master was a man of consequence, who could bring him to justice? By the new regulations, this enormous power is reduced by restrictions more consonant to the humane principles which distinguish all the regulations of the empress; and the right of inflicting punishment is lodged, where it ever ought to be, in the hands of the public magistrate. Abuses, however, still subsist; but must, in time, yield to the influence of such salutary institutions.

I am far from asserting, that inhumanity is the general characteristic of the Russian nobility; or that many persons do not treat their vassals with the utmost benevolence. I am also well aware, that several peasants are in such a flourishing condition as to have accumulated very considerable capitals without dread of exaction; and that some even possess landed estates under their masters' names. But if we consider the unhappy pleasure which too many feel in tyrannizing over their inferiors, we have every reason to conclude, that the generality of boors must still be cruelly oppressed. How then can a country be said to be civilized, in which domestic slavery still exists?

The vassals who work for their masters, generally receiving their maintenance, or being accommodated with a small portion of land, always enjoy in sufficient abundance the common necessities of life; and usually spend their earnings in clothes or spirituous liquors. Those who, in contradiction to this general rule, save the profits of their labour, or trade, conceal as much as possible an acquisition of fortune; they seldom change their mode of living, and frequently bury their money in the ground. This custom is one reason, among several others, of the scarcity of silver currency; that being the specie which is chiefly amassed. The practice of hiding money is common in all countries of the east, where property is not well secured; and where the people, through dread of exactions, cannot even venture to use the riches which they have acquired.

A peasant may obtain his liberty, 1. By manumission, which on the death of the master, is frequently granted to those who have served in the capacity of his immediate domestics; 2. By purchase; 3. By serving in the army or navy; for a peasant is free

* How often must such tyrannies escape the cognizance of the court, and remain unpunished! Sometimes, indeed, a noble is brought to justice. One instance, though mentioned in a former publication, I beg leave to introduce in this place: "In the prison of Moscow there is a gentleman confined, and he alone is denied the privilege of ever coming from his cell; a punishment which is by no means adequate to his crime; namely, that of ordering several of his peasants to be whipped in so cruel a manner, that they died. This circumstance will show the power which the lords have over their peasants; and will at the same time prove, that such crimes, when discovered, do not always remain unpunished." Account of Prisons, &c. p. 12.

from the moment of his enrolment. In all these cases the empress has facilitated the means of obtaining freedom, by waving several rights of the crown, which, in some measure, obstructed this emancipation. Although the sovereign cannot alter the fundamental state of property, by conferring on the peasants, as individuals, privileges which might infringe those of the nobles; yet she has alleviated their condition by issuing several laws in their favour. By allowing free peasants to settle in any part of her dominions, and enrol themselves among the burghers or merchants, according to their respective capital, she has given a stability to their freedom, and afforded the strongest incitements for the exertions of industry. She has repealed those oppressive laws, which forbade, in certain districts, all peasants to marry without the consent of the governor of the province, or the *vayvode* of the town, who usually exacted a present from the parties.*

From this general review of the various inhabitants in Russia, it may be perceived, that, though proceeding towards civilization, they are still far removed from that state; that a general improvement cannot take place while the greater part continue in absolute vassalage; nor can any effectual change be introduced in the national manners, until the people enjoy full security in their persons and property.

CHAPTER XVII.

Academy of Sciences....Origin and institution....Transactions....Members....Library....Museum....Fossil bones of elephants and other animals found in Siberia....Native copper and iron....Golden ornaments from several ancient sepulchres....Russian coins....Waxen figure of Peter the Great....Celestial Globe of Gottorp....Academy of Arts....Society for the promotion of Agriculture....Corps de cadets....Convent des demoiselles nobles.

THE imperial academy of sciences owes its institution to Peter the Great, who, during his travels, observed the advantage of public societies for the promotion of literature. By the advice of Wolf and Leibnitz, the society was regulated, and several learned foreigners were invited to become members. Peter himself drew the plan, and signed it on the 10th of February 1724; but was prevented by his sudden death, from carrying it into execution. His decease, however, did not prevent its completion; for, on the 21st of December 1725, it was established by Catharine I, and on the 27th the first assembly took place. On the first of August 1726, Catharine honoured the meeting with her presence, when professor Bulfinger, an eminent German naturalist, pronounced an oration upon the advances made by means of the loadstone and needle for the discovery of the longitude.†

The empress settled an annual fund of 5,000l.‡ for the support of the academy; and fifteen members eminent for learning and talents, were admitted and pensioned, under the title of professors in the various branches of literature and science. The most distinguished were Nicholas and Daniel Bernouilli, the two de Lisle, Bulfinger and Wolf.

* See 17th article of the Manifesto, at the conclusion of the peace with the Grand Signor: "In certain districts of our empire it has been hitherto necessary to obtain a permission to marry from the governors of provinces, or the *vayvodes* of towns, and this permission was usually purchased by money or cattle. We abolish this custom; and from this time every person shall be free to marry without obtaining similar permissions."

† See *Nachricht von der Kays: Acad. &c. in Schmidt Beytraeye*, p. 35; also *Jour. Pet.* for June 1779, p. 383.

‡ "Summam a Petro Magno constitutam viginti-quatour millium nongentorum et duodecim rubellorum." *Nov. Com. I.* p. 5.

During the short reign of Peter the Second, the salaries of the members were discontinued, and the academy neglected by the court; but it was again patronised by the empress Anne, who even added a seminary for the education of youth, under the superintendence of the professors. Both institutions flourished under the direction of baron Korf; but, on his death, an ignorant person being appointed president, many of the most able members quitted Russia. At the accession of Elizabeth new life and vigour were restored to the academy: the original plan was enlarged and improved; some of the most learned foreigners were again drawn to Petersburg, and, what was considered as a good omen for the literature of Russia, two natives, Lomonosof and Rumovsky, men of genius and abilities, who had prosecuted their studies in foreign universities, were enrolled among the members. The annual income was increased to 10,659*l.* and soon afterwards the new institution took place.

The empress Catharine, with her usual zeal for promoting the diffusion of knowledge, took this useful society under her more immediate protection; she altered the court of directors greatly to the advantage of the whole body; corrected many abuses and infused a new spirit into their researches. By her particular recommendation, the most ingenious professors visited the various provinces of her dominions; and as the fund of the academy was not sufficient to supply the whole expence, the empress bestowed a largess* of 2,000*l.* which has been occasionally renewed.

The purport of these travels will appear from the instructions given by the academy. The persons engaged in these expeditions were ordered to pursue their inquiries on the different sorts of earths and waters; on the best methods of cultivating the barren and desert spots; on the local disorders incident to men and animals, and the most efficacious means of relieving them; on breeding cattle, and particularly sheep; on the rearing of bees and silk-worms; on the different places and objects for fishing and hunting; on minerals; on the arts and trades: and on the indigenous plants to form a *Flora Russica*. They were particularly instructed to rectify the longitude and latitude of the principal towns; to make astronomical, geographical, and meteorological observations; to trace the course of the rivers; to take the most exact charts; to describe with accuracy the manners, customs, dresses, languages, antiquities, traditions, history, religion; in a word, to gain every information which might tend to illustrate the real state of the empire.

In consequence of these expeditions, perhaps no country can boast, within the space of a few years, such a number of excellent publications on its internal state, natural productions, topography, geography, and history; on the manners, customs and languages of the different people, as have issued from the press of the academy.

The most remarkable of these distinguished travellers are Pallas, Gmelin, Guldenstaedt,† Georgi, and Lepekin.

The first transactions of this society were published in 1728, and intitled, *Commentarii Academiæ Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitane, ad An. 1726*, with a dedication to Peter II. The publication was continued under this form until the year 1747, when the transactions were called *Novi Commentarii Academiæ, &c.* In 1677 the academy again changed the title into *Acta Academiæ Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitane*, and altered the

* *Bach. Russ. Bibl. vol. i. p. 50.*

† The reader will find an account of Pallas, Gmelin, and Guldenstaedt in the next chapter.

‡ *Hunc autem et sequentes tomos Novorum Commentariorum nomine ideo venire, quia Academia nunc novis legibus instructa est; et classes hic aliter, ac in præcedentibus tomis fieri solebat, dispositæ inveniuntur.* *Nov. Com. Vol. i. p. 4.* In this same volume the statutes for the Regulation of the Society, under its new institutions, are inserted, p. 9—33.

arrangement of the work. The papers, which had been hitherto published in the Latin tongue, are now written either in that language or French; and a preface is added, styled *Partie Historique*, which contains an account of the proceedings, meetings, admission of new members, and other occurrences.* Of the Commentaries, fourteen volumes were published; the first of the New Commentaries made its appearance in 1750, and the twentieth in 1776. Under the title of *Acta Academiae*, several volumes have been given to the public: and two are to be printed every year. These transactions abound with ingenious and elaborate disquisitions on various parts of science and natural history, which reflect great honour upon their authors; and it may not be an exaggeration to assert, that no society in Europe has more distinguished itself for the excellence of its publications, particularly in the abstruse parts of the pure and mixed mathematics.

The academy is still composed, as at first, of fifteen professors, the president and director. Each professor has a house and an annual stipend from 200*l.* to 600*l.* Beside the professors, there are four adjuncts, who are also pensioned; they are at present at the sittings of the society, and succeed to the first vacancies.

This general account of the establishment, progress, and present state of the Academy, will be naturally succeeded by a description of the library, the cabinet of natural history, and the other curiosities, which I visited several times during my stay at Petersburg.

The library owed its origin to 2,500 volumes which Peter the Great seized at Mittau, in his Swedish campaign; it was afterwards increased by the bounty of that emperor, and of his successors, and lately enriched by the curious collection of prince Radzivil at Newitz, taken by the Russians in 1772, during the troubles of Poland. M. Bachmeister informed me, that since this last acquisition, the number of books amounted to thirty-six thousand. The most ancient MSS. are the Lives of the Saints, written in 1298, and a Chronicle of Nestor, the earliest historian of this empire. This chronicle, together with those of Novogorod, Plescof, of the Ukraine, Casan, and Astracan, the genealogical tables of the early great dukes, from Vladimir the Great to the Tzar Ivan Vassilievitch, compiled in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and following centuries, convinced me, that Russia is extremely rich, as well in documents relating to its more remote annals, as to those of later times.† They are all written in the Slavonian tongue. Among the MSS. relating to the history of Russia, must not be omitted sixteen volumes in folio, containing an account of the negotiations of Peter's ministers, from 1711 to 1716; also thirty volumes of the official correspondence of prince Mentchikof, from 1703 to 1717; these collections would serve as good materials towards compiling an authentic history of Peter the Great, a work much wanted.

One MS. although of very modern date, is yet highly valued, on account of the august person by whom it was written, and is preserved in an elegant box of bronze, gilt. It contains the instructions of the empress to the committee delegated to form a new code of laws; instructions drawn up by herself, and written with her own hand. This MS. is always placed upon the table, whenever the members of the academy hold a solemn meeting.

Among several books, the librarian showed me a volume, containing the acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, which is curious, as being the first book printed in Russia;‡ it bears the date of 1564, and issued from the press established at Moscow.

* *Acta Pet.* for 1771, P. I.

† See Chap. 8.

‡ Mr Nichols informs us, that this book was ten years in the press, and that the names of the first printers were Ivan Hoderson and Peter Timonoffson. See "The origin of printing, 1776," p. 288.

The paper is certainly of our manufacture, as it bears the English stamp; and we find in Hackluyt, that paper was among the first imports which Russia received from England.

This library contains, perhaps, more Chinese books than any other collection in Europe. They are classed in port folios, and consist of two thousand eight hundred separate pieces. An exact catalogue has been lately made by Leontief, who passed several years at Pekin, where a Russian church is established, and students are permitted to reside for the purpose of learning the language.* Hitherto we have been indebted almost to the French alone for accounts of the Chinese empire.† The amicable intercourse, however, which has for some time subsisted between the courts of Petersburg and Pekin, has facilitated the acquisition of Chinese books; and the establishment of a seminary at Pekin has led the Russians to obtain a more accurate knowledge of that country. Hence many interesting publications have appeared at Petersburg, relative to the laws, history, and geography of China, extracted and translated from the originals published at Pekin.

The various branches of natural history are distributed in different apartments. This museum, which is extremely rich in native productions, has been considerably augmented by numerous specimens, collected by Pallas, Gmelin, Guldenstaedt, and other learned professors, during their late expeditions through the Russian empire.

The stuffed animals and birds occupy one apartment. Among the former I particularly observed the *Equus Hemionus*, a species of wild horse, which bears the appearance of a mule: it resembles an ass in the mane, ears, feet, and tail, and principally in the black streak down the back; in other parts it is like a horse. It is the same which was called by Aristotle the *Hemionos*, found in his days in Syria, and which he celebrates for its amazing swiftness and fecundity; it is denominated by the Mongols *dshiggetei*, which signifies eared; is also known among naturalists by the name of *mulus Dauricus*, because it is found in Dauria, about the rivers Amoor, Onon, and Orgoon. These animals, however, are there observed only in small numbers, detached from the numerous herds which inhabit the deserts of Tartary, to the south of the Russian dominions. Their swiftness is proverbial, and is said to exceed even that of the antelope: they are described by the Tartars as very fierce, and so untractable as not to be tamed. Pallas has favoured the world with an accurate description and engraving of this singular animal, in the new commentaries of the academy, to which I refer the reader, as well as to Pennant's account, in his history of Quadrupeds. The other animals peculiar to Russia and the adjacent countries, which attracted my notice, are the wild ram, called *Argoli* by the Mongols, by Linnæus *Capra Ammon*, which inhabits the mountainous deserts south of the lake Baikal; the *Bos Grunniens* of Linnæus, or grunting ox of Pennant, which inhabits Tartary and Thibet, and is mentioned here for the uncommon beauty of the tail, full and flowing, of a glossy and silky texture. These tails form a considerable article of exportation from Thibet. The Indians fasten small bundles of the hair for fly-flaps; the Chinese dye tufts with a beautiful scarlet, for the decoration of their caps, and the Turks employ it as ornaments‡ to their standards. I observed also the ibex, or bouquetin,§ of Siberia, the white bear, the ermine, the musk rat, the flying squirrel; among the amphibious animals, the sea horse, whose tusk

* See Russian Discoveries.

† The account of lord Macartney's embassy, by the late sir George Staunton, has added to our knowledge of that empire.

‡ The Europeans erroneously suppose these ornaments to be made from horse tails.

§ See account of the bouquetin, in *Travels in Switzerland*, Letter 41.

is used instead of ivory, and the sea otter, which is caught on the coast of Kamtchatka, and of the Aleutian and Fox Islands. This animal is greatly prized for its rich and valuable fur, and the skin is disposed of to the Chinese at a high price.*

The collection of birds, insects, fish, shells, dried plants, all ranged in exact order, and after the system of Linnæus, next attracts the observation of the naturalist.

In the cabinet of natural history, I was surprised at the number and variety of fossil bones, teeth, and horns, of the elephant, rhinoceros, and buffalo, discovered in different parts of this empire, but more particularly in the southern regions of Siberia, where these animals were never known to exist. According to the opinion of Peter, who, though a great monarch, was certainly no great naturalist, the teeth found near Voronetz were the remains of elephants belonging to the army of Alexander the Great, who, according to some historians, crossed the Don, and advanced as far as Kostinka. The celebrated Bayer conjectures,† that the bones and teeth found in Siberia belonged to the elephants common in that country, during the wars of the Mongol monarchs with the Persians and Indians; and this plausible supposition is in some measure corroborated by the discovery of the entire skeleton of an elephant in one of the Siberian tombs. But this opinion, as Pallas justly observes, is sufficiently refuted by the consideration, that the elephants employed in all the armies of India could never have afforded the vast quantities of teeth which have been already discovered.‡

The same ingenious naturalist has given ample description of these fossil bones, and endeavoured to account for their origin.§ On examining those in the museum, he was led to conclude, that as these bones are equally dispersed in all the northern regions of Europe, the climate probably was in the earlier ages sufficiently warm to be the native countries of the elephant, rhinoceros, and other quadrupeds, now found only in the south. But when he visited, during his travels, the spots where the fossil bodies were found, and could form a judgment from his own observations, and not from the accounts of others, he candidly renounced his former hypothesis, and, in conformity with the opinions of many modern philosophers, asserted that they must have been brought by the waters, and that nothing but a sudden and general inundation, such as the deluge, could have transported them from their native countries to the regions of the north. In proof of this assertion he adds, the bones are generally found separate, as if scattered by the waves, covered with a stratum of mud, evidently formed by the waters, and commonly intermixed with the remains of marine plants,|| instances of which he himself observed during his progress through Siberia, and which sufficiently prove that these regions of Asia were once overwhelmed with the sea.

The most curious of these specimens is the head and foot of a rhinoceros, which were dug up entire in a bank of the Vilui, a small river falling into the Lena, in lati-

* See Russian Discoveries.

† Le Bruyn's Travels, vol. i. p. 63.

‡ Nov. Com. XIII, p. 440.

§ Nov. Com. de Ossibus Sibiriz fossilibus. He says, that in no country more fossil bones have been discovered than in Siberia: and that elephant's teeth have been dug up in such plenty, as to make a considerable article of trade.

|| Pallas, in a recent publication, has described several fossil bones lately dug up in the government of Casan, some whereof were sent to Petersburg in 1779, and deposited in the museum of the academy. The most remarkable of these bones which he enumerates, are the following: an elephant's tooth, 10 spans 3 inches long, and 15 inches in circumference; ditto, 5 feet 3 inches in length, and the same in circumference; several bones of elephants of considerable size; a damaged horn of a rhinoceros, 2 feet 4 inches long; a jaw of a rhinoceros, 2 spans and 12 inches long, containing two black teeth, &c. Bericht von Gebeinen grosser auslaendischer Thiere. Pallas's Nordische Beytraege, vol. 4. p. 173.

tude 64, below Yakutsk: the body was found in December 1771: and when Pallas visited those parts the following year, the head and two legs were sent to him by the governor of the province, and by him transmitted to the museum. Even the skin and hair are very apparent.

The account of the discovery is related in his Travels.*

The ores collected from the numerous mines of the Russian empire, highly deserve the attention of the mineralogist. In speaking of this collection, I shall confine myself to two specimens interesting to naturalists; native copper, and a large mass of native iron. The former was brought from a small island, within sight of Kamtchatka, which takes the name of Mednoi Ostrof, or Copper Island, from the pieces of native copper† not unfrequently found upon the beach.

The specimen of native iron is part of a most remarkable mass of that metal in its pure state, blended with glass-like matter:‡ it is in every respect perfect, malleable, and capable of being forged into any form; susceptible of rust; in a word, possessing all the qualities of iron. It was discovered in Siberia by Pallas, who favoured me with a description, which will serve to elucidate his account sent to the royal society. Let me only remark, that I repeatedly examined the specimen, and found its real state to be exactly described. I expressly mention these circumstances, as some persons have doubted the existence of this block of native iron; and as I am always anxious, whenever I have it in my power, to ascertain the truth of every relation which I give to the public.

* "This winter the hunters of Yakutsk having found, near the rivulet Vilui, the body of an unknown animal, the head and two hinder feet were sent to Irkutsk by Ivan Argunof, vavode of Vilitak. In the account of this discovery, dated the 17th of January, it appears, that in December, about twenty-six miles above Vilitak, the body of an animal was observed half buried in the sand, about a fathom from the water, and four fathom from a steep cliff. Being measured, it was found to be seven feet seven inches in length, and in height about seven feet six inches. The hide was entire, the body appeared of its natural bulk; but in such a state, that only the head and feet could be carried away; one of the feet was sent to Yakutsk, and the remainder to Irkutsk. On inspection, they seemed to have belonged to a full grown rhinoceros; and as the head was entirely covered with the skin, there could be no doubt of the fact. On one side the small hairs were still perfect. The exterior organization was well preserved, and the eye-lids were not entirely corrupted. Here and there, under the skin, and the bones, and also in the hollow part of the skull, was found a slimy substance, the remains of the putrid flesh; and upon the feet, beside the slime, parts of the tendons and sinews were observed. Both the horn and hoofs were wanting; but the hollow in which the horn had been set, and the edge of the skin which encircled its base, being apparent, and the cloven separation of the hoofs being visible, afforded undoubted proof that the animal was a rhinoceros. I shall here mention a few circumstances, which I obtained from Argunof, relative to the place where the remains of the rhinoceros were discovered, and add a few conjectures on the possibility of their preservation during so long a period. The country about the Vilui is mountainous; and the mountains consist of strata, partly of sand and limestone, partly of clay mixed with many pebbles. The body was found in a hill, composed of sand and pebbles, about fifteen fathoms high: it was buried deep in a coarse gravelly sand; and was preserved by the frost, as the ground in that part is never thawed at any considerable depth. Without this circumstance the skin and other parts of this quadruped would not have been so long preserved. For we cannot assign the quick transportation of this animal, from its native country in the south to these cold regions, to a later period, or to a less important cause, than to the deluge; as the most ancient histories of mankind make no mention of any later revolution of this globe, which could, with equal probability, have buried these remains of the rhinoceros, as well as the bones of elephants scattered throughout Siberia."

Pallas Reise, part iii. p. 97.

† See Russian Discoveries.

‡ It appears, by Meyer's analysis of this mineral, that the glass-like matter consists of eight parts of ferruginous earth, twenty-seven of silicious earth, and twenty-five of the earth of magnesia. See Meyer's "Versuche mit der von dem Hrn Prof. Pallas in Siberien gefundenen Eisenstufe;" in Beschreibungem der Berlin. Gesellschaft. Vol. iii. p. 405.

"This mass, which exhibits the first instance of native iron ever found in a perfect state of malleability, was discovered on an eminence opposite to Mount Memis, near the eastern bank of the Yenisei, between the rivulets Oberi and Sisim, which fall into that river above the town of Krasnoyarsk. It was a separate mass, which seemed to have been detached, by a lapse of time, from the hill on which it rested; and what is very remarkable, the chain of mountains, among which it was found, do not afford the least traces of any volcano, any remains of forges or ancient mines, or in any other part the smallest appearances of native iron. Within three hundred and seventy-four yards of the spot where it was observed, is a rich vein of blueish magnetic ore; which, being visited by the Russian miners, first led to the discovery of the insulated mass. In its original state, it weighed, one thousand four hundred and forty English pounds, and was incrustated in most parts with a thick coat of blackish iron ore. The inside consists of pure malleable iron, divided by irregular cavities, which are filled with a vitrified transparent substance, yellow for the most part, but black in a few places, especially near the surface, and blended here and there with ochre. Those who have never seen any part of this mass may be disposed to conclude that it must have been the effect of art; but they who examine it with attention must be of opinion, that it was entirely natural, although they cannot account for the mode of its production."

The anatomical cabinet is highly esteemed; it was prepared by Ruysch, a celebrated anatomist of the Hague, and sold, in 1717, to Peter the Great, for 30,000 florins.* This collection is remarkable for the regular succession of fœtuses in spirits, from the earliest period of conception to the birth of the infant; and for the injections of the brain and eye. The membranes of the eye are so fine and tender, that it requires infinite care to inject them; and Ruysch succeeded in this difficult operation. He supposed that he had discovered a new membrane in the choroides of the eye, which is from him called Ruyschian; and although, in the opinion of the most able anatomists, he did not succeed in his attempts to prove the existence of this new membrane,† yet his labours must be esteemed of great use, and his injections of the finer vessels of the eye are justly admired for their superior delicacy.

I hasten to the chamber of rarities, in which, among the most conspicuous curiosities, must be mentioned the arms and ornaments found in the tombs of Siberia, many of which are of great value,‡ being of massive gold, and of elegant workmanship. These

* About 3,000l.

† He affirmed, that he divided the choroides into two membranes; but it is now the received opinion, that he only split the same membrane into two parts.

‡ The quantity of gold found in those tombs is scarcely credible. One which was opened in the neighbourhood of the Irtish, is thus described in the *Archæologia*:

"After removing a very deep covering of earth and stones, the workmen came to three vaults constructed of stones of rude workmanship.

"That wherein the prince was deposited, which was in the centre, and the largest of the three, was easily distinguished by the sword, spear, bow, quiver, and arrow, which lay beside him. In the vault beyond him, towards which his feet lay, were his horse, bridle, saddle, and stirrups. The body of the prince lay in a reclining posture, upon a sheet of pure gold, extending from head to foot, and another sheet of gold of the like dimensions was spread over him. He was wrapped in a rich mantle, bordered with gold, and studded with rubies and emeralds. His head, neck, breast, and arms naked, and without any ornament.

"In the lesser vault lay the princess, distinguished by her female ornaments. She was placed reclining against the walls, with a gold chain of many links, set with rubies, round her neck, and gold bracelets round her arms. The head, breast, and arms were naked. The body was covered with a rich robe, but without any border of gold or jewels, and was laid on a sheet of fine gold, and covered

ornaments consist of bracelets, some of which weigh a pound; collars in the shape of serpents; vases, crowns, bucklers, rings, figures of animals richly carved in gold and silver; sabres with golden hilts, ornamented with precious stones; Tartar idols, and other antiquities. Some of these antiquities were copper knives, spears, and swords, but the greater part of massive gold, and of elegant workmanship. But how are we to account for the existence of a civilized nation, capable of these works of art, on the banks of the Irtysh, the Tobol, and the Yenisei? This question is satisfactorily solved by Muller, who made researches, and published an excellent treatise on the subject.*

After describing the different species of tombs in the southern parts of Siberia, he adds: "That as in several the bones of men, women, and horses, have been found, with javelins, bows, arrows, and other weapons, it is evident that the same ancient superstition, which still reigns in India, was formerly prevalent in Siberia; namely, that departed souls follow the same occupations in a future state, which they pursued in this world.† For this purpose, at the demise of a distinguished person, his favourite wife, servants, and horses, were sacrificed at his tomb, and buried with him; and for the same reason his arms, dress, and accoutrements, were also interred: hence the Indian wives, to this day, throw themselves on the funeral pile of their husbands." Muller corroborates this opinion by observing, that according to the archives of Yakutsk, he found this custom subsisted among the inhabitants when the Russians conquered Siberia. He next endeavours to ascertain the people to whom these burial places belonged; and he is equally judicious in the solution of this difficult inquiry. The richest of these burial places, he says, were made in the time of Zinghis Khan and his immediate successors. The most valuable tombs being found near the banks of the Volga, the Tobol, and the Irtysh; the next in value in the deserts of the Yenisei; and the poorest in the countries bordering on the lake Baikal; he supposes them all to have been the work of the Mongol hordes at different periods.

Zinghis, or Tchinghis Khan laid the foundation of this vast power in the beginning of the 13th century. The roving hordes of Mongols, who were first reduced under his dominion, inhabited the countries about the rivers Selenga, Tola, Orkon, and Anon, stretching from the Amoor to the Mongol Desert, which leads to the wall of China. These hordes were at that time a poor tribe; and hence the tombs which are found in those parts are scantily provided with rich accoutrements, and ornaments of value.

Zinghis having subjected the Mongols, turned his arms to different quarters. With the aid of these warlike tribes, he and his successors conquered great part of China, Independent Tartary, Persia, and India, and held for some years almost all Russia under their yoke. The plunder of such extensive countries centered for the most part in the capital of the chief Khan, acknowledged by all the feudal princes as the head of that vast empire, which, on the death of Zinghis, was divided into many independent prin-

over with another. The four sheets of gold weighed forty pounds. The robes of both looked fair and complete, but upon touching, crumbled into dust."

Demidof's account of certain Tartarian Antiquities, in the *Archæologia*, vol. ii. p. 223, 224.

* See Mr. Muller's excellent Treatise *Von den Altern Graebem in Siberia* in Haygold, vol. ii. p. 155; also in the *Journal of St. Pet.* for 1779.

† Or as the poet has elegantly expressed it:

Quæ gratia currum
Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentes
Pascere equos; eadem sequitur tellure repostos.

Æneid, lib. vi. 653.

cialities. This capital was, about the middle of the thirteenth century, situated between the Yaik and Irtysh;* and accordingly the richest sepulchres are discovered in the parts lying between those two rivers.

Towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, the power of the Mongols was annihilated in these parts, and there seems no other period, but the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in which they could have collected such an immense booty as the ornaments found in these tombs seem to indicate.

A long gallery contains the various dresses of the inhabitants in the Russian empire, and of many eastern nations: among which the Chinese are the most considerable. One apartment is filled with the dresses, arms, and implements brought from the new discovered islands between Asia and America, and from the parts of the continent visited by the Russian vessels. Some of these specimens are the same which are mentioned in the Journals of the Russian Voyages, namely, caps beautifully adorned with long streamers of hair like ancient helmets; clothes made with the skins of sea-otters, of rein-deer, and of birds painted red, and ornamented with fringes of leather, hair, or sinews; also wooden masks, representing the heads of large fish and sea-animals, which the inhabitants occasionally wear at festivals.†

In this gallery are various idols, which Pallas procured from the Calmuc or Mongol hordes roving in Siberia, many of whom are still plunged in a state of the grossest idolatry, and follow the religion of the Dalai Lama. Some of these deities are delineated on canvas; others are of clay, painted or gilt; a few are of bronze, chiefly procured from Thibet. They are mostly grotesque figures, with many hands and arms, sitting cross legged, and similar to those worshipped by many sects in the East: they are hollow, and generally filled with relics and sentences of prayers. Engravings of the most remarkable idols are given in Pallas's Travels.‡

The collection of Russian coins throws a considerable light on the early history of this country. The most ancient substitutes for money were small pieces of leather, or of marten's skin; but in their dealings with foreigners, the Russians, like the Chinese, exchanged their merchandise for gold and silver in bullion. The first æra of coining in Russia is unknown; but the art was probably derived from the Tartars. The coins§ are ranged in nine classes.

1. The first contains those without inscriptions: these, which are undoubtedly the most ancient, exhibit in one or two instances a human figure on horseback, wielding a sword; but are for the most part stamped with the rude representations of certain animals, which|| denote their Tartarian origin. The cycle or period of computation employed by the Tartars, was similar to that still used by the Chinese and Mongols, and contained twelve years, each successively marked by a different animal: 1, a mouse;

* Rubruquis, in his journey to the Khan Magnu, successor of Zinghis Khan, describes the last river he crossed to be the Yaik, and as he never mentions the Irtysh, it is probable that the seat of the court was between these two rivers.

These ornaments are executed with such taste and elegance, as to render it probable that they were executed by Europeans, drawn by the liberality of Zinghis Khan and his successors; and Rubruquis met, at the court of Magnu, William Boucher, a French goldsmith.

† See Russian Discoveries, also Cook's and Vancouver's Voyages.

‡ See lord Macartney's Embassy; Turner's Embassy.

§ Le Clerc has lately favoured the public with a curious account of the Numismatic History of Russia, which he has rendered extremely valuable by engravings of one hundred and seventy-seven of the most ancient coins. See Hist. de la Russ. Anc. vol. ii. p. 527 to 549.

|| Sherbatof in Journ. St. Pet. for 1781, part ii. p. 15.

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2, an ox; 3, a tiger; 4, a hare; 5, a crocodile or dragon; 6, a serpent; 7, a horse; 8, a lamb; 9, an ape; 10, a hen; 11, a dog; 12, a hog. Of these all but the crocodile, the ape, and the hare, appear on the coins; and perhaps the Tartars who overran Russia, used instead of them, the swan, harpy, and syren. The coins impressed with the figures above-mentioned, were probably struck in the corresponding years of the cycle. The annual tribute paid by the Russians to the Tartars was marked by the animals which denote the particular year of the cycle; and, as in some coins two of these animals are represented at the same time, probably the tribute of two years was delivered at once. 2. Coins with a Tartar inscription exhibit images of men on foot, or on horseback, holding in their hands a sabre, a lance, and a falcon; also of griffins, goats, fowls, and swans. 3. Coins with Tartar and Russian inscriptions. 4. Coins with only Russian characters without date. We may remark on the three last classes, that the characters inscribed on the coins were sometimes Tartar, sometimes Russian, and sometimes both; as the sovereigns were more or less subject to the Tartar yoke. 5. Coins of the great dukes, beginning from Vassili Demitrievitch, and ending with those of Vassili Ivanovitch. The year in which the great duke first struck money at Moscow is not ascertained; but from the Russian inscription on the most ancient pieces of this class, Vnaes Veliki Vassili, the great duke Vassili, probably about the year 1424, when Vassili Demitrievitch obtained a complete victory over Kundal, Khan of the Tartars. The year before the death of Ivan Vassilievitch I, a coin was struck by Aristotle of Bologna, who, with other foreign artists, was drawn by that prince to Moscow. 6. Coins of the princes of the blood who held independent principalities, those of Galitz, Svenigorod, Moshaisk, Bielosero, Susdal, Resan, Tver, &c. 7. Those of the principal towns, which had the right of coining; Novogorod, Plescof, Moscow, Tver, &c. The most ancient are those of Novogorod, where the Tartar money had no currency; as the commercial intercourse with foreign nations has introduced the Lithuanian and Swedish specie.

8. Coins from the Tzar Ivan Vassilievitch II, to the majority of Peter the Great. The first gold piece was made in the reign of Ivan, when the impression was greatly improved. On some of these pieces I observed on one side the spread eagle and an unicorn, and on the reverse, the spread-eagle, with a St. George and the dragon on its breast. The first introduction of the spread-eagle is supposed to be owing to the marriage of Ivan Vassilievitch I, with the Greek princess Sophia, in whose right he is said to have founded pretensions to the Greek empire, and to have borne that device upon his arms. But we have no proof of the fact, either from the coins of this monarch, or from the accounts of Herberstein and Possevinus; and Ivan Vassilievitch II, was undoubtedly the first prince under whom the device of the spread eagle was stamped on the coin; but history is silent on what occasion it was assumed. The first rouble, which before was only used like our pound sterling in computing, was coined by Alexey Michaelovitch. In this class are three coins remarkable in the history of the empire: the first is a Russian ducat, having the heads of the two Tzars Ivan and Peter Alexievitch on one side, and on the other that of their sister Sophia, with the crown, sceptre, and royal robes. The others are two coins of Ivan and Peter, which baffle the conjectures of historians: they bear no date; and as these princes were joint sovereigns, no antiquary has accounted for their separate representation, when the money during their reign was, excepting in this instance, uniformly impressed with both their heads. 9. The last class comprises all the money issued by Peter and his successors; upon comparing these with the preceding coins, it is evident to the commonest observer, how much the

die was corrected by Peter the Great on his return from his travels; and that since his time it has gradually degenerated.*

The cabinet is rich in Eastern coins; containing, among others, those of the Caliphs of Arabia and Samarcand; of the Khans of Bulgaria, Crim Tartary, and Asof, and of the Mongol tribe called by the Russians the Golden Horde. Among the Indian pieces are the twelve roublees, representing the twelve signs of the Zodiac, of queen Nourmahal, whose history, related in the travels of Tavernier,† has more the air of an Eastern tale than of a true narrative.‡

In an adjoining apartment, I was struck with a waxen figure of Peter the Great, as large as life, sitting in an armed chair. The features bears an exact resemblance to the original, being taken from a mould applied to his face when dead, and coloured in imitation of his complexion. The eye brows and hair are black, the eyes dark, the complexion swarthy, the aspect ferocious, and the head inclined to one side, according to his usual habit. He was very tall: and on measuring the figure, as well as the posture would permit, the height exceeded six feet. It is clothed in the only full dress which that emperor ever wore, the same which he had on, when he placed the crown upon the head of his beloved Catharine. This dress is of blue silk richly embroidered with silver; the stockings of flesh coloured silk, with silver clocks. But I should have received more satisfaction in contemplating this great monarch's image, dressed in the plain green uniform, and brass hilted sword and hat, which are preserved in the same room, and were worn by him at the battle of Pultava; the hat is pierced near the crown by a musket ball. This apartment contains also the trowsers, worsted stockings, shoes, and cap, which he wore at Sardam, when he worked as a shipwright in the character of master Peter.

The academy of Sciences have paid the greatest respect to the memory of their illustrious founder, by preserving in their museum the horse which he rode at the battle of Pultava, two favourite dogs, his turning lathe and tools, several specimens of his workmanship; an iron bar, with the following inscription: "1724, Thursday, Feb. 21, his majesty Peter I, being at Olonetz, forged this bar with his own hand." I must not omit three goblets of silver, presented to the same monarch on launching three ships of the line, constructed under his immediate direction. One of these goblets, containing sixty-five medals of the French kings, was the gift of the empress Catharine, who equally availed herself of her husband's virtues and foibles to win his affections. Another article which engaged my attention, was the model of a vessel of one hundred and twenty guns, given by William III, to Peter during his residence in England. The emperor, who had received many marks of the king's friendship, presented him with a diamond of great value wrapped in a piece of common brown paper; an emblem of himself and his nation, whose virtues and abilities were yet under a coarse cover.

This account of the academy of sciences should not be closed without mentioning the Celestial Sphere, or Globe of Gottorp, placed in a detached building, to preserve it from fire. It is a large hollow sphere, eleven feet in diameter, containing a table, and seats for twelve persons. The inside represents the visible surface of the heavens: the stars are distinguished, according to their respective magnitudes, by gilded nails. It is set to the meridian of Petersburg; and, being turned by a curious piece

* See *Essai sur la Bib.* p. 245. Versuch ueber die alten Russischen Muentzen. Journ. St. Pet. 1781.

† Tavernier's Travels, Part II, p. 10.

‡ Bachmeister, *Essai sur la Bibl.* p. 254.

of mechanism, exhibits the true position of the heavens. The outside represents the terrestrial globe. This machine is called the Globe of Gottorp, from the original of that name, which, at the expence of Frederic III, duke of Holstein, was erected at Gottorp by Andrew Bush, under the direction of Adam Olearius.* It was planned after a design found among the papers of the celebrated Tycho Brahe, and presented by Frederic IV, king of Denmark to Peter the Great, who saw it in 1713, and expressed much satisfaction at its curious structure and mechanism. The carriage of so cumbersome a machine from Gottorp to Petersburg was attended with great expence and labour. It was conveyed over the snow upon rollers and sledges to Riga, and from thence was sent by sea to the new metropolis.† This sphere was afterwards erected in the building of the academy of sciences, and burnt in 1747. From the iron plates or skeleton, the present globe was constructed, with considerable additions, and placed, in 1751, in its present position. It is of the same size as the original; and is far preferable, because all the modern discoveries in geography and astronomy have been added. The meridian and horizon were formed by Scott, an English mechanic.‡

The academy of arts was established by Elizabeth, at the suggestion of count Schuvalof, and annexed to the academy of sciences: the fund was 4,000*l.* per annum, and the foundation for forty scholars. Catharine formed it into a separate institution, enlarged the annual revenue to 12,000*l.* and augmented the number of scholars to 300; she also constructed, for the use and accommodation of the members, a large circular building, which fronts the Neva. The scholars are admitted at the age of six, continue until they have attained that of eighteen, and are instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, the French, and German languages, and drawing. At the age of fourteen they are at liberty to choose any of the following arts, divided into four classes. 1. Painting in all its branches of history, portraits, battles, and landscapes; architecture; Mosaic; enamelling; &c. 2. Engraving on copper plates, seal cutting, &c. 3. Carving in wood, ivory, and amber. 4. Watch making, turning, instrument making, casting

* Busching *Erdbeschreibung*, article Gottorp. Acta Pet. for 1777, Part II, p. 7.

† *Mottraye's Travels*.

‡ Travellers are too apt, in describing foreign countries, to overlook their own, and to represent many objects as extraordinary and peculiar, which may sometimes be found in greater perfection at home. To avoid the imputation of this partial proceeding, I shall here add, that this astronomical machine is far inferior in size to one erected at Pembroke college, in the university of Cambridge, by the late Dr. Long, master of that society, which is thus described by the doctor himself:

"I have, in a room lately built in Pembroke hall, erected a sphere of eighteen feet diameter, wherein above thirty persons may sit conveniently; the entrance into it is over the south pole, by six steps; the frame of the sphere consists of a number of iron meridians, not complete semicircles, the northern ends of which are screwed to a large round plate of brass, with an hole in the centre of it; through this hole from a beam in the ceiling, comes the north pole, a round iron rod, about three inches long, and supports the upper parts of the sphere to its proper elevation for the latitude of Cambridge; the lower part of the sphere, so much of it as is invisible in England, is cut off; and the lower or southern ends of the meridians, or truncated semicircles, terminate on, and are screwed down to, a strong circle of oak, of about thirteen feet diameter, which, when the sphere is put into motion, runs upon large rollers of lignum vitæ, in the manner that the tops of some wind mills are made to turn round. Upon the iron meridians is fixed a zodiac of tin painted blue, wherein the ecliptic and heliocentric orbits of the planets are drawn, and the constellations and stars traced; the great and little bear and Draco are already painted in their places round the north pole; the rest of the constellations are proposed to follow; the whole is turned round with a small winch, with as little labour as it takes to wind up a jack, though the weight of the iron, tin, and wooden circle, is about a thousand pounds. When it is made use of, a planetarium will be placed in the middle thereof. The whole, with the floor, is well supported by a frame of large timber."

Since the above was written, the sphere has been completely finished; and all the constellations and stars of the northern hemisphere, visible at Cambridge, are painted in their proper places upon plates of iron joined together, which form one concave surface.

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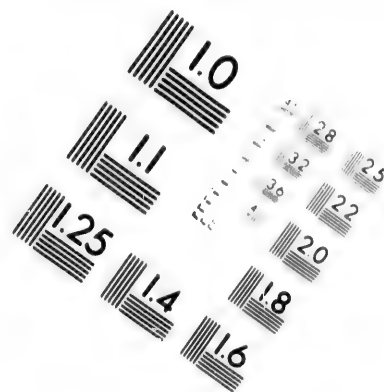
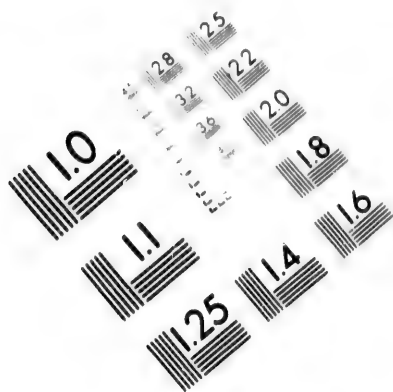
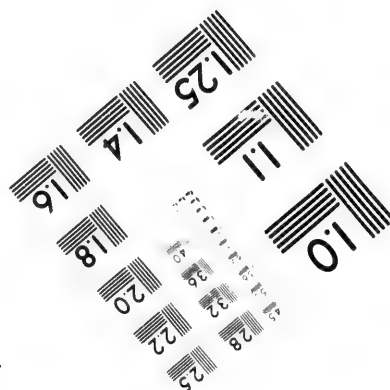
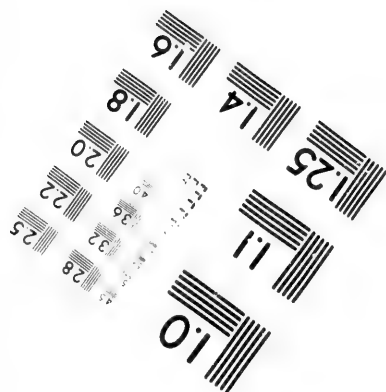
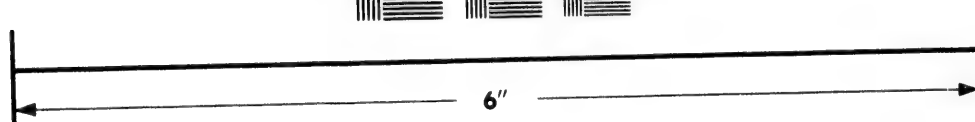
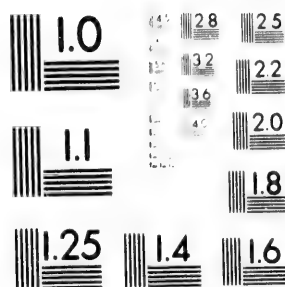


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statues in bronze and other metals, imitating gems and medals in compositions, gilding, and varnishing.

Prizes are annually distributed to those who excel in any particular art; and from those who have obtained four prizes, twelve are selected, who are sent abroad at the charge of the empress. A certain sum is sent to defray their travelling expences; and when they are settled in any town, they receive an annual salary of 60*l.* which is continued during four years. There is a small assortment of paintings for the use of the scholars; and those who have made great progress are permitted to copy the pictures in the imperial collection. There are also models in plaister of the best antique statues in Italy, all executed at Rome, of the same size with the originals, which the artists of the academy were employed to cast in bronze. We observed several finished pieces of drawing, painting, and sculpture, which had much merit, and seemed to predict the future improvement of the arts in Russia.

Though this institution is admirably calculated for promoting the liberal arts, and deserves the highest encomiums, we must not be surprised on considering the small effects which have hitherto flowed from this endowment. The scholars for the most part make a considerable progress during their continuance in the academy, and many improve themselves abroad. It is remarkable, however, that the persons of the greatest merit often settle in other countries; or if they return, soon sink into an indolence, which appears almost national. The cause of this failure seems to proceed from the little encouragement which they receive from the nation in general. The sovereign may rear artists, like foreign plants in a hot bed, at a prodigious expence, and by constant cultivation; but unless the same care is continued when they are brought to maturity, they will sicken by neglect. And it is impossible even for a monarch, however inclined to protect merit, or for a few of the nobility who follow such an illustrious example, to diffuse love for the works of art among a people who must first imbibe a degree of taste, which can only be acquired by experience: and if those who excel are not distinguished, they cannot feel that noble spirit of emulation which excites to excellence. As the nation, however, is gradually drawing towards a higher state of civilization and refinement; these institutions must be productive of more extensive and permanent effects.

The Free Economical Society, or the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, at Petersburg, owes its origin to the following occasion: The empress one day at table expressing herself with warmth on the advantages that would result from such a society, first suggested the idea to prince Orlof who happened to be present. In conformity to the wishes of his imperial mistress, he and fourteen other persons, men of rank and learning, assembled in June 1765, drew up rules, formed themselves into a regular society, and laid the plan before the empress, who signified her approbation by an answer, written with her own hand.

"The design which you have just formed for the improvement of agriculture and husbandry, is highly agreeable to us; and your labours will be regarded as effectual proofs of a true zeal and love for your country. We consider the plan and the regulations, by which you have bound yourselves, as deserving our approbation, and we graciously allow you to be called the Free Economical Society. You may rest assured, that we take your society under our protection: we not only consent that you use our seal and imperial coat of arms; but, as a particular mark of our good will towards you, we permit you to bear our device in the center of our imperial coat of arms; namely, a hive, to which bees are bringing honey, with the motto 'Profitably.'

"We gratify, moreover, your society with 6000 roubles towards the purchase of a convenient house, as well for your meeting, as for the purpose of holding a library on subjects of agriculture. Your labours will, under the protection of divine providence, be highly advantageous to you and your posterity; and we will not fail, in proportion as your zeal displays itself, to increase our good-will.

"October 31, 1765.

CATHARINE."

The society consists of a president, who is changed every four months, and of an indefinite number of members. The candidate for admission must be proposed by three members, and is rejected or admitted by the majority of the persons present. The society is chiefly supported by the voluntary contributions of its members, whose number in 1781 amounted to one hundred and seventy-nine. The assembly meets regularly once a week, when the papers on agriculture and similar subjects are read. Those which are thought worthy of publication are printed at the expence of the empress, for the profit of the society. The work is sold at a low price; and twelve copies are forwarded gratis to the governors of each province, to be distributed in the several governments. The transactions are either written or translated into the Russian language, and printed in octavo.

The society gives annual prizes, consisting of gold and silver medals, or money, sometimes to the amount of 140*l.* for the best solutions of certain questions relative to agriculture, and for improvements in husbandry. The empress, in the true spirit of this institution, sends several young men into England, to study practical agriculture. They are chiefly recommended to Arthur Young, esq. who has distinguished himself by many excellent works on various branches of husbandry; and who was elected in the most honourable manner a member of this society.

In Petersburg are two seminaries for the education of the nobility; the Corps de Cadets for males, and the le Couvent des Demoiselles Nobles for females.

The house appropriated for the seminary of the cadets, was formerly a palace belonging to prince Mentchikof situated in the Vassili Ostrof, and contains, including the cadets, at least two thousand persons. This institution owes its origin, to the empress Anne, by the advice of marshal Munic, but has been so much improved, and the fund so considerably enlarged, by Catharine II, that her majesty may almost be called its foundress. The annual income is 30,000*l.* for the reception of six hundred boys.

In November 1778, there were four hundred and eighty nobles, and sixty-four gymnasiasts, or children of inferior ranks, who are designed to be tutors to noblemen's children and are instructed in classical literature. The nobles are chiefly intended for the army, and are dressed in uniforms; a few excepted, who follow a civil line. The children are admitted at the age of six, and remain fifteen years: they are divided into five classes, and learn French, German, arithmetic, fortification, tactics, history, and geography. They also receive lessons in dancing, fencing, and riding, and some in drawing and music. The boys whose genius prompts them to such studies, are provided with masters in the Latin, English, and Tartar tongues. The cadets are divided into companies; and regularly trained to military exercises. During six weeks in summer they form an encampment near the town, are reviewed, and perform all the manœuvres of war. Prizes of books, gold and silver medals, ribbands, and stars, are annually distributed among those who excel, as well in their respective studies and employments, as in their exercises. Of those whose merit has entitled them to six prizes, three are annually selected to travel, with an allowance to each of 120*l.* per annum.

The boys are brought up in the hardest manner; they are not, even in winter, clad in furs, nor always indulged in the use of stoves. They are habituated to all kinds of exercise, and particularly to running and leaping. I saw some of the largest cadets engaged in these manly diversions. At the further end of a large hall stood a leathern horse, the highest part of which was at least six feet. They leaped over it in every direction, sprung over the head, vaulted into the seat, turned themselves round on it, poised themselves on their hands with their head on the saddle and their feet in the air, and then threw themselves from that posture upon the floor on their legs: with other feats, which they performed with as much ease and agility as the most expert tumblers. These exercises are of great use in stretching their limbs, opening their chests, and rendering them robust and active. In every department great attention is paid to cleanliness, and the boys are remarkably healthy. Once or twice in winter, the cadets are permitted to give a masquerade and ball to the principal nobility, on which occasion, some of the young ladies from the female seminary are generally invited as partners for the upper boys. One of these entertainments, at which we were present, was conducted with great elegance and propriety.

The seminary for the education of the female nobility, usually called *Le Couvent des Demoiselles Nobles*, is situated at the extremity of the suburbs of Alexander Nevski. The edifice, which is a large quadrangular building, was erected by Elizabeth for a nunnery; but was converted by Catharine to its present use, and endowed with a salary of 16,000*l.* per annum. It was first opened in 1764, for the reception of children: the foundation is for two hundred nobles, and two hundred and forty bourgeois, or children of lower rank. To these the empress has added fifty supernumerary nobles, called pensionnaires; and Mr. Betskoi, the humane director of all these useful societies for education, supports forty bourgeois at his own expence. The girls are admitted between the age of five and six, and quit the seminary about eighteen. Formerly the young ladies and the bourgeois were brought up in the same manner, without the least attention to difference of rank and fortune; but this plan is wisely amended, and they now receive an education more adapted to their respective situations in life.

They are both divided into four classes. The first class is habited in white, the second in light brown, the third in green, and the lowest in chocolate. The dress of the bourgeois is coarser than the young ladies: the first class of whom wear also black handkerchiefs and green aprons; while the bourgeois are clothed entirely in white. They all learn reading, writing, accounts, and needle-work. The young ladies are separately instructed in history and geography, and acquire, beside a grammatical knowledge of their native tongue, the French, German, and Italian languages, and receive lessons in dancing, music, and drawing, according to the bent of their genius. Instead of these accomplishments, the bourgeois are employed in the management of household affairs; they prepare and wash their own linen, are taught to make bread, and trained to the art of cookery. One of the apartments was hung with the designs, paintings, charts, genealogical tables, and other trophies which displayed the ingenuity of the young ladies. Those who distinguish themselves, receive annual presents, consisting chiefly of ribbands, which are worn in bows at their sides.

On the day in which we visited this noble foundation, a hundred poor women dined in the hall, and were attended by the young ladies, who distributed to each person a small silver coin, and a few yards of linen. This ceremony was instituted to inculcate in their tender minds an attention to the poor, and a readiness to relieve distress.

The quadrangular building contains an elegant theatre, in which the young ladies occasionally act plays. We were present at a representation, and were greatly enter-

tained with the performance. The theatre is a circular room, neatly painted with trees in imitation of a landscape, and seemed capable of containing four hundred spectators. The pieces were, *La Servant Maitresse*, and *L'Oracle*, both performed in the French tongue; the first by young ladies of sixteen or seventeen years of age, and the last by others of ten or twelve. Both parties acted with spirit, and displayed great propriety in gesture and elocution. I was greatly astonished at the purity with which they pronounced the French tongue. The representation was concluded by a ballet, and various dances, adapted to the ages and strength of the several performers. The national dance was introduced; it is executed by two persons, who continue nearly on the same spot, but use a variety of movements with the arms, body, and head, while their shoulders are elevated and depressed in exact measure. It is expressive of a courtship; first languishing looks, coyness, refusal, and invitation; at length the two dancers, having once or twice changed places, make a couple of circles briskly, and conclude with an embrace.

The play was followed by a ball and supper, to which were admitted several of the nobility and foreign gentlemen, and a few of the cadets. At twelve a collation was served on several tables, at which parties promiscuously ranged themselves. As I was walking about the room, one of the young ladies observing a foreigner unprovided with a seat, quitted the table where she was sitting, and politely invited me to make one of her party, an invitation I immediately accepted. I withdrew, with the rest of the company, at two o'clock in the morning, highly delighted with the ease and innocent vivacity of my fair entertainers, whose politeness and affability bespoke the elegant spirit of the institution.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Anecdotes of Professor Pallas....His Travels and Works....Circumstances of Dr. Samuel Gmelin's Death....Memoirs of Guldenstaedt....His Travels into Georgia and Imeretia....Reception at the Courts of the Princes Heraclius and Solomon.....Works of Guldenstaedt.

THE eminent naturalist and traveller, Peter Simon Pallas,* is son of Simon Pallas, a native of Johannesburg in Prussia, who was professor of surgery at Berlin, and distinguished himself among the writers of physic, by a *Treatise on the Operations of Surgery*, published in 1763; and by a *Supplement on the Diseases of the Bowels*, in 1770, in which year he died, at the age of seventy-six.

Peter Simon Pallas was born at Berlin, on the 22d of September 1741. He received the early part of his education from private tutors in his father's house, under whom he made an astonishing progress. Among the preceptors to whom the great naturalist expresses his particular obligations, must be distinguished John Martin Sheyling, who behaved to him more like a friend than a master. Sheyling being not an inelegant writer, and particularly attached to poetry, the young scholar imbibed from his master's instructions and example a taste for poetry, and composed several pieces in verse, which have been given to the public. To the same person he was likewise indebted to a very early attachment to entomology. Being destined to study physic so early as the thirteenth year of his age, he attended a course of lectures on anatomy,

* I am indebted to Mr. Pallas himself, for many anecdotes of his early life, and for some part of the remaining account of the learned professor to my ingenious friend Dr. Pulteney, well known to the public by his "*General View of the Writings of Linnæus*."

physiology, botany, medicine, and surgery, under professors Meckel, Sproegel, Gleditch, Rolof, and his father, and applied himself with great assiduity to anatomical dissections. He made such rapid advances in these branches of science, that, in the beginning of 1758, he was enabled to read a course of public lectures on anatomy, which every subject, who practises physic in the Prussian dominions, is obliged to give, as a proof of his proficiency. Yet, although thus occupied in his professional labours, his indefatigable genius still found leisure to pursue the study of insects, and other branches of Zoology, for which he seems at an early period to have conceived a predilection, and in which he eminently excels.

In the autumn M. Pallas repaired to the university of Halle, where he attended the lectures of the celebrated Segner on mathematics and physics, and improved his knowledge of mineralogy in the environs of that city.

In the spring of 1759, he removed to Gottingen; and, although a long and dangerous illness prevented him from prosecuting his studies with his usual ardour; yet he reaped great benefit from the instructions of the physicians Roederer and Vogel, and improved his general knowledge by his access to the public library.

During his residence at Gottingen, he made numerous experiments on the effect of poisons and other violent remedies, applied himself to the dissection of animals, and formed repeated observations on the worms which breed in the intestines, on which subject he composed an ingenious treatise, under the title of *De infestis viventibus intra videntia*, describing with singular accuracy those worms which are found in the human body.

In July 1760, he was attracted to the university of Leyden by the fame of the celebrated physicians and naturalists Albinus, Gaubius, and Muschenbroek; and by them he was noticed as a young man of promising genius and indefatigable ardour. His talents particularly recommended him to the favour of Gaubius, the principal professor. In December he took his doctor's degree, and distinguished himself by an inaugural dissertation, in which he defended, by new experiments, the dissertation on worms composed at Gottingen.

During his residence at Leyden, natural history became his predominant pursuit; he employed all the time which he could steal from his professional studies in visiting the public and private cabinets of natural history, with which Leyden abounded, and was particularly charmed with the collection of Gronovius.

Having visited the principal cities of Holland, he directed his course to London, where he arrived in July 1761, with a view to improve his knowledge of medicine and surgery. But he was now so much absorbed in his passion for natural history, that he neglected every other pursuit, and devoted himself to this favourite branch of science. He seemed to have no other occupation by day than to examine the various collections and to peruse the principal books which he could procure on the subject of natural history; nay, so eager was he in these pursuits, that he frequently employed the greater part of the night, and occasionally even whole nights together, whenever he met with any new publication, which awakened his curiosity. With a view of extending his knowledge, he took several journeys to the sea coasts, and particularly in Sussex; and I have often heard him lament with regret, that the scantiness of his income did not permit him to extend his researches to the principal parts of Great Britain.

Being at length summoned by his father to Berlin, he quitted London with regret in April 1762, and repaired to Harwich to embark immediately for Holland; but being fortunately detained for several days by contrary winds, he examined the sea-

coast, and collected various marine productions. On the 13th of May, he landed in Holland; and, passing through the Hague, Leyden, Amsterdam, and the circle of Westphalia, arrived at Berlin on the 12th of June.

To commence the practice of his profession, his father sent him to Hanover for the purpose of procuring the place of surgeon in the allied army; but on his arrival in July, the peace being nearly concluded, he returned to Berlin. He there passed a year, which he chiefly employed in preparing materials for a *Fauna Insectorum Marchica*; or a Description of the Insects in the March of Brandenburg; the manuscript of which now remains unpublished in the possession of professor Sandford, at Leyden, because the author diffidently esteemed it unworthy of publication.

Animated by his predilection for natural history, he extorted his father's consent to settle in Holland, and arrived in September at the Hague, where he obtained a settlement through the recommendation of Gaubius.

His reputation as a man of science being established, he was elected fellow of the royal society of London, and member of the academy *Des Curieux de la Nature*; to both of which societies he had previously sent some interesting papers.

His intimacy with the most celebrated naturalists in Holland, particularly with those of the Hague, who had just established a literary society; the free access which he had to the museum of the prince of Orange, and other curious cabinets; the systematic catalogues of those collections which he drew up, several of which he gave to the public, contributed to advance his knowledge of natural productions in the various parts of the globe; and to furnish him such materials as gave birth to those accurate compositions which have deservedly distinguished him as the first zoologist of Europe. One of his first works in this branch of science, which rendered him eminently conspicuous, was *Elenchus Zoophytorum*.

The attention which Pallas bestowed on the Zoophytes, or animal plants, in the investigation of the worms infesting the human body, particularly the uncommon nature of the *tœnia*, or tape-worm, as he acknowledges, seems to have led him into this line of natural science. In this work, which is printed in octavo, after treating on the nature of these animals in a general way, and giving the various opinions of authors relating to the place they ought to hold in the *System of Nature*, he describes, from his own inspection, more than two hundred and seventy species of those worms and animalcules, which are known under the generical names of polypes, corals, madre-pores, corallines, sea-pens, *tœnia* or tape-worm, sponges, sea-fans, &c.

The free access which he had to the museum of the prince of Orange, and other curious collections in Holland, enabled him to enrich his work with the description of various productions, brought from both Indies. He has described each species at large, and given it a new name, characteristic of its real distinctions; and (what especially increases the value of his work) he has extricated, as far as possible, the synonyms of former authors, both ancient and modern; thus rendering his book highly useful to those who are curious in this branch of natural history.

In a dedication to his *Miscellanea Zoologica*, published in the same year, the author lays before the prince of Orange a plan for a voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, and to the other Dutch settlements in the East Indies; and which, impelled by an ardour of scientific knowledge, he offered to undertake and superintend. This plan, calculated to improve our acquaintance with the natural history of those regions, was strongly recommended by Gaubius, and approved by the prince; but was obstructed by the author's father, who recalled him to Berlin.

Pallas, with great reluctance, quitted Holland in November 1766; and on his return to Berlin, he arranged his numerous materials for the public. But he had scarcely begun to publish his *Spicilegia Zoologica*, before he was invited by the empress Catharine II, to accept the professorship of natural history in the imperial academy of sciences. Although in this instance his father and relations again withheld their consent, yet the author's ardent zeal for his favourite science, and an irresistible desire to visit regions* so little known, and abounding in the productions of nature, induced him to hasten his departure for a country, where his curiosity was likely to be amply gratified. He accordingly quitted Berlin in June 1767, and arrived at Petersburg on the 10th of August.

He made his appearance among the Russians at a critical period. The empress had already ordered the academy of sciences to send astronomers into various parts of the Russian empire, to observe the transit of Venus over the sun's disk, in 1769. Being just returned from a voyage down the Volga, and from visiting the interior provinces of European Russia, the enlightened sovereign had perceived the deficiency of the topographical accounts, and anticipated the advantage of deputing learned men to visit the distant provinces of her extensive dominions, with a view to enlarge the bounds of science, and spread the knowledge of useful arts among the natives. For this purpose Catharine had directed the academy to send, in company with the astronomers, the most able naturalists and philosophers. Pallas having offered to accompany this expedition, was charged with drawing up general instructions for the naturalists, and gratified with the choice of his associates. To him was submitted, at his own request, the conduct of the expedition to the east of the Volga, and towards the extreme parts of Siberia; and he was best calculated for that expedition, as the elder Gmelin, his precursor in those regions, had almost entirely neglected zoology. Pallas employed the winter in forming a systematic catalogue of the animals in the cabinet of the academy; in putting into order the celebrated collection of professor Breyn of Dantzic, lately purchased by prince Orlof; in preparing for the press six numbers of his *Spicilegia Zoologica*, which were printed during his absence under the direction of Dr. Martin, and in forming the necessary arrangements for his expedition.

At length, in June 1768, he quitted Petersburg, in company with Messrs. Falk, Lepekin, and Guldenstaedt, as his associates, passed through Moscow, Vlodimir, Kasimof, Murom, Arsamas, to Casan; and having examined great part of that province, wintered at Simbirsk. From thence he departed in March, and penetrated through Samara, and Orenburgh, as far as Gurief, a small Russian fortress, situated at the mouth of the river Yaic, or Ural. There he examined the confines of Calmuc Tartary, and the neighbouring shores of the Caspian; and returning through the province of Orenburgh, passed the second winter at Ufa. After several expeditions in the adjacent regions, he left Ufa on the 16th of May 1770, prosecuted his route through the Uralian mountains to Catharinenburgh, visited the mines, proceeded to Tcheliabinsk, a small fortress in the government of Orenburgh, and in December made an excursion as far as Tobolsk.

The next year he was employed in traversing the Altai Mountains, and tracing the course of the Irish to Omsk and Kolyvan; where having inspected the celebrated silver mines, he proceeded to Tomsk, and finished that year's expedition at Krasnojarsk, a town upon the Yenisei. In that place, situated only in the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude, the cold was so intense, that the learned professor was witness to the natural congelation of quicksilver, which curious phenomenon he has minutely described.*

* See Pallas Reise. P. III, p. 417, 419; and a translation of this remarkable passage, in vol. i. p. 227 of Chemical Essays, by Dr. Watson, bishop of Landaff.

From Krasnojarsk Pallas departed on the 7th of March 1772, and proceeded by Irkutsk, and across the lake Baikal, to Udinsk, Selenginsk, and Kiutka, which is the principal mart of trade between Russia and China. Having penetrated into that part of Dauria which is situated in the south-eastern region of Siberia, he journeyed between the rivers Ingoda and Argoon, at no great distance from the Amoor; thence tracing the lines which separate the Russian empire from the Mongol hordes dependent on China, he returned to Selenginsk, and again wintered at Krasnojarsk. In the summer of 1773, he visited Tara, Yalitsk, and Astracan; and concluded that year's route at Tzaritzin, a town upon the Volga; from whence he continued his journey in the ensuing spring, and arrived at Petersburg on the 30th of July 1774, after an absence of six years.

The account of this extensive and interesting tour was published in three parts,* containing two thousand and four pages, in five volumes quarto, which has greatly contributed to extend his fame and establish his character. Pallas, in this valuable work, has entered into a geographical and topographical description of the provinces, towns, and villages which he visited in his tour, accompanied with an accurate account of their antiquities, history, productions, and commerce. He has discriminated many of the tribes who wander over the various districts, and near the confines of Siberia; detailed, with peculiar precision, their customs, manners, and languages; and rendered his travels invaluable to the naturalist, from many important discoveries in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms. These travels are written in the German language; but the author has added to each part an appendix in the Latin tongue, which contains near four hundred scientific descriptions of several quadrupeds, birds, fish, insects, and plants. He has also greatly contributed to encrease the utility of his performance by charts, and engravings of various antiquities, of several Tartar dresses and idols, and of many animals and plants.

Expeditions of this kind into inhospitable regions, among vagrant and almost barbarous nations, are full of danger; as was sufficiently experienced by Muller, and Gmelin the elder, in the reign of the empress Anne; and nothing but the most intense ardour for science can stimulate men to such hazardous undertakings. In that expedition De l'Isle and Steller perished; and, as if these schemes were destined to ill fate, Dr. S. Gmelin, after having lost many of his papers and collections, sunk under grief and disease, and expired in a small village of Mount Caucasus, in 1774. Falk died in the course of the journey, and professor Lowitz was wantonly massacred by the inhuman Pugatchef.

Pallas fortunately returned, but from the manner in which he finishes his travels, not without enduring many hardships, and narrowly escaping from the most imminent dangers. "On the 30th of July I reached Petersburg, with an enfeebled body and gray hairs, though only in the three and thirtieth year of my age; but yet much stronger than when I was in Siberia; and full of grateful acknowledgments to Providence for having preserved and delivered me from numberless perils."

Pallas, known to the generality of the English readers only as a great naturalist, deserves a considerable place among those writers who have succeeded in developing the complicated history of the roving tribes scattered over those extensive regions which stretch from the heart of Siberia, to the northern limits of India. In a recent publication, entitled *Collections upon the Political, Physical, and Civil History of the Mongol Tribes*,† he has thrown new light upon the annals of a people, whose ancestors con-

* *Reise durch verschiedenen Provinzen des Russischen Reichs.* A French translation of this interesting work has also been published.

† *Samlungen Hist. Nachrichten ueber Mongolischen Volkerchaften.*

quered Russia, China, Persia, and Indostan; and, at more than one period, established, perhaps as large an empire as ever was possessed by a single nation. The materials for this publication he collected, partly during an intercourse with the Mongols, Burats, and Calmucs, and partly from the communication of Muller and Gmelin.

Hitherto most authors who have written upon these Asiatic hordes, have called them all indiscriminately by the name of Tartars; but this erroneous appellation is rectified by Pallas, who proves unquestionably that the Mongol tribes are a distinct race from the Tartars; differing from them in features, language, and government, and resembling them in nothing but in their inclination to a roving life. This primitive nation of Asia, whose origin, history, and present state form the subject of this interesting work, dates its celebrity from their founder Zinghis Khan. When his vast dominions fell to pieces under his successors in the sixteenth century, the Mongol and Tartar hordes, who composed one empire, again separated, and have since continued distinct and independent. The Mongol hordes Pallas divides into three principal branches, Mongols, Oerats or Calmucs, and Burats; which he describes with that precision and accuracy which distinguish all his writings.

In the same year in which the professor printed his *Elenchus Zoophytorum*, he also published a treatise under the title of *Miscellanea Zoologica quibus novæ imprimis atque obscuræ Animalium Species describuntur, et Observationibus Iconibusque illustrantur*. This work was incorporated into a subsequent publication the next year, on his return to Berlin, entitled, *Spicilegium Zoologicum*; which has been continued in numbers, or fasciculi, at uncertain periods until 1780, when the fourteenth was delivered. It contains, besides the letter-press, seventy-two plates, and reflects the highest credit on the author, as a most careful observer and critic in zoology. The works of Buffon amply testify the labours of Pallas in the supplementary volumes, and Pennant makes frequent acknowledgments of his obligations to the same source, particularly for his *History of Quadrupeds and Arctic Zoology*.

In June 1777 the learned professor read before the Academy of Petersburg in a meeting at which the king of Sweden was present, a dissertation on the formation of Mountains, and the changes which this Globe has undergone, particularly in the Russian empire. This curious treatise, written in the French tongue, was printed at St. Petersburg; and a translation of it is given by Mr. Tooke in his *Russia Illustrata*.

In 1778 he published *Novæ Species Quadrupedum e Glirium Ordine*. This performance, printed at Erlang in quarto, contains twenty-seven plates, and describes numbers of the rat genus, and their anatomy. In 1781, he brought out *Enumeratio Plantarum quæ in Horto Procopii a Demidof Moscua vigent* (Pet. octavo) or, catalogue of the Plants in Mr. Demidof's Gardens at Moscow; and in the same year he gave to the public two volumes, in octavo of an interesting work in the German tongue, called, *Neue Nordische Beytrage, &c.* or New Northern collections on various Subjects of Geography, Natural History, and Agriculture, which have been followed by five additional volumes.

In 1782 he put fourth two fasciculi, or numbers, of *Icones Insectorum præsertim Russiæ Siberiæque peculiarium, &c.* quarto, Erlang; or Figures of insects, principally of those which are peculiar to Russia and Siberia, accompanied with descriptions and illustrations. These two numbers treat of the scarabæi, curculiones, tenebriones, bupestres, meloedes, cerambyces, with six plates, containing coloured figures of one hundred and eighty insects of those genera.

In 1784 he published the first number of a *Flora Russica*;* or, a description of the Plants of the whole Russian empire; a splendid work, which was executed at the empress's expence, and owes its origin to the following circumstances: her majesty inquiring of Pallas the Russian names of several plants, the author sent some dried specimens, which he accompanied with a short description of each plant, and a dissertation on their uses. Catharine, pleased with the method, ordered him to describe in the same manner the botany of the whole empire, and to spare no expence in the execution of the work. The second number came out in 1789.

The revisal of a curious, though less interesting publication, which shews the versatility of the author's talents, unfortunately contributed to delay the completion of the *Flora Russica* and his zoological researches; this work is an universal vocabulary, of which he superintended the impression, and which the empress of Russia collected from all quarters of the globe.

Exclusive of these separate publications, he has printed in the acts of the imperial academy of sciences, various zoological and botanical dissertations, which prove his accurate knowledge of natural history.

It cannot but be pleasing to the lovers of science to be informed, that Pallas has been distinguished with a mark of imperial favour, being appointed member of the board of mines, with an additional salary of 200*l.* per annum, and honoured with the order of St. Volodimir. The empress also purchased his ample collection of natural history, in a manner highly flattering to the author, and honourable to herself. Being informed that he was desirous to dispose of that collection, her majesty sent word, that her country should not be deprived of so curious a cabinet; that she would be the purchaser, and ordered him to make out the catalogue, and fix the price. He accordingly named 15,000 roubles.† Having examined the catalogue, she added with her own hand, "Mr. Pallas understands natural history much better than figures; he ought to have charged 20,000 instead of 15,000 roubles for so many valuable articles. The empress, however, takes upon herself to correct the mistake, and hereby orders her treasurer to pay 20,000 roubles. At the same time Mr. Pallas shall not be deprived of his collection; which shall still continue to be in his own possession during his life, as he so well understands how to render it most useful to mankind."

As the care of putting into order and publishing the papers of Gmelin and Guldenstaedt, is consigned to Pallas, I shall close this chapter with a short account of those learned professors.

Dr. Samuel Gmelin, professor at Tubingen, and afterwards member of the imperial academy of sciences at Petersburg, commenced his travels in June 1768, and having traversed the provinces of Moscow, Voronetz, New Russia, Azof, Casan, and Astracan, visited in 1770 and 1771, the different harbours of the Caspian, and examined those parts of Persia which border upon that Sea, of which he has given a circumstantial account in the three volumes of his travels already published. Animated with a zeal for extending his observations, he attempted to pass through the western provinces of Persia, which are in a perpetual state of warfare, and infested by numerous banditti.

* The botanical reader is referred to the Gentleman's Magazine for August 1785, for a scientific account of the *Flora Russica*; of which no other recommendation need be given, than that it was written by Dr. Pulteney.

† Pallas has settled in Crim Tartary, or Taurida, on an estate granted by the empress; he has lately published the first volume of a description of that country.

He quitted in April 1772, Einzelle, a small trading place in Ghilan, on the southern shore of the Caspian, but, on account of many difficulties and dangers, did not, until the second of December 1773, reach Sallian, a town situated at the mouth of the river Koor. From thence he proceeded to Baku and Kubu, in the province of Shirvan, where he met with a friendly reception from Ali Feth Khan, the sovereign of that district. After he had been joined by twenty Uralian Cossacs, and when he was only four days' journey from the Russian fortress Kislar, he and his companions were, on the 5th of February 1774, arrested by order of Usmei Khan, a petty Tartar prince, through whose territories he was obliged to pass. Usmei, urged, as a pretence for this arrest, that thirty years before several families had escaped from his dominions, and found an asylum in the Russian territories; adding, that Gmelin should not be released until these families were restored. The professor was removed from prison to prison, till wearied out with continual persecutions, he expired on the 27th of July at Achmet-Kent, a village of Mount Caucasus. His death was occasioned partly by vexation for the loss of several papers and collections, and partly by disorders contracted from the fatigues of his long journey. Some of his papers were sent to Kislar during his imprisonment; and the others were rescued from the hands of the barbarian who detained him in captivity.*

John Anthony Guldenstaedt was born at Riga, on the 26th of April 1745, received the rudiments of his education in that town, and in 1763 was admitted into the medical college of Berlin. He completed his studies at Franckfort upon the Oder, and in 1767 received the degree of doctor of physic in that university. On account of his knowledge of foreign languages, and progress in natural history, he was considered as a fit person to engage in the expeditions planned by the imperial academy. Being invited to Petersburg, he arrived in that city in 1768, was created adjunct of the academy, and in 1770, member of that society, and professor of natural history. In June 1768 he commenced his travels, and was absent seven years. From Moscow, where he continued till March 1769, he passed to Voronetz, Tzaritzin, Astracan, and Kislar, a fortress on the western shore of the Caspian, and close to the confines of Persia. In 1770 he examined the districts watered by the rivers Terek, Sunsha, and Alksai, in the eastern extremity of Caucasus, and in the course of the ensuing year penetrated into Ossetia, in the highest part of the same mountain, where he collected vocabularies of the language, made inquiries into the history of the people, and discovered some traces of christianity among them. Having visited Cabarda, and the northern chain of the Caucasus, he proceeded to Georgia, and was admitted to an audience of prince Heraclius,† who was encamped about ten miles from Teflis.

* See Bach. Russ. Bibl. for 1775, p. 50.

† Prince Heraclius, or, as he was called, the Tzar Iracli, who made so bold a stand against the Turks in the last war between the Porte and Russia, and possessed all Georgia, Kaketi, and the two small districts of Bortshal and Kosak, which were ceded to him by Nadir Shah, was then above sixty years old, of a middle size, with a long countenance, a dark complexion, large eyes, and a small beard. He passed his youth at the court and in the army of the celebrated Nadir Shah, where he contracted a fondness for Persian customs and manners, which he introduced into his kingdom. He had seven sons and six daughters. He was much revered and dreaded by the Persian Khans, his neighbours, and usually chosen to mediate between them in their disputes with each other. When they were at war, he supported one of the parties with a few troops, who diffused a spirit and courage among the rest, because the Georgian soldiers were esteemed the bravest of those parts, and prince Heraclius himself was renowned for his courage and military skill. When on horseback, he always had a pair of loaded pistols at his girdle, and, if the enemy was near, a musket slung over his shoulder. In all engagements he was the foremost to give examples of personal bravery, and frequently charged the enemy at the head of his troops. He loved pomp and expence; he adopted the dress of Persia, and

The professor accompanied prince Heraclius in a campaign along the banks of the river Koor, eighty miles into the interior part of Georgia; and returned with him to Teflis. All the houses of that capital are of stone, with flat roofs, which serve, according to the custom of the East, as walks for the women. The buildings are neat and clean, but the streets are exceedingly dirty and narrow. The town contains one Roman Catholic, thirteen Greek, and seven Armenian churches. Having passed the winter at Teflis, and in examining the adjacent country, he followed in spring the prince to the province of Kaketia, and explored the southern districts inhabited by the Turcoman Tartars, and subject to Heraclius, in the company of a Georgian magnate, whom he had cured of a dangerous disorder. In July he went to Imeretia, a country which lies between the Caspian and Black Seas, and is bounded on the east by Georgia, on the north by Ossetia, on the west by Mingrelia, and on the south by the Turkish dominions, which are under the dominion of the prince or Tzar Solomon.*

In the almost unknown dominions of this prince, who, from gratitude to Russia, afforded Guldenstaedt every assistance in his power, the professor penetrated into the middle chain of Mount Caucasus; visited the confines of Mingrelia, Middle Georgia, and Eastern and Lower Imeretia, and, after escaping many imminent dangers from banditti, fortunately returned to Kislar on the 18th of November, where he passed the winter, collecting various information concerning the neighbouring Tartar tribes of the Caucasus, and particularly the Lesgees. In the summer he journeyed to Cabarda Major, continued his course to Mount Beshtan, the highest point of the first ridge of the Caucasus, inspected the mines of Madshar, and went to Tcherkask upon the Don. From thence he made expeditions to Azof and Taganroc, and then along the new limits to the Dnieper: he finished this year's route at Kremenshuk, in the government of New Russia. In the ensuing spring he was proceeding to Crim Tartary; but receiving an order of recall, returned through the Ukraine to Moscow and Petersburg, where he arrived in March 1775.†

regulated his court after the manner of that country. From the example of the Russian troops, who were quartered in Georgia during the last Turkish war, he learnt the use of plates, knives and forks, dishes, household furniture, &c. Although his revenues were small, scarcely exceeding 50,000*l.* per annum, yet he contrived to maintain a standing army of about six thousand men. He was afterwards in close alliance with Russia, and in 1784 one of his sons was colonel of a Cossac regiment. In 1787 he was compelled to renounce his connection with Russia, and to acknowledge himself tributary to the Porte, but died soon afterwards. Georgia has been recently annexed to the Russian empire.

* Solomon, having upon his accession forbidden the scandalous traffic practised by the nobles of selling their peasants, greatly offended the Turks, who gained by that species of commerce. Being by their intrigues driven from his throne, and compelled to find an asylum in the woods and mountains, he lived like a wild man, for sixteen years, in caverns and holes, and frequently by his personal courage escaped assassination, until he was reinstated in his dominions by the Russians in the late war. This prince wore usually a coarse dress of a brown colour, with a musket on his shoulder; but on solemn occasions put on a robe of rich gold brocade, and hung round his neck a silver chain. He was distinguished from his subjects by riding upon an ass, perhaps the only one in Imeretia, and by wearing boots. He had no regular troops, but collected a desultory army of six thousand men, without artillery. These troops were drawn together by the sound of the trumpet; in other respects the prince's orders were issued at the markets, which are held every Friday. One of his servants ascended a tree near the place of meeting, and proclaimed the edict with a loud voice. His subjects were of the Greek religion. Solomon died of the plague in 1784, and was succeeded by his nephew David, who threw himself under the protection of Russia. During my continuance at Petersburg in the winter of 1784, his ambassadors were introduced to the empress, and in the eastern style of homage, threw themselves on the ground at her feet.

† For an account of Guldenstaedt, see *Russ. Bib.* vol. i. p. 49, 102, 301, 548, vol. ii. p. 231, 456. vol. iii. p. 72, 421. *Hist. des Decouvertes*, &c. *Introd.* p. 27, and *Nachricht von den Lebens-Umstanden des Herrn Prof. Guldenstaedt*, in *Journ. St. Pet.* for 1781.

On his return he was employed in arranging his papers; but before he could finish them for the press, was seized with a violent fever, which proved mortal, and carried him to the grave in the month of March 1781.

CHAPTER XIX.

Introduction of the Slavonian Alphabet into Russia.....Rise and Progress of Russian Literature.....Historians.....Poets...Digression concerning the Russian Stage...Russian Stage....Russian Translations....Classical Learning.

THE invention of the Slavonian characters is generally attributed to Constantine, a Greek philosopher, afterwards more known by the name of Cyril, which he assumed when he turned monk. About the middle of the ninth century, Cyril and his brother Methodius were sent from Constantinople by Michael III, to plant the gospel among the Slavonian nations inhabiting the countries bordering upon the Danube, now called Hungary and Bulgaria, and those which were settled in Bohemia and Moravia. As those barbarous nations knew not the use of letters, Cyril composed for them an alphabet, and translated several religious books into their tongue. The greater part of the characters were the capitals of the Greek alphabet, the same usually employed in writing; to which he added a few others, in order to express several sounds peculiar to the Slavonian language. Most of those Slavonian nations, who received christianity from the Greeks, and have retained the Greek religion, still make use of those characters; while the other people of that tribe, who were either first converted by the Germans or Italians, or who afterwards adopted the Roman Catholic tenets, employ either the German or Roman alphabet.*

That tribe of Slavonians called Russians, when they issued from the banks of the Danube in the ninth century, and laid the foundation of this empire, either brought with them, if they knew the use of letters, the Cyrilian alphabet; or afterwards adopted it, on their conversion to christianity, when the Slavonian Bible, translated by Cyril, was introduced among them. These characters are occasionally written, like the oldest Greek and Roman manuscripts, of equal size, at equal distances, without connection or stops, and without distinction of words.

The earliest Slavonian book ever published, was a Russian translation of the Pentateuch, printed in the Cyrilian alphabet at Prague in 1719:† the same letters were introduced into Russia on the establishment of the first press at Moscow, and continued in use, not only for ecclesiastical publications, but also for all others, until 1707, when some new Russian types, consisting of great and small letters, similar to those which are now employed, were cast at Amsterdam for the printing-house at Moscow.‡ The lan-

* Besides the Russians, the Slavonians dwelling in Dalmatia, and in the islands under the dominion of Venice, who are of the Greek religion, still use the Cyrilian characters. The same were employed by all the nations of Hungary, Slavonia, Croatia, Dalmatia, and others in the Austrian territories; but as the Roman Catholic persuasion has gained ground amongst them, they have lately begun to adopt the Roman letters; while the Slavonian people subject to the Turks, namely, the inhabitants of Albania, Servia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, who are of the Greek religion, preserve the Cyrilian alphabet. The Bohemians, who soon after their first conversion quitted the Greek religion, and were afterwards turned by the Germans to the Roman Catholic sect, use the German or Gothic characters, which were also in use among the Poles, equally indebted to the Germans for the first introduction of christianity among them; but the Poles have lately, in most of their publications, adopted the Roman alphabet. See the preface to the Neue Slavonisch und Deutch Grammatik, printed at Vienna, 1774.

† Essai sur la Bibliothèque, p. 92.

‡ See a Specimen of the Russian characters in vol. ii. book III. chap. 5.

guage in which the church-service is still performed, is the same which was spoken in the ninth century by the Slavonians settled on the banks of the Danube, in the countries now called Hungary and Bulgaria, from whom the Russians are undoubtedly descended. The translation of the Bible made in that century being still in general use, has ascertained its original, and preserved it in its pristine state; and it is remarkable that the several dialects of Slavonian, such as Polish, Russian, and Bohemian, have a greater resemblance to this mother-tongue than to each other.*

The Cyrilian alphabet employed by the Russian church is composed of thirty-nine characters, some of which contained, according to our mode of spelling, three or even four consonants; but, as now modified in 1707, for common use, is reduced† to thirty letters.

The Slavonian, in its different dialects, is known through a larger extent of country, and spoken by a greater number of people, than perhaps any other language in the world. It is the native tongue in Bohemia, Moravia, Croatia, Carinthia, Carniola, Slavonia, Bosnia, Servia, Albania, Dalmatia, different parts of Hungary and Bulgaria, Poland, and Russia, in a word, a traveller acquainted with that language would be understood from the confines of Germany to the Sea of Kamtchatka.

The Russian dialect of the Slavonian, which is said to be extremely rich and harmonious, has not, till lately, undergone any cultivation; having been chiefly confined to affairs of government, ecclesiastical writings, and to unconnected chronicles and journals.

Some authors, in considering the small advances made by the Russians in the arts and sciences, when compared with the progress of the more enlightened nations in Europe, have erroneously attributed this deficiency to the effects of climate, or to an innate want of genius. The latter assertion scarcely deserves a serious refutation; for all intellectual improvement must arise from culture, and the greater or less degree of knowledge must ultimately depend upon the greater or less degree of instruction. Besides, this illiberal reflection is sufficiently refuted by the bare mention of several illustrious Russians, who, amongst many others, might be selected on this occasion: Philaretos and Nikon; Sophia Alexiefna; prince Vassili Galitzin, and Peter the Great; the learned Theophanes; the poets Lomonozof and Sumorokof, and Khereskof; and the present historian, prince Sherebatof.

With respect to the objection, that the genius of this nation has been fettered by the intense cold of the climate, it may be remarked: if climate has an invincible effect upon mankind, where shall we draw the line of the greatest intellectual ability? Shall we suppose a point, in which the human mind is at its greatest perfection, from which, in proportion as it recedes, it gradually degenerates? Is the influence of climate uniform or casual? If uniform, why is modern Greece no longer the seat of arts and learning? Why was Iceland once the chief repository of northern literature? Why are the Swedes more enlightened than the Russians? And why are not the Russians of Astracan more civilized than those of Petersburg and Archangel? If the effects of climate are casual, they are then counterbalanced by other circumstances; and it ceases to be a positive criterion of distinction.

Many impediments arise from the government, religion, and particularly from the vassalage of the peasants, which tend to check the diffusion of the arts and sciences, without the necessity of having recourse to a supposed want of genius, or to the effect

* Schloetzer *Prob. Rus.* An. p. 189.

† Russian Dictionary, 1778. In Charpentiere's Grammar there are thirty-two characters.

of climate. But instead of combatting theoretical reasonings, which have no foundation in fact or experience, I shall hasten to trace the rise and progress of Russian literature, and take a cursory view of its present state.

While some authors deny the smallest portion of literature to the Russians, and even hold them incapable of any considerable progress in science; others on the contrary, assert, that they began to be enlightened even at so early a period as during the reigns of Oleg and Igor.* The arguments in favour of this hypothesis prove little more than that the Russians in those times were not unacquainted with the art of writing; and that they had composed, or could repeat, a few ancient songs, which celebrated the military exploits of their princes and leaders. But undoubtedly the whole nation was plunged in the grossest ignorance, and in a situation not superior to that of the wandering hordes who now inhabit Independent Tartary. It is said of Svatoslaf, the son of Igor;† "on his march he carried with him no baggage-waggon, no kitchen furniture; his food was the flesh of horses and other animals, just warmed over the fire; he had no tent; his housings served for a bed, and his saddle for a pillow; the whole army followed his example." A description which characterises the chief of an unlettered Scythian tribe, and not the sovereign of a people in whom the smallest traces of the arts were found. And although perhaps the knowledge of the Slavonian alphabet might have been brought into Russia by a few christians, who were drawn to the court by Olga, the wife of Igor; yet the first introduction of literature must be ascribed to Vladimir the Great, on his conversion to christianity in 988; who instituted schools, and passed a decret‡ to regulate the mode of instructing youth. Under the auspices of his son Yaroslaf, who ascended the throne in 1018, many learned priests were invited from Constantinople, various Greek books translated into the Russian tongue, and hymns and other poetical versions of the Psalms sung in the churches. He also established a seminary at Novogorod for three hundred students, and gave to that republic the first code of written laws. This dawn of letters was obscured by subsequent calamities, and succeeded by a long darkness of three centuries, during which the nation was subject to the Tartar yoke. The Christian religion, however, tended in this, as well as in most other countries of Europe, to preserve some small remains of literature in the schools of the monasteries. Each convent fortunately became an asylum for the preservation, though not for the diffusion of knowledge; and in this period of barbarism and ignorance, many monks were distinguished for their erudition.

* Ruric, entered Russia about 862; died 879.

2. OLEG, probably the nephew of Ruric, great duke or regent during the minority of Igor.

3. Igor, died 945; married Olga.

4. SVATOSLAF, died 974.

5. YAROPOLK, died 980. 6. VLADIMIR the Great, reigned 980; died 1014.

7. YAROSLAF, 1053.

† Journ. St. Pet. for 1781, part I, p. 151.

‡ This curious decree still exists in the Russian tongue, and is translated into French by Bachmeister, in his *Essai sur la Bib. &c.* p. 9.

On the final expulsion of the Tartars by Ivan Vassilievitch I, in the middle of the 15th century, Russia gradually emerged from this state of darkness, and continued improving in civilization and culture, under the patronage of the succeeding sovereigns, particularly Ivan II, Boris Godunof, the two first Tzars of the line of Romanof, and the princess Sophia. But it was not till the æra of Peter the Great that letters, which had been chiefly confined to the regular clergy, began to be cultivated by the laity; a sure sign that the nation was advancing to a more general state of improvement.

A review of the lives and works of the most eminent writers, who have contributed to refine the language, and diffuse a taste for science, will assist in tracing the progress of literature, and ascertaining its present state.

In this inquiry I shall confine myself principally to history and poetry.

Russia can boast the earliest historian of the North; for, at a period when Poland, Sweden, and Denmark, were unlettered; when even the annalists of Iceland were mute; a monk of the convent of Petcherski at Kiof was compiling the history of Russia.

This annalist, whose secular name is not known, was born in 1046, at Bielozero, and in the nineteenth year of his age assumed the monastic habit, and took the name of Nestor.* At Kiof he made a considerable proficiency in the Greek language, but seems to have formed his style and manner rather from the Byzantine historians, Cerdenus, Zonaras, and Syncellus, than from the ancient classics. The time of Nestor's death is not ascertained; but he is supposed to have attained an advanced age, and to have died about the year 1115.

His great work is his Chronicle with an introduction, which contains a short sketch of the early state of the world, taken from the Byzantine writers, a geographical description of Russia, and an account of the Slavonian nations. He then enters upon a chronological series of the Russian annals, from the year 858 to about 1113. His style is simple and unadorned, such as suits a mere recorder of facts; but his chronological exactness, though it render his narrative dry and tedious, contributes to ascertain the æra and authenticity of the events which he relates.†

*For the account of Nestor, see principally Muller, S. R. G. V. p. 6; and Schloetzer's *Probe Russische Annalen*; which accurate and interesting work I have chiefly followed, as the great source of information relative to the early annalists of Russia.

†A competent judge thus expresses himself with regard to this performance:

"Nestor's chronicle is unique in its kind. For all the other Slavonian people, such as the Poles, Bohemians, Illyrians, &c. cannot produce any writer who can in the smallest degree contend with the Russian annalist in antiquity, minuteness, accuracy, and truth. He was so highly esteemed in Russia, and the subsequent writers were so convinced of his fidelity, that in speaking of the same times, they adopt his very words, or make only the smallest alterations.

"I will not prejudice the readers in their judgment concerning the authenticity of this annalist; and I am convinced, that whoever peruses his work, will at once do him the justice which he deserves. I allude to those readers only who do not acknowledge any other histories than those which are derived from the most esteemed sources; and who know how to distinguish with critical exactness the purity of those sources. But I do not address myself to those who have not hitherto been acquainted with any other writers on the early times of the Russian history than Herberstein and Petreius; place the introduction of the art of writing into Russia so late as the 13th century; who hold the succession of the Russian sovereigns to be unknown, at least uncertain, until the time of Ivan Vassilievitch; who consider this long period as totally obscure, in which no chronicle affords a clue to the discerning historian; who draw their whole knowledge of Russian history from Strahlenberg, Voltaire, La Combe, and from the still more wretched compilers of the article Russia in the *Universal History*. These readers will not indeed be easily induced to esteem, as authentic, the relations of a monk, whose writings show the inaccuracy of the above-mentioned authors, and confute at once their whole account of Russia during the middle æges." Schloetzer, *Russ. Ann.* p. 32.

It is remarkable, that an author of such importance, whose name frequently occurs in the early Russian books, should have remained in obscurity above six hundred years and been scarcely known to his modern countrymen. A copy of his chronicle was given, in 1668, by prince Radzivil to the library of Konigsburgh, where it lay unnoticed until Peter the Great, in his passage through that town, ordered a transcript to be sent to Petersburg. But the author was still unknown, for when Muller in 1732, published the first part of a German translation,* he mentioned it as the work of the abbot Theodosius of Kiof. The ingenious editor, not being at that time sufficiently acquainted with the Slavonian tongue, employed an interpreter, who, by mistaking a letter in the title, supposed it written by a person whose name was Theodosius. This ridiculous blunder was soon circulated, and copied by many foreign writers; even long after it was candidly acknowledged and corrected by Muller.

Nestor was successively followed by three annalists; the first was Sylvester, abbot of the convent of St. Michael at Kiof, and bishop of Perislaſ, who died in 1123: he commences his chronicle from 1115, only two years posterior to that of Nestor, and continues it to 1123; from which period a monk, whose name has not been delivered down to posterity, carries the history to 1157; and another, equally unknown, to 1203. With respect to these performances, Muller informs us, "the labours of Nestor and his three continuators have produced a connected series of Russian history so complete, that no nation can boast a similar treasure for so long and unbroken a period."† We may add likewise from the same authority, that these annals record much fewer prodigies and monkish legends, than others which have issued from the cloister in times so unenlightened.

From this period, which terminates in 1203, there is no regular continuation of the Russian history, but many separate and detached annalists; for as the empire was broken into independent principalities, each writer has detailed the events of the particular district in which he flourished. The next general annalist who presents himself to our notice is Cyprian, metropolitan of Russia in the reign of Demetrius Donski, who began in the 14th century the book of degrees; so called because it arranges the history of the empire, according to the order of descent: each degree contains the reign of those sovereigns who followed each other in an uninterrupted line; and a new one commences when the throne passed to a collateral branch. This work was continued by the metropolitan Makari, who flourished under Ivan Vassilievitch II, and afterwards by unknown compilers, to the times somewhat posterior to the reign of Feodor Ivanovitch. These writings, unlike those of Nestor and his continuators, contain many idle traditions and absurd legends; but the events which they record, render them the object of the historian's notice; and Muller has thought them of sufficient consequence to become their editor.

The chronicle of the patriarch Nikon, in which he collected a complete series of Russian annalists, from Nestor to the reign of Alexey Michaelovitch, and the extraordinary exertions which he made to diffuse knowledge among his countrymen, have been already related.

The reign of Alexey was extremely fertile in what were called historical productions; but which in reality are rather dry materials than deserving such an honourable appella-

* S. R. G. I. p. 1. &c. The real title to this manuscript was, by the "Monk of the Theodosian Convent of Petcherski;" which the interpreter, by mistaking one letter, explained, the Monk Theodosius, of the Convent, &c. See Schloetzer, p. 16.

† S. R. G. V. p. 6.

tion. It would be tedious to enumerate the various chronicles, journals of the court, books of genealogy, public records, state-papers, and other similar sources of information, both of his and succeeding times; which the libraries contain in such abundance as to astonish a stranger, who by false representations may have been misled to conceive that the Russians are deficient in original documents.

Among the persons who, posterior to Nikon, have mostly contributed to promote science by their example and protection, and who may be classed among the historians, must not be omitted Theophanes Prokopovitch, metropolitan archbishop of Novogorod. This learned prelate was the son of a burgher of Kiof; he was born on the 9th of June 1681, and baptized by the name of Elisha. He commenced his studies under his uncle Theophanes, rector of the seminary in the Bratskoi Convent at Kiof, and was well grounded in the rudiments of the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew tongues. Though his uncle died in 1692, he completed his education in that seminary, and in the eighteenth year of his age, travelled into Italy. He resided three years at Rome; where, besides a competent knowledge of the Italian, he acquired a taste for the fine arts, and improved himself in philosophy and divinity.

On his return to Kiof, he read lectures on the Latin and Slavonian poetry in the seminary, and, having assumed the monastic habit, changed his name to Theophanes. Before he attained the 25th year of his age, he was admitted præfect, the second office in the seminary, and professor of philosophy. In 1706, he distinguished himself by a Latin oration before Peter the Great, and still more by a sermon, which, in 1709, he preached before the same monarch after the battle of Pultava. Having once attracted the notice, he soon acquired the protection of Peter, who, captivated with his great talents, superior learning, and polite address, selected him for a companion in the ensuing campaign against the Turks; a sure prelude to his future advancement. In 1711, Theophanes was nominated abbot of the monastery of Bratskoi, rector of the seminary, and professor of divinity. His censures against the ignorance and indolence of the Russian clergy, and his endeavours to promote a taste for polite literature among his brethren, rendered him a fit instrument in the hands of Peter for the reformation of the church, and the abolition of the patriarchal dignity. He was placed at the head of the synod, of which ecclesiastical establishment he himself drew the plan, was created in 1718 bishop of Plescof, and in 1720 archbishop of the same diocese: soon after the accession of Catharine he was consecrated archbishop of Novogorod, and Metropolitan of all Russia, and died in 1736.

Besides various sermons and theological disquisitions, he wrote a treatise on rhetoric, and on the rules of Latin and Slavonian poetry; he composed verses in the Latin language, and was author of a work, for which he is chiefly mentioned in this place, the *Life of Peter the Great*, which terminates with the battle of Pultava. In this performance the prelate has, notwithstanding his natural partiality to his benefactor, avoided that scurrilous abuse of the contrary party which frequently disgraces the best histories, and has been particularly candid in his account of Sophia. Peter employed him in composing the decrees which concerned theological questions, and even many which related to civil affairs.

Theophanes not only cultivated the sciences, and promoted them during his life, but likewise left a legacy to his countrymen, for their further progress after his decease, by maintaining and superintending the education of sixty boys, in his episcopal palace. Under his auspices, they were instructed in foreign languages, and in various branches of polite knowledge, which had been hitherto censured by many as profane acqui-

sitions; thus transmitting the rays of learning to illuminate future ages and a distant posterity.*

Though Russia hitherto abounded in chronicles and annals relative to detached periods; yet, excepting a dry detail of facts compiled for the use of Alexey Michaelovitch, it possessed no regular and connected history. The first attempt towards such a work was undertaken by prince Khilkof. This nobleman,† descended from an ancient family, had distinguished himself as ambassador to several foreign courts, before he was deputed, in 1700, to Stockholm. He accompanied Charles XII, in his descent upon the Isle of Zealand; and on the ensuing truce of Travendhal, between Sweden and Denmark, returned to Stockholm, on the 17th of September, at the eve of the rupture which broke out between the Swedish and Russian monarchs. His character of ambassador, deemed sacred by the law of nations, could not protect him from the resentment of Charles XII; and, on the 20th of the same month, he was arrested and imprisoned.

As an amusement during his captivity, which was long and rigorous, and at the request of his fellow-prisoner prince Trubetskoi, he began an abridgment of the Russian history, from the earliest period to his own time; and after a confinement of eighteen years, expired in his prison of Westeros, when he was on the point of being released.

His work called the "Kernel of the Russian History," is a mere abridgment, and was published in 1770 by Mr. Muller. It forms only one volume in octavo, and contains seven books: the first commences with the creation of the world, and ends with the foundation of the Russian empire under Ruric; the remaining six carry down the history to the year 1713. During some part of his confinement he was permitted to receive from Moscow, books, extracts from chronicles, and a few state-papers; but as he could not obtain the necessary documents so well as on the spot, his performance unavoidably contains occasional errors, many of which the judicious editor has corrected.

In 1720, Vassili Tatishchef, who had more opportunities of obtaining information, began to collect materials for a complete history of Russia, and continued his researches without intermission for thirty years. The indefatigable compiler finished his account to the reign of Feodor Ivanovitch, and was bringing it down to this century, when death put a period to his labours. Part of this great work was consumed by fire, and the remainder was published after the author's death by Muller. It consists of three volumes in quarto. The first contains several curious dissertations relative to the antiquity of the Slavonian nation; the second and third comprise the history of the Russian empire, from its earliest origin to 1237. It can hardly be called a regular history, but is rather a connected series of chronicles, whose antiquated Slavonian dialects are merely changed into the Russian idiom; and the author is justly censured for not regularly citing the various annalists as he abridges or new models them, and for not assigning the reasons which induced him to prefer the writers whose relations he has adopted, to those which he has rejected.‡

Since Tatishchef, several writers§ have published collections of state-papers and other documents; but the honour of composing a complete history of this country is proba-

* For the history of Theophanes I have followed implicitly Muller, whose fidelity and accuracy always appear to me unquestionable. See S. R. G. V. p. 564.

† See Bach. Russ. Bib. for 1777, p. 78—87.

‡ Bach. Russ. Bib. for 1774, p. 43; also for 1775, p. 216. L'Evesque, vol. i. p. xxxi.

§ Particularly Novikof, in his ancient Russian Library, in ten volumes, a work thus characterised by L'Evesque; "Recueil de pieces originales et authentiques, tirees des cabinets et des archives;

bly reserved for prince Sherebatof; who, if we except Muller, has contributed more than any other person towards illustrating the Russian annals.

This learned nobleman is editor of several works: a journal of Peter the Great, in 2 vols. quarto, which he found in the archives, and published by order of the empress. It consists of eight books, five of which were corrected by Peter himself. The first volume begins with the insurrection of the Strelitzes in 1698, and finishes with 1714; the second concludes with the peace of Nystadt in 1721. The learned editor has added several remarks, and some important pieces from the Russian archives. The Russian history, by an ancient annalist, from the beginning of the reign of Vladimir Monomacha, in 1114 to 1472, in which the author dwells on the civil feuds of Novogorod, and its subjection to Ivan Vassilievitch I. The Life of Peter the Great, in the Russian language, first published at Venice, which the prince reprinted in 1774, and enriched with historical observations. His own works are, an Account of the Russian Impostors: amongst these is the life of Demetrius, chiefly drawn from the sources consulted by Muller in his relation of the same period. But this noble author's great work is the History of Russia, from the earliest times. He has already published three volumes in quarto, which finished with the reign of Demetrius Donski, who died in 1589. I have read with great pleasure the German translation of this performance, which is a most valuable addition to the history of the North. The author had access to the imperial archives; he draws his information from the most ancient and unquestionable sources, is exact in quoting his authorities, and ranges the events in chronological order with great perspicuity. A writer, who consulted many chronicles cited by this historian, and who has given to the public the most complete history of Russia yet extant, thus speaks of this work: "The author always cites his authorities. I have verified a great number of his references, and have always discovered his accuracy. If the first character of an historian is the love of truth, the prince deserves the greatest praise."*

Although this disquisition is confined to the native writers; yet I cannot avoid mentioning Voltaire's Life of Peter the Great, as it is the work from which most foreign nations have formed their ideas of Russia; which many French and English authors have servilely copied, until it is considered as a standard book, and particularly as the author informs us in the Preface: "*La cour de Petersbourg, &c. a fait parvenir a l'historien charge de cet ouvrage tous les documens authentiques. Il n'a ecrit que sur des preuves incontestables.*"

But the well-informed Russians, although this work idolizes their hero Peter the Great, confess that it is an inaccurate performance; a panegyric rather than a history, in which many facts are disguised or omitted; where every defect in the principal character is softened, and every virtue exaggerated. In truth, the elegant author wrote this Life at the desire of the empress Elizabeth, by whose order he received great part of the materials. Hence it may easily be conjectured, that nothing would be communicated which could reflect the smallest discredit on Peter or Catharine; and that the author was unwilling to insert any circumstance which might be displeasing to Elizabeth. His genius was fettered by these restraints; the picture accordingly, which he has drawn

on y trouve des morceaux tres importantes." Vol. i. p. xxiv. The Academy of Sciences has also published an historical Journal every month, from 1754 to 1765. It consists of twenty volumes, octavo, and contains "un grande nombre de morceaux historiques tres-interessans, dont la plupart ont ete composes par le savant Muller." Ib.

* L'Evesque.

of Peter, is almost as devoid of animation as of resemblance, and this sketch is the least entertaining, as well as the most inaccurate of his historical pieces.

But frequently also in regard to those events which did not interfere with Elizabeth's prejudices, he either did not examine, or did not follow, some of the best and most authentic materials communicated from Petersburg.* From these circumstances we may assent to the truth of the censure passed by the lively writer upon his own performance, when he said, "Je ferai graver sur ma tombe, cy git qui a voulu ecrire l'histoire de Pierre le Grand."†

Of the Russian poetry previous to this century, the only specimens were a few ancient songs, some occasional copies of verses, and a psalter, composed by the monk Simeon Polotski, printed at Moscow in 1680. To use the expressions of the epic writer Kheraskof, "the Muses waited till the reign of Peter the Great, to make their appearance in Russia: before his time were indeed a few poets, but their compositions were more rhymes than verses, and even during his reign the art was still in its infancy. At length came Lomonozof,"‡ &c. Theophanes had indeed read lectures on the rules of Slavonian or Russian verse; prince Kantemir, Ilinski, Trediatofski, and a few others, had composed; but there were no poets of eminence before Lomonozof and Sumorokof. A sketch therefore of the lives and writings of these two authors, a short account of the Russian stage, and a few remarks on the compositions of Kheraskof, will convey to the reader some idea of the rise, progress, and state of poetry in this empire.

Lomonozof,§ the great refiner of his native tongue, was the son of a fishmonger at Kolmogori: he was born in 1711, and fortunately taught to read; a rare instance for a person of so low a station in Russia. His natural genius for poetry was first kindled by the perusal of the Song of Solomon, done into verse by Polotski, whose rude compositions, perhaps scarcely superior to our version of the Psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins, inspired him with an irresistible passion for the muses. He fled from his father, who would have compelled him to marry, and took refuge in a monastery at Moscow; where he had an opportunity of indulging his taste for letters, and studying the Greek and Latin languages. In this seminary he made such considerable progress in polite literature, as to be patronised by the imperial academy of sciences. In 1736, he was sent, at the expence of that society, to the university of Marburgh in Hesse-Cassel, where he studied under the celebrated Christian Wolf, universal grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy. He continued at Marburgh four years, and applied himself with indefatigable diligence to chemistry, which he afterwards pursued with still greater success, under the famous Henckel, at Freyburgh in Saxony. In 1741, he returned into Russia, was chosen in 1742 adjunct to the imperial academy, and in the ensuing year member of that society, and professor of chemistry. In 1760, he was appointed inspector of the seminary, then annexed to the academy; in 1764, he was gratified by the empress with the title of counsellor of state, and died on the 4th of April that year, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

* Busching has published, in the third volume of his Historical Magazine, "Memoire abrege sur la Vie du Tsarevitch Alexei Petrovitch." This memoir, says the editor, was sent to Voltaire before he began to write his History of Russia: it will serve as a proof how little that writer employed the authentic papers transmitted to him. Vol. iii. p. 194. Muller also charges Voltaire with not paying sufficient attention to the papers which he communicated from the most undoubted authorities. Bus., xvi. p. 352.

† Cited by L'Evesque, vol. i. p. 30.

‡ Preface to Kheraskof's poem on the Battle of Tchesme, quoted in Bach. Russ. Bib. for 1774, p. 201.

§ Le Clerc, Hist. Mod. p. 70.

Lomonozof excelled in various kinds of composition ; but his chief merit is derived from his odes. The first was written in 1739, while he studied in Germany, on the capture of Kotschin, a fortress of Crim Tartary, by marshal Munich. The odes of Lomonozof are greatly admired for originality of invention, sublimity of sentiment, and energy of language, and compensate for their turgid style, by that spirit and fire, which are the principal characteristics in this species of composition. Pindar was his great model ; and if we may give credit to a person* well versed in the Russian tongue, he has succeeded in this daring attempt to imitate the Theban bard, without incurring the censure of Horace.† In this, as well as several other species of composition, he enriched his native language with various kinds of metre, and merited the appellation bestowed on him, "The Father of Russian Poetry."

A brief recapitulation of the principal works of Lomonozof, printed in three volumes octavo, will shew the versatility of his genius, and his extensive knowledge in various branches of literature :

The first volume, beside a preface on the advantages derived to the Russian tongue from the ecclesiastical writings, contains ten sacred and nineteen panegyric odes, and several occasional pieces of poetry.

The second comprises an essay, in prose, on the rules of Russian poetry ; translation of a German ode ; Idylls ; Tamira and Selim, a tragedy ; Demophoon, a tragedy ; Poetical epistle on the utility of Glass ; two cantos of an epic poem, entitled Peter the Great ; a congratulatory copy of verses ; an Ode ; translation of Baptiste Rousseau's ode, *Sur le Bonheur* ; Heads of a course of lectures on Natural Philosophy ; certain passages, translated in verse and prose, according to the originals, from Cicero, Erasmus, Lucian, Ælian, Ammianus Marcellinus, Quintus Curtius, Homer, Virgil, Martial, Ovid, Horace, and Seneca, which Russian translations were brought as examples in his Lectures upon Rhetoric ; lastly, description of the Comet which appeared in 1744.

The third volume consists chiefly of speeches and treatises read before the academy ; panegyric on the empress Elizabeth ; on Peter the Great ; treatise on the advantages of chemistry ; on the phenomena of the air, occasioned by the electrical fire, with a Latin translation of the same ; on the origin of light, as a new theory of colours ; methods to determine with precision the course of a vessel ; on the origin of metals by the means of earthquakes ; Latin dissertation on solidity and fluidity ; on the Transit of Venus in 1761, with a German translation.‡

Besides these various subjects, Lomonozof made no inconsiderable figure in history, having published two small works relative to that of his own country. The first, styled *Annals of the Russian Sovereigns*, is a short chronology of the Russian monarchs ; the second is the *Ancient History of Russia*, from the origin of that nation to the death of the great duke Yaroslaf I, in 1054 ; a performance of great merit, as it illustrates the most difficult and obscure period in the annals of this country.

Lomonozof was also an admirer of the arts ; made some proficiency in painting, and distinguished himself by copying in mosaic. The portraits of the regent Anne and Peter the Third, done by Lomonozof in mosaic, are still preserved in the gallery at Oranienbaum.

* L'Evesque, who says of him, "Il est peut-etre le seul emule de Pindare."

† "Pindarum quisquis studet æmulari," &c. L'Ode de Lomonozof fit connoître aux Russes les véritables règles de la harmonie. Le Clerc.

‡ Mr. Damaskin, who published this complete edition of Lomonozof's works, received from the empress a present of 100*l*. See *Russ. Bib.* for 1780, p. 338.

Alexander Sumorokof, justly denominated the founder of the Russian theatre, next to Lomonozof, principally contributed to refine the poetry of his country. But before I give a detail of his life and writings, I shall introduce a short account of the Russian stage, because a view of the state in which he found the national theatre* will display his powers in dramatic composition.

Before the æra of Peter the Great, almost the only† dramatic representations in Russia were exhibited in the monasteries of Kiof and Moscow; where the students performed occasionally an *Actus Oratorius*, or scriptural history. The learned Demetrius Tooptalo,‡ metropolitan archbishop of Rostof, was highly distinguished for composing, in the taste of the times, scriptural histories in verse: *The sinner* an allegory; *Ester* and *Ahasuerus*; the birth, and the resurrection of Christ. At the commencement of this century, these pieces were the fashionable representations, not only in convents, but at court, even so late as the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.

The students of surgery in the hospital at Moscow gave the first public performance exhibited by the laity, in the great hall, where they raised a stage, and used screens for the scenery. Stachlin,§ who was present at one of these exhibitions, the subject of which was *Tamerlane*, informs us, that nothing could be more grotesque and ridiculous; and relates an instance of profane ribaldry introduced into one of the scriptural pieces, too gross to be mentioned. The same author remembers to have seen at Petersburg the empress's grooms act in a still more wretched manner, either in the hay loft of the imperial stables, or in an unfurnished house. Actors of this sort used also to perform every year for the amusement of the common people: they had no regular theatre, but were accustomed to play in different parts of the city. At dusk, a paper lantern was hung from the window, and two huntsmen's horns were blown to announce a comedy for the evening; the entrance money was from 1½d. to 2d.; and the spectators usually remained two hours to hear every species of nonsense and ribaldry. Such was the state of the Russian stage when Sumorokof brought out his first tragedy of *Koref*.

About the same time the first regular Russian theatre was opened at Yaroslaf, under the direction of the celebrated actor Feodor Volkof, the Garrick of Russia, whose talents for the stage were equal to those of Sumorokof for dramatic composition. Volkof was son of a tradesman at Yaroslaf, and born in 1729: having discovered early proofs of great abilities, he was sent to Moscow, where he learnt the German tongue, music, and drawing. His father dying, and his mother marrying a second husband, who had established a manufactory of salt-petre and sulphur, he applied himself to that trade; and going upon the business of his father-in-law to Petersburg about the year 1748, his natural inclination for the stage led him to frequent the German plays, and for an intimate acquaintance with some of the actors.

On his return to Yaroslaf, he constructed a stage in a large apartment at his father-in-law's house, painted the scenes, and with the assistance of his four brothers, acted

* It does not enter into my plan to trace the introduction and progress of the German, Italian, and French players in Russia. I shall only observe, that in the reign of Peter the Great, the first set of German actors played at Petersburg; some Italian performers first made their appearance in 1730, and the French comedians in 1742. For further information on this subject, the reader is referred to Stachlin's *Ges. des Theatres in Russland*, in Haygold, or Schloetzer's *Heylage*, vol. i. p. 407.

† We may except the representations at court during the minority of Peter the Great, when some of Moliere's plays, translated into the Russian tongue, were acted in the *Ikonospatsko* convent; among other persons of distinction, the princess Sophia performed a part.

‡ He died in 1709.

§ See *Geschichte des Theatres in Russland*, from which ingenious treatise I have principally taken this account of the Russian stage.

before a large assembly. Their first performances were the scriptural histories written by the archbishop of Rostof; these were succeeded by the tragedies of Lomonozof and Sumorokof, and sometimes satirical farces of their own composition against the inhabitants of Yaroslaf. The spectators being admitted gratis, his father-in-law objected to the expence; and Volkof constructed, in 1750, a large theatre, partly by subscription, and partly at his own risk. Having supplied it with scenes, which he painted himself, and dresses, which he assisted in making; and procured additional actors, whom he instructed, he and his troop performed with great applause before crowded audiences, who cheerfully paid for their admission.

In 1752, the empress Elizabeth, informed of their success, summoned them to Petersburg; where they represented, in the theatre of the court, the tragedies of Sumorokof. To improve this new troop, the four principal actors were placed in the seminary of the cadets, where they remained four years. At the conclusion of that period, a Russian theatre was established at the court; three actresses were admitted; Sumorokof was appointed director, and 5,000 roubles were allowed for the actors. Besides this salary, they were permitted to perform once a week to the public; and the admission money was distributed among them without deduction; as the lights, music, and dresses were provided at the expence of the empress.

The chief performances were the tragedies and comedies of Sumorokof, and translations from Moliere and other French writers. The company continued to flourish under the patronage of Catharine, and the salaries of the actors were gradually increased to 11,000 roubles per annum. Volkof and his brother were ennobled, and received from their imperial mistress estates in land: he performed, for the last time, at Moscow, in the tragedy of Zemira, a short time before his death, which happened in 1763, in the thirty-fifth year of his age. He equally excelled in tragedy and comedy; but his principal merit consisted in representing madness. He was tolerably versed in music, and no indifferent poet.

His friend Sumorokof paid an affecting tribute to the memory of Volkof, who had done ample justice to his dramatic compositions: "Melpomene, unite thy tears with mine; lament and tear thy locks. My friend is dead. Adieu, my friend; sorrow penetrates and dissolves my soul. The source of Hippocrene is frozen. O Russia! you possessed a second Racine! but the new theatre is already tottering from its foundations; and all the labours of a century are destroyed! Volkof is separated from the Muses for ever. Tragedy has lost her buskin and her poignard. Melpomene, bedew his tomb with thy tears."*

The prophecy, however, of Sumorokof, which his enthusiasm for the theatrical abilities of this great actor, or his affection for the memory of his friend, led him to utter, is far from being fulfilled. The stage, though it suffered a considerable loss by the death of Volkof, still subsists and prospers under the protection of Catharine; and from the specimens which I saw among the foundlings at Moscow, and in other seminaries, there is no reason to apprehend the want of able actors.

To return from this digression: Alexander Sumorokof, the son of Peter Sumorokof, a Russian nobleman, was born at Moscow, on the 14th of November, 1727.† He received the first rudiments of learning in his father's house, where, beside a grammatical knowledge of his native tongue, he was well grounded in the Latin language. Being

* Le Clerk, p. 81.

† This account of Sumorokof is chiefly taken from "Kurze Nachricht von den Leben und der Schriften, Alexander Petrowitch Sumorokof," in Journ. St. Pet. for 1778.

removed to the seminary of the cadets at St. Petersburg, he prosecuted his studies with unwearied application, and gave early proofs of his genius for poetry. Even on holidays, he would retire from his companions, who were engaged in play, and devote his whole time to the perusal of the Latin and French writers.

The first efforts of his genius were love-songs, whose tenderness and beauty of expression, till then unknown in the Russian tongue, were considered as prognostics of his future fame. On quitting the seminary, he was appointed adjutant, first to count Golovkin, and afterwards to count Razomofski; and being patronized by count Ivan Shuvalof, was introduced by that Mæcenas to Elizabeth, who took him under her protection. About the twenty-ninth year of his age, an enthusiastic fondness for the works of Racine, turned his genius to the drama, and he wrote the tragedy of Koref, which laid the foundation of the Russian theatre. This piece was first acted by some of his former school-mates, the cadets, who had previously exercised their talents in declamation, and in acting a French play. Elizabeth informed of this new phenomenon in the theatrical world, ordered the tragedy to be exhibited in her presence upon a small theatre of the court, where German, Italian, and French plays had been performed. The applause and distinction which the author received on this occasion, encouraged him to follow the bent of his genius; and he produced successively Hamlet, Aristona, Sinaf and Truvor, Zemira, Dimisa, Vitshelef, the False Demetrius, and Micislaaf. Nor was his muse less fertile in comedies, which are, Trissotinus, the Judge, the dispute between the Husband and Wife, the Guardian, the Portion acquired by Fraud, the Envious Man, Tartuffe, the Imaginary Cuckold, the Mother who rivals the Daughter, the Gossip, and the Three Rival Brothers. He wrote also the operas of Alcestes, and Cephalus and Procris.*

With respect to his tragedies, Racine was his model; and his Russian biographer, who seems a competent judge of his merit, allows, that "though in some instances he attained all the excellence of the French poet, yet he failed in many others; but it would be uncandid to insist on such defects in a writer who first introduced the drama among his countrymen. The French overlook in their Corneille still greater faults." "His comedies, continues the same author, contain much humour; but I do not imagine that our dramatic writers will adopt him for their model; for he frequently excites the laughter of the spectator at the expence of his cooler judgment.† Nevertheless, they present sufficient passages to prove, that he would have attained a greater degree of excellence in this line, had he paid more attention to paint our manners, and follow the taste of the best foreign writers."

Besides dramatic writings, Sumorokof attempted every species of poetry, excepting the epic. He wrote love-songs, idyls, fables, satires, anacrontics, elegies, versions of

* His tragedies are written in rhyme, in the Alexandrine verse, the same as the French heroic. His comedies are in prose.

† "Weil es auch ein Lachen giebt, nach welchem der Zuschauer nicht wohl mit sich selbst Zufrieden ist dass er gelacht hat." Literally, "Since he occasions a laughter, at which the spectator is not well satisfied that he has laughed." Does the biographer mean by this passage, that the wit of Sumorokof was often too farcical, and degenerated into a low species of humour? If so, let the author answer for himself. In a letter to Voltaire, he complains that his countrymen had begun to adopt that wretched species of composition the sentimental comedy, instead of the wit and humour of Moliere and Voltaire agreed with him, in the following words: Je souscris entierement a tout ce que vous dites de Moliere et de la comedie Larmoyante, qui a la honte de la nation a succede au seul vrai genre comique porte a perfection par l'inimitable Moliere. Bach. Russ. Bib. for 1778, p. 153.

the Psalms, and Pindaric odes. Superior to Lomonozof* in the compositions of the drama, he was inferior to him in Pindaric writings. "Though his odes," adds his biographer, "are distinguished by easy flow of versification, harmony, softness, and grace; yet they are far from reaching that elevation and fire which characterise those of Lomonozof. These two great poets had each their peculiar talents; the one displayed all the majesty, strength, and sublimity of the Russian tongue; the other all its harmony, softness, and elegance. The elegies of Sumorokof are full of tenderness: his idyls give a true picture of the pastoral life, in all the pleasing simplicity of untutored nature, without descending to vulgarity, and may serve as models in this species of composition, in all things excepting in strict morality. His satires are the best in the Russian language, but are extremely unequal, and deserve to have been wrought with more plan and regularity. In writing his fables, his pen seems to have been guided by the Muses and Graces;† and I do not hesitate, if not to prefer them, at least to compare them with those of Fontaine."

Sumorokof was also author of a few short and detached historical pieces. A chronicle of Moscow, in which he relates the origin of that city, and abridges the reigns of its monarchs from Ivan Danilovitch to Feodor Alexievitch; history of the first insurrection of the Strelitz in 1682, by which Ivan was appointed joint sovereign with Peter the Great, and the princess Sophia regent; an account of Stenko Razin's rebellion. His style in these pieces is said to be clear and perspicuous, but too flowery and poetical.

Sumorokof obtained by his merit the favour and protection of his sovereign. Elizabeth gave him the rank of brigadier, appointed him director of the Russian theatre, and settled on him an annual pension of 400*l*. Catharine created him counsellor of state, conferred on him the order of St. Anne, and honoured him with many instances of munificence and distinction until his death, which happened at Moscow, on the 1st of October 1777, in the 51st year of his age.

"With respect to his disposition," says his biographer, "this celebrated poet seems to have possessed a good and amiable heart; but his extreme sensibility, an excellent quality in a poet when tempered with philosophy, occasioned that singularity and vehemence of character, which gave so much trouble and uneasiness to all his acquaintance, but particularly to himself. He was polite and condescending towards those who treated him with respect; but haughty to those who behaved to him with pride. He knew no deceit; he was a true friend and an open enemy, and could neither forget an obligation nor an injury. Passionate, and frequently inconsiderate in his pursuits, he could not brook the least opposition, and regarded the most trifling circumstance as the greatest evil. His extraordinary fame, the many favours conferred on him by the empress, the indulgence and veneration of his friends, might have made him extremely fortunate, if he had understood the art of being so. He had conceived a great, perhaps too great, an idea of the character and true merits of a true poet; and could not

* There was an unfortunate rivalry between these two poets: each wished to excel in the other's line, and each failed in the attempt. The account of this rivalry between Lomonozof and Sumorokof might add another article for the author of *Les Querelles Littéraires*.

† This opinion seems to be general: "Mais tous les applaudissements se sont réunis en faveur de ces fables. On ne peut leur refuser la première place après celles de La Fontaine. L'Evesque. vol. v. p. 342.

"Ses fables peuvent être comparées à ce qu'on a fait de mieux dans ce genre, depuis l'inimitable La Fontaine." Le Clerc, p. 77.

endure to see with patience this noble and much esteemed art, which had been consecrated by Homer, Virgil, and other great men, profaned by persons without judgment or abilities. These pretenders, he would say, shock the public with their nonsense in rhyme, and clothe their monstrous conceptions in the dress of the Muses. The public recoil from them with disgust and aversion; and, deceived by their appearance, treat with irreverence those children of heaven, the true Muses."

The examples of Lomonozof and Sumorokof have tended to diffuse a spirit of poetry, and a taste for polite learning, among the Russians, and they are succeeded by a numerous band of poets.* Of these I shall only mention one writer, who has distinguished himself by composing the first epic poem in the Russian tongue.

Michael Kheraskof, a person of a noble family, has excelled in several species of composition. His works are, a poem on the utility of science, several tragedies and comedies, Pindaric odes, anacreontics, fables, idyls, and satires, a romance called *Ariadne in Thebes*, *Numa Pompilius*, a poem, in four cantos, in honour of the naval victory over the Turks at the battle of *Tchesme*. But the piece by which he has acquired the greatest fame, is an epic poem in twelve cantos, called the *Rossiada*, written in Iambic measure of six feet in rhyme. The subject is the conquest of *Casan* by *Ivan Vassilievitch II*, or, as the author has expressed himself, "I sing Russia delivered from the yoke of barbarians; the might of the Tartars laid low, and their pride humbled: I sing the strifes and bloody conflicts of ancient armies; Russia's triumph, and *Casan's* subjection." This work is greatly admired by the natives, and may justly be considered as forming an epoch in the history of their poetry. The general plan seems well disposed; the events follow each other in a rapid but orderly succession; and the imagination of the reader is kept alive by frequent scenes of terror, in which the author seems to excel. The subject is extremely interesting to the Russians; and the poet has artfully availed himself of the popular belief, by the introduction of saints and martyrs for the machinery of his poem. *Le Clerc* informs us, that this poem, while it contains several striking passages of great beauty, is in many parts deficient in harmony; a defect, he adds, which the author by retouching and correcting, is capable of removing.

Kheraskof has not failed of acquiring the rewards due to his extraordinary talents; having been successively appointed vice-president of the college of mines, counsellor of state, and curator of the university of *Moscow*.

Lomonozof is a rare, and perhaps a single instance of any Russian of low degree, not an ecclesiastic, who attained to great eminence in literature. But probably such examples will soon cease to be uncommon; since the schools, instituted by *Catharine* in every province of her wide extended empire, will facilitate the acquisition of learning among the lower class of people; since the zeal for inquiry is spread among the natives, and honour and promotion are known by experience to be certain attendants on literary acquisitions. Indeed, such is the spirit with which the empress protects and encourages learning, that scarcely any work of merit makes its appearance, for which the author does not instantly receive some mark of distinction or liberality.

To spread a taste of literature among her subjects, *Catharine* appointed, in 1768, a committee to order and superintend translations of the classics, and the best modern authors, into the Russian tongue; and allowed 1000*l.* per annum towards defraying the expence of such undertakings.†

* Many of these are enumerated by Mr. *Le Clerc*, *Hist. Mod.* p. 78, 98.

† The following is a list of the translations which had made their appearance before the 8th of July 1774. See *Russ. Bib.* for 1775, p. 74.

With respect to classical literature; the Greek language is yet taught in few schools, is scarcely known to the laity, and is a rare qualification even among the regular clergy. Latin is more common, being understood by many of the clergy, and not unfrequently cultivated by persons of improved education. Many of the classics have been translated by natives into the Russian tongue; several editions of the most approved Greek and Roman authors have been published at Moscow and Petersburg; but the editors have been chiefly foreigners, encouraged to this attempt by the patronage of the Russian nobles, who are not deficient in ancient literature, and excited by the open genius of the nation. Among the natives, who have rendered themselves illustrious in this branch of knowledge, I must not omit Plato, archbishop of Moscow, who is highly eminent for classical learning; and, among the naturalized foreigners, Eugenius, archbishop of Slavensk and Kherson, who, in the true spirit of the original, has translated into Greek hexameters the Eclogues and Georgics of Virgil; a work printed in folio, at the expence of prince Potemkin, and exhibiting a magnificent specimen of typography.

Homer's *Batrachomyomachia*; Characters of Theophrastus; Ælian; Herodian; Diodorus Siculus; Terence; Cicero De Finibus; Cæsar's Commentaries; Three Epistles of Ovid; his *Metamorphosis* in prose; Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum; Paterculus; Valerius Maximus; Stritter's *Memoria populorum olim ad Danubium incolentium e Script. Byzan. Hist. erutz*; Muller's Account of the ancient inhabitants of Russia; Gmelin's Travels through Russia; Pallas's Travels through Russia; his Prussian majesty's Treatise on the reason for making and repealing Laws; Montesquieu's *Considerations sur la grandeur et la decadence des Romains*; his *Lysimaque, Dialogue de Sylla et d'Eucrate. Essai sur le Gout, and Temple de Guide*; Dimsdale's Treatise on Inoculation; Chalotais sur l'Education; History and Treatises of the Amsterdam society for recovery of drowned persons; the Ottoman empire; republic of Ragusa, Great Britain, Portugal, kingdom of Prussia, from Busching's Geography; Voltaire's *Candide*; a Dialogue of St. Evremont between three persons of different sentiments; various articles from the *Encyclopedie*; Justi's Foundation of the power and happiness of states; Calliere de la maniere de negocier avec les souverains; Rousseau's Abridgment of St. Pierre's *Projet d'une paix perpetuelle*; St. Real's *Conspiration des Espagnols contre la Republique de Venise*; Vertot's *Revolutions Romaines*; Mably's *Histoire Grecque*; Chinese reflections from the Manshur tongue; The Visible World; Lambert's *Traite de l'Amitie*; Tasso's *Jerusalemme Liberata*; Gulliver's Travels; Joseph Andrews; Jonathan Wild the Great; Amella; of the Ventriloquists; Gellert's *Betschwester*; the Art of being polite; Letters upon several physical and philosophical subjects; Macquer's Chemistry the Duty of an officer; Dictionary of the French academy; on the advantage of instructing youth in Classical Literature; Rollin's *Belle's Lettres*; Bell's Journey through Russia.

This list mentions eighty-three books, the translations whereof were in the press; seventy-eight of which translations were making; and sixty-three, which the committee proposed to be translated.

I have received an account of the following translations, which have been since made:

Henriade; *Diable Boiteux*; Gellert's Works; Aderson's History of Commerce; Robertson's History of Charles V, from the French translation; Pallas *Samlungen Mongolischen Volkerschaften*; English Grammar; Homer's *Iliad*; Virgil's *Æneid*; Lucian's *Dialogues*; Milton's *Paradise Lost*; Coyer's *Histoire de J. Sobieski*; Montesquieu's *Esprit des Loix*; Mallet's *Hist. de Dannemarc*; *Hist. Generale de Voyages*; Virgil's *Eclogues and Georgics*; Cicero de *Natura Deorum*; Plato's Works; Hesiod; Coxe's Russian Discoveries; Les Incas de Marmontel; Bielfield's *Political Institutions*; *Hist. de la Mason de Brandenburgh*; *Memoires de Sully*; Blackstone's *Commentaries*; *Hist. Aug. Script. Sex.*; Pope's *Essay on Man*; Locke on Education; Livy; several Epistles and Odes of Horace; Young's *Six Weeks Tour*, translated by particular order of the empress, for the purpose of diffusing the knowledge of practical agriculture, &c. &c.

CHAPTER XX.

Population and Revenues of the Russian Empire....Paper Currency.

THE population of the Russian dominions may be estimated from the table of the poll-tax assessed in 1782.

Government of Moscow	-	-	-	-	-	440,359
St. Petersburg	-	-	-	-	-	283,295
Wibuurgh	-	-	-	-	-	88,128
Tver	-	-	-	-	-	446,321
Novogorod	-	-	-	-	-	269,320
Pskof	-	-	-	-	-	288,125
Smolensko	-	-	-	-	-	445,257
Mohilef	-	-	-	-	-	331,033
Polotzk	-	-	-	-	-	311,462
Orel	-	-	-	-	-	462,520
Kursk	-	-	-	-	-	458,830
Karkof	-	-	-	-	-	392,944
Voronetz	-	-	-	-	-	394,934
Tambof	-	-	-	-	-	438,025
Resan	-	-	-	-	-	434,679
Toola	-	-	-	-	-	418,927
Kaloogha	-	-	-	-	-	384,423
Yaroslaf	-	-	-	-	-	370,961
Vologda	-	-	-	-	-	349,386
Volodimir	-	-	-	-	-	433,820
Kostroma	-	-	-	-	-	396,269
Nishnie-Novogorod	-	-	-	-	-	398,317
Viatka	-	-	-	-	-	407,950
Perm	-	-	-	-	-	373,252
Tobolsk	-	-	-	-	-	166,225
Kolyvan	-	-	-	-	-	39,297
Irkutsk	-	-	-	-	-	123,232
Ufa	-	-	-	-	-	177,798
Simbirsk	-	-	-	-	-	361,159
Kasan	-	-	-	-	-	373,354
Pensa	-	-	-	-	-	318,076
Saratof	-	-	-	-	-	282,817
Astrachan	-	-	-	-	-	23,776
Asof	-	-	-	-	-	177,849
New Russia	-	-	-	-	-	210,539
Kiof	-	-	-	-	-	387,792
Tchernighof	-	-	-	-	-	368,099
Novogorod Sieverski	-	-	-	-	-	365,541
Riga	-	-	-	-	-	263,525
Revel	-	-	-	-	-	99,564

Sum total of peasants paying the poll-tax, 12,757,180

By doubling this number for the females, we have for the peasants,	25,514,360
male and female, in the whole Russian empire,	
To this we must add nobles,	200,000
Clergy and their families,	120,000
Merchants and families,	250,000
Natives of Crim Tartary and the Kuban,	80,000
Wandering hordes of Siberia,	600,000
And the total population of the Russian empire will, according to this calculation, be	26,764,360

A number, however large, greatly disproportioned to the extent of the empire.*

The revenues of Russia, besides the imposts paid by the Ukraine, and by the provinces conquered from Sweden, chiefly arise from the poll-tax; the duties of import and export; the excise upon salt; the crown and church lands; the profits of the mint; and the sale of spirituous liquors, and a few other articles.

The poll-tax was introduced in 1721 by Peter I.; and, at the accession of Catherine II, was exacted from all persons, excepting the nobles and gentry, clergy, navy, army, the Cossacs, the inhabitants of the Ukraine and Conquered Provinces. All who

This estimation of population in Russia was, in 1785, sufficiently exact, and considered so by the last statistical writer in Russia, who adopted the general statement from my account; since that period a great accession of subjects has been gained by the territorial acquisitions, and some increase of the population from natural causes.

Population in the new Acquisitions:	
District of Otchakof, 1791	40,000
By second partition of Poland, 1793	3,745,000
By the conquest of Poland, 1795	1,407,000
Courland	387,000
	5,579,000
Probable addition by the excess of the births over the deaths, in the whole empire, for 15 years	1,500,000
	7,079,000
Population in 1784	26,784,360
Population in 1800	33,863,360

Storch, in his historical account of the Russian empire, estimates the population at 36,152,000, in 1797. But he seems to have exaggerated the number, by allowing an increase of 250,000 a year, and putting, therefore, the increase during ten years at 3,000,000.

Mr. Tooke, in the second edition of his view of the Russian empire, greatly exaggerates the population, by fixing it at 40,000,000. He grounds his calculation on the tables of births and deaths given in the *Hamburgh Politisches Journal*, and proceeds on the principle, that only one person in fifty-eight dies annually. This calculation is erroneous, on two accounts: first, the list of births and deaths is not accurate; it being a well known fact, that the number of deaths was diminished, and of the births augmented, to gratify the sovereign with an idea, that the population was rapidly increasing. A striking example occurred during my first journey to Petersburg: only a few of the numbers who perished in consequence of the cold or intoxication at the fete mentioned in p. 227, were included in the bills of mortality. Secondly, when the prevalence of those diseases which Mr. Tooke himself enumerates, and the number of casualties in Russia, are considered, it will appear to any person in the least accustomed to such kinds of calculation, that the annual mortality must be more than one in fifty-eight.

were liable to this tax were rated in different proportions, as they were merchants, burghers, or peasants. By the manifesto of 1775, promulgated after the conclusion of the Turkish war, the merchants were exempted from this tax; and it now includes only the burghers and peasants.

Every fifteen or twenty years, the number of inhabitants throughout the empire is usually taken; and, in each district subject to the poll tax, all males, infants as well as adults, under the description of a burgher or peasant, are assessed;* from that period the same assessment is regularly paid till the next revision, whether the population of that district increases or diminishes; in the latter case, the inhabitants or landholders are bound to supply the deficiency; in the former, the tax is not augmented, and of course falls much easier upon a large number of persons. The landholders are answerable for the poll tax of their peasants.

By a late imperial edict, the poll tax was extended over the Ukraine and Conquered Provinces; and the other taxes paid by the peasants were abolished. This alteration has greatly increased the public revenue, and the poll tax is considerably more productive. Computing the average tax paid by each peasant at a rouble and a quarter, the poll tax amounts to 15,435,000 roubles, or nearly double its former produce.

The customs, or average duties on exports and imports, amount to 5,000,000 roubles.

The excise upon salt, which is appropriated to the empress's privy purse, produces, on an average, 2,000,000. Her majesty has twice diminished the price of salt nearly 30 per cent.

The mines (See chap. vi. of this book) and coinage, and duties upon iron at the forge, yield 3,395,910, exclusive of the profits from the coinage of gold and silver imported into Russia.

The church lands, which are now annexed to the crown, produce about 2,000,000: part of this money is allotted for the salaries of the archbishops, bishops, and regular clergy, for the maintenance of the several monasteries, and for the pensions of officers and soldiers dismissed from the service. The remainder, which belongs to the privy purse, amounts to about 300,000 roubles.

The sale of spirituous liquors forms at present nearly one third of the Russian revenue. In every part of the empire, excepting the Ukraine and the Conquered Provinces, the crown alone has the privilege of selling spirituous liquors. This branch of finance yields 10,000,000.

* It is no easy matter to convey a clear notion of this tax, as well from the complicated method of imposing it, as from the different changes which are occasionally made in the mode of assessment. A burgher pays usually 4s. 9d. per annum; a peasant of the crown, in some instances, 8s.; in others, 4s. 4d.; a peasant of an individual, 2s. 9d. Every person exercising the trade of a taylor, smith, shoemaker, mason, or any similar handicraft trade, and who enrolls himself in the company of any town, pays annually, beside the poll tax, 2s. Every peasant who quits his village, to trade at Petersburg, Moscow, or elsewhere, pays 5d. to the crown for his passport. These, and many other similar taxes, are all ranged under the poll tax. The dissenters, or old believers in the Russian church, pay double poll tax. Some burghers and peasants, such as the yamshicks, who find post horses, and others are exempted from the poll tax; others pay it in labour; some in furs, &c. I found it impossible to give equal attention to every object; and I frankly own, that amid the variety of intelligence which I procured in Russia, I do not perfectly comprehend each mode of assessment in the poll tax.

RECAPITULATION.

	roubles.
Poll-tax - - - - -	15,435,000
Customs - - - - -	5,000,000
Salt - - - - -	2,000,000
Gold and silver from the mines, profits of the coinage, and duty on iron at the forge - - - - -	3,395,910
Farm of spirituous liquors - - - - -	10,000,000
Church lands - - - - -	2,000,000
Duties on sales of lands and houses, stamped paper, on mills, horses, baths, shops, post office, and other duties omitted - - - - -	4,000,000
Roubles	41,830,910
Or, estimating the rouble at 3s. 4d. - - -	6,971,818l.*

The gradual increase of civilization in the Russian empire has been followed by a proportional increase of the revenue. At the accession of Peter the Great, it amounted to 1,000,000l.; at his death to 1,600,000l.; Elizabeth raised it to 3,600,000l.; when Catharine ascended the throne, it produced 4,400,000l.; now yields near 7,000,000l.; and is still in an increasing state. This sum is sufficient for the peace establishment. Of this revenue, the expences of the army and navy amount to about 3,176,000l.; those of the civil establishment to 2,972,485l.; and the remainder, or 800,000l. is appropriated to the privy purse of the empress. But it is difficult to conceive how she is able to maintain the magnificence of her court; the number of public institutions; the numerous buildings† continually erecting at her expence; the liberality with which she encourages the arts and sciences; the purchases which she is continually making in every country in Europe, and the immense donations which she confers upon the most favoured of her subjects.

The revenues of Russia may be considerably augmented in case of emergency, by the increase of the poll-tax, and the addition of new imposts. It should also be observed, that in 1775 the empress remitted fifty-seven taxes, and ten in the following year.

The great support of the last war was a new bank, called the bank of assignation, which was established during hostilities against the Turks. When copper money could not be coined with sufficient expedition to answer the necessities of the state, bank notes to the value of 50, 75,‡ and 100 roubles, in copper, were issued. These notes are changed at the bank in Petersburg and Moscow. The former, which I visited, is a brick building, containing several vaulted rooms, each capable of holding 400,000l. of copper coin in bags, piled one above another; in some the money was already placed, and the others were preparing for the reception of the remainder. Since 1784 the old bank notes were called in, and a new issue made to the acknowledged amount of

*Such was the general state of the revenue in 1784. Since this period it has been augmented by an increase of territory, as well as by the improvement of commerce, and other national benefits. According to Mr. Tooke, the latest author who has written on the subject, the revenue exceeds 41,000,000 roubles. See his statement, which seems to be accurate. View of the Russian empire, vol. ii. p. 326, book vii. sect. 1.

† In time of peace, her majesty allots at least 200,000l. per ann. for the purpose of building.

‡ Soon after the institution of this bank, some notes of 75 roubles being forged, those bearing that value were called in and destroyed.

100,000,000 roubles, in notes of five, ten, fifteen, twenty-five, and one hundred roubles. On the first appearance of this paper, it was received, particularly in the remote parts of the empire, not without difficulty, and the discount against it was commonly about 3½, and in some places even 6 per cent. The obvious advantages, however, over copper-money, soon recommended it to general use; and it was found so beneficial to commerce, that in 1779 the discount in favour of silver specie was only one per cent. and it bore a premium of one and a half per cent. over copper money. But so large a quantity was circulated, and the loans to government so lowered the credit of the state, that in 1790 the discount against the paper currency was near 20 per cent.

CHAPTER XXI.

Admiralty....Expedition to Cronstadt....The harbours and docks....Russian navy....On Russia....General observations on the Russian army.

The admiralty,* which stands on the south bank of the Neva, opposite the fortress of Petersburg, was built by Peter the Great, and is a large brick building, surrounded with a rampart and ditch: it is the great receptacle for ships' stores, and contains magazines of cordage, sails, masts, anchors, which are sent to Cronstadt for the equipment of the fleet. A large area between the front of the building and the Neva, is appropriated for the construction of vessels: when I was at Petersburg, five men of war and two frigates were upon the stocks.†

Cronstadt, the principal station of the Russian navy, is situated on the Retusari, in the Gulf of Finland, and was founded by Peter the Great, as being provided with the safest harbour in these parts, and forming a strong bulwark for the defence of the new metropolis. The only passage by which ships of burden can approach Petersburg, lies on the south side of Retusari, through a narrow channel; commanded on one side by Cronstadt and on the other by Cronslot and the citadel.

Cronslot, which stands on a small sandy island, is a circular wooden building, surrounded with fortifications of wood, and is garrisoned with an hundred men. The citadel is another small wooden fortress, raised also upon an adjacent sand bank, and capable of holding about thirty soldiers: all large vessels must pass between Cronstadt and these two fortresses, exposed to the fire of the opposite batteries: for the other parts of the gulf are only from one to eleven feet in depth. These fortifications were at the time of their construction, esteemed places of considerable strength; but now derive their consequence more from past importance, than from any resistance they could make against the attack of a powerful fleet.

The island Retusari is a long slip of land, or rather sand; through the midst of which runs a ridge of granite. It is 20 miles from Petersburg by water, four from the shore of Ingria, nine from the coast of Carelia, and ten miles in circumference. It was overspread with firs and pines when Peter conquered it from the Swedes, but now contains thirty thousand inhabitants, including twelve thousand sailors and a garrison of one thousand five hundred men. The island affords a small quantity of pasture, pro-

* I am informed that the Admiralty is intended to be removed to Cronstadt.

† The men of war which are framed in this dock are, in their passage to Cronstadt, lifted over the bar by means of camels: these machines were originally invented by the celebrated De Witt, for the purpose of conveying large vessels from Amsterdam over the Pampes; and were introduced into Russia by Peter the Great, who obtained a model of them in Holland.

duces vegetables, and a few fruits, such as apples, currants, gooseberries, and strawberries, which thrive in this northern climate.

Cronstadt is built upon the south-eastern extremity of the island, and defended towards the sea by wooden piers* projecting into the water, and towards the land by ramparts and bastions. It is a straggling place and occupies, like all the Russian towns, a larger space of ground than the number of habitations seems to require: the houses are mostly of wood, excepting a few fronting the harbour, which are of brick stuccoed white; among these are the imperial hospital for sailors, the barracks, and the marine academy which contained, in 1778, three hundred and seventy cadets, who are maintained and taught at the expence of the crown: they are admitted at the age of five, and remain until seventeen. They learn accounts, mathematics, drawing, fortification, and navigation, and have masters in the French, German, English, and Swedish languages. They are trained to naval tactics, and make an annual cruize as far as Revel.

Cronstadt has a haven appropriated to ships of war, and another to merchant vessels. The men of war's haven contained twenty ships of the line, and nine frigates, which were dismasted, with their guns and tackle on shore. The *Ezekiel* of eighty guns, esteemed the finest ship in the navy, was built under the inspection of admiral Knowles, and carries eight hundred men.

Close to the haven for merchant ships is a canal and several dry docks, begun in 1719, for the purpose of refitting the men of war; this useful work was neglected under the successors of Peter, and not completed until the reign of Elizabeth: it has been still further improved by Catharine, and is now applied for building as well as for careeningships of the line. At the extremity of these docks is a great reservoir, five hundred and sixty-eight feet in length, containing water sufficient to supply all the docks, which is pumped out by means of a fire engine, the diameter of whose cylinder is six feet. The length of this work, from the beginning of the canal, to the end of the last dock, is four thousand two hundred and twenty-one feet. The sides of the docks are faced with stone, and the bottom paved with granite; they are forty feet deep, one hundred and five broad, and capable of containing nine men of war on the stocks.

Nothing can convey a higher idea of the vast and persevering genius of Peter the Great, than the situation in which he found the Russian navy, and the state in which he left it. Though in the beginning of his reign he did not possess a man of war, yet in the course of a few years he equipped a fleet of fifty sail of the line, which rode mistress of the Baltic. Under his successors the Russian navy was greatly neglected, and was in so bad a condition at the accession of Catharine, that she almost equalled her predecessor in the creation of a new fleet: she invited English captains and ship-builders into Russia, particularly admiral Knowles, who was remarkable for his skill in naval architecture. Under her auspices Europe lately beheld with astonishment the Russian flag displayed in the Archipelago, and the Turkish fleet annihilated at Tchesme by a squadron from the North.†

Russia produces every article necessary for the construction and equipment of ships, which are built chiefly at Cronstadt, Petersburg, and Archangel: those constructed at Cronstadt and at Petersburg are made with oak; those from Archangel with larch-wood. For the supply of the dock-yards at Petersburg and Cronstadt, the oak is sent from the province of Casan; the Ukraine and the government of Moscow supply the

* In 1784 Cronstadt was fortifying with stone piers. The estimate was 7,000,000 roubles.

† Since the acquisition of Crim Tartary, and the other conquests from Turkey, ships are now built at Kerson and in the harbours of Taurida.

hemp; the masts are procured from the vast tracts of forest between Novogorod and the gulf of Finland, or furnished by the provinces dismembered from Poland. Pitch and tar are obtained from Wiburgh. Manufactories of cordage and sail-cloths are established in different parts of the empire; and the magazines of Petersburg and Archangel are always plentifully stored with large quantities of both those articles.

The navy of Russia in the ports* of the Baltic and Archangel, consisted, in 1778, of thirty-eight ships of the line, fifteen frigates, four prames, and one hundred and nine galleys.†

Of this number about twenty-eight ships of the line and ten frigates, including those built with larch-wood, were fit for immediate service. In case however of necessity or danger, Russia producing all the necessary materials, her navy might soon be considerably increased, of which I have given a remarkable instance on a former occasion.‡ But though Russia, since the beginning of this century, has made surprising exertions in the marine, and rapidly become more powerful at sea than the neighbouring kingdoms in the north; yet, in naval affairs, she must be considered still in her infancy, being principally indebted to the English, as well for the construction of her ships, as for manœuvring and disciplining her fleet. Many circumstances indeed concur in retarding the progress of her maritime strength: 1. The want of ports in the ocean; 2. The small extent of her sea-coast, and that obstructed by ice; 3. A deficiency of experienced seamen.

1. It is obvious that Russia does not possess a single port on the ocean, excepting that of Archangel, which is of no use but in a commercial light; as well on account of its great distance from the other European seas, as because the navigation round the North Cape of Lapland, situated in the 72d degree of latitude, is only open in the midst of summer.

2. It has been justly remarked, that few nations have attained a great height of naval power, which did not possess a considerable tract of sea-coast; and Russia, excepting the late acquisitions on the Black Sea, the desolate shores round Archangel and of the Frozen Ocean, and the inhospitable regions of Kamchatka, can boast no greater portion of maritime country than what lies between Wiburgh and Riga;§ a mere point for so large an empire, and rendered less valuable by bordering on the gulf of Finland and the Baltic; inland seas without tides, when compared with the ocean, scarcely superior to the lakes, and inaccessible|| for at least five months in the year.

* As I could not obtain an exact account of the Russian ships in the Black Sea, I have chosen to be silent on that head; I shall only observe, that several men of war and frigates were building at St. Demetri, Taurof, and Kherson. According to Mr. Tooke, in 1796 the Russian fleet at Sebastapol, the principal harbour of Taurida, or Crim Tartary, consisted of eleven ships of the line, and eight frigates. View of the Russian empire, book 6. sect. 2. The reader will find in the Voyages de deux Francois, &c. Vol. iv. ch. 11 lists of the Russian fleet in 1779, 1786, and 1791. The number of the first differs little from that which I have given, and which is inserted in the Appendix. In 1786 the ships of the line amounted to forty-one, and twenty-six frigates. In 1791 the whole navy, including ships on the stocks, amounted to eight of one hundred and ten guns, twenty-two of seventy-four, and twenty of sixty-six; twenty-seven frigates, four bomb vessels, two prames, seventeen cutters, and four fireships, besides galleys, and numerous vessels of war, principally intended for making descents. Of these, however, not more than thirty ships of the line could be considered as fit for immediate service.

† See a list of the Russian navy in the Appendix.

‡ See vol. ii. book 4. chap. 5.

§ The acquisition of Courland has since added a small tract of maritime coast.

|| The ports in the Baltic being frozen during that period, no vessels can take their departure before April or May, and must return at latest in October.

3. The third cause is a deficiency of experienced seamen.* Government, indeed, retains in its pay about eighteen thousand sailors, most of whom have never served: a few in time of peace make annual cruizes into the Baltic, or perhaps as far as the English channel; others are employed in the summer season in navigating the vessels laden with merchandise from Cronstadt to Petersburg. But such nurseries as these are by no means sufficient; nor can the deficiency be supplied, in case of an immediate war, from private vessels; for Russia has scarcely any merchant-ships, which is chiefly owing to the state of vassalage, and the strict laws that prevent the natives from quitting their country without a licence. A merchant who fits out a trading vessel, must first apply to the admiralty, for permission to take on board a certain number of natives; leave being obtained, the passes for each sailor are brought and lodged in the admiralty; and security, at the rate of 30*l.* per man, is given for their return. Thus, without altering the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and innovating on the long-established system of vassalage, an adequate number of experienced sailors cannot be raised to man a large fleet on sudden emergencies. In a word, no kingdom, without distant colonies, considerable fisheries, and an extensive sea-coast, to familiarize the inhabitants to the dangers of the ocean, is likely to acquire such a marine as to become formidable to the great naval powers of Europe.

The navy of Russia, however, with all these disadvantages, is sufficient to protect her coasts, to convoy her merchantmen, to make her respectable in the Baltic, or in case of a Turkish war, to send a fleet into the Archipelago. It is her advantage to maintain a good correspondence with the great maritime powers, whom she supplies with naval stores; and who are, on that account, equally interested to respect and cultivate her friendship. The frontiers of her immense dominions border on Sweden, Poland, Turkey, Persia, and China;† and the security of her empire depends more on her army than her navy.

The Russian army is divided into regular and irregular troops.

The regulars consisting chiefly of infantry, include all those who wear uniforms, and are trained to European discipline. The Russians are excellent soldiers; brave, steady, obedient, patient of fatigue and hardship, and scarcely ever guilty of desertion.

With respect to the irregular troops, some of whom are still armed with bows and arrows, and consist entirely of horse, their number is very considerable, and can scarcely be ascertained. Of this body the corps of Cossacs, who are esteemed the most excellent, and who bear the greatest resemblance to regular troops, are thus described in the journal of colonel Floyd.

"The Cossacs are in general persons of low stature; they wear small whiskers, and shave their heads, excepting the crown, upon which they leave a small circle of hair. Their dress is a fur cap, a loose long Asiatic robe, and large pantaloons, boots or half-boots, without spurs, and a whip hanging from the right wrist. Their arms are a lance about twelve feet in length, a brace of pistols, slung on the left side, a cartridge-box on the right, and a small scymitar without any guard, or even cross-bar. Their horses are ponies, strong and active, but not fleet. The accoutrements are a kind of hussar saddle, a small snaffle with large eyes and no horns, to the near eye of which is fastened a thong, that is also tied to the saddle, and which occasionally serves for a halter.

* In the naval expedition against the Turks, it was a remark made by several of our officers, that the distance from St. Petersburg to the Archipelago was a fortunate circumstance, as the Russians acquired experience during the voyage.

† Since the final dismemberment of Poland, on the Austrian and Prussian dominions.

They ride short and full-footed, raise themselves on their stirrups, bend their bodies with great activity, and throw themselves into different attitudes. They never push their horses on full speed in a straight line; but in galloping turn them in various directions, describing in their progress a serpentine line, and wheeling continually to the right and left. When not in action, they carry their lance slung on the foot; when engaged, they present it against the enemy by holding it almost in the middle, and counterpoising it under the arm; and, from constant practice, direct it against an object with great dexterity. In retreating, they rest the lance upon their shoulder as a defence against blows, and occasionally oppose the point to a pursuing enemy.

"These Cossacs, on account of their aversion to regular discipline, are not trained to attack in squadron: but act only as skirmishers, and are said to be extremely adroit in their desultory evolutions: they are usually let loose upon a flying enemy, when they do great execution. They excel as patrols, and are remarkable for their vigilance on out-posts, and their knowledge of the country. The sagacity which they derive from habit and practice is in some particulars astonishing; by examining a tract lately traversed by the enemy in the most tumultuary manner, they can discover with tolerable exactness, the number of horses that have passed over it, and how many of them were led. Some of them can descry, if any movement is taking place among a corps of troops, far beyond the reach of usual observation; others, by applying their ears to the ground, can distinguish the buz of men, or the clattering of horses feet, at a considerable distance. They can take the field every day without intermission, and are indefatigable in harassing the enemy; they are contented with a scanty subsistence, and do not require any forage to be carried for their horses.

"There are eight regiments of these Cossacs: each regiment consists of five squadrons, and each squadron of a hundred men, beside officers. There are also six other regiments of horse, called regular pikemen, similar in their arms and accoutrements to the Cossacs, and distinguished from them only by a trifling difference of dress."

Computed Force of the Russian Army in 1785.

Guard, horse and foot	-	-	-	-	10,000
Regular cavalry	-	-	-	-	69,465
Regular field infantry and artillery	-	-	-	-	255,134
Garrison battalions	-	-	-	-	49,000
Artillery ditto	-	-	-	-	5,500
Total					389,099

Irregulars not included.

Such was the state of the Russian army upon paper; but the real number always falls short of this list. For it is probable that the effective troops on the peace establishment scarcely exceed two hundred thousand; and the Russians have seldom brought into the field more than one hundred thousand effective men.*

*In consequence of the territorial acquisitions, the army has been since increased; according to Mr. Tooke's account, its nominal force amounts to six hundred thousand men, including irregulars, of whom he considers five hundred thousand effective. View of the Russian empire, vol. ii. p. 251, 2d edition.

CHAPTER XXII.

Rise and progress of the English trade with Russia....Commerce of the British factory of St. Petersburg....Exports and imports.

THE commercial intercourse between Russia and the northern parts of Germany was begun and carried on by the Hanseatic towns, which in 1726 established factories at Novogorod and Plescof,* and for a considerable period entirely engrossed the trade of this empire.

The accidental discovery of Archangel, in 1553, transferred a great part of this lucrative commerce to the English. On the 11th of May, three ships sailed from Deptford, to explore the North Seas, under the command of sir Hugh Willoughby. Two of these vessels penetrated as high as the 72d degree of latitude, to the coast of Spitzbergen; and being afterwards forced by stress of weather into the bay of the river Arzina in Russian Lapland, both crews were frozen to death.

Richard Chancellor, who commanded the other ship, called the Bonaventure, discovering the country bordering on the White Sea, landed near the mouth of Dvina, in a bay which he denominated the bay of St. Nicholas, from a convent, near the present port of Archangel. Information of his arrival being dispatched to Ivan Vassilievitch II, the Tzar summoned him to Moscow, distinguished him with many marks of kindness and attention, received in the most favourable manner a letter from Edward VI,† and permitted the English to open a commerce with Russia. On Chancellor's return, a Russian company was established by queen Mary, and in 1555 he again repaired to Moscow, accompanied by several merchants of the incorporated society, to whom the Tzar granted "a free liberty‡ of trading to any part of his dominions, without paying duties either of export or import, of exercising all kinds of merchandise in his empires and dominions, freely and quietly, without any restraint, impeachment, price, exaction, custome, toll, imposition, or subsidie."

The correspondence between Elizabeth and Ivan has already been mentioned;§ and it is no wonder that the monarch who obtained the promise of an asylum in England, if deposed by his subjects, should confer additional immunities on the new company. These privileges, renewed on different occasions, amounted to monopoly; "Ivan forbidding all other persons but the members of the said company, and all other nations but the English, to carry on any traffic to any of the northern coasts of Russia."||

During the reign of Ivan, the English company settled colonies in different parts of the empire; one at Kolmogori, where they even obtained grants of land, erected warehouses, and formed a rope-walk; others at Novogorod and Vologda. Their chief establishment was at Moscow, where the Tzar built for their residence a large brick edifice, called the ambassador's house. The principal merchandise which the first English ships exported from Russia, were furs and skins, masts, flax, hemp, cordage, tallow, train-oil, tar, pitch, and leather.¶ Their imports were chiefly cloths of all sorts, cottons, and tin.

* The merchants of Hamburgh and Lubeck, and of the other Hanseatic towns, in carrying on this traffic, usually sailed to Revel or Narva, and from thence passed through Dorpt to Plescof and Novogorod. S. R. G. V. p. 418; and Bus. Hist. Mag. X. 291. † Hackluyt, vol. i. p. 233.

‡ Ib. p. 265, 266, dated Moscow, 7060, the second month of February.

§ See vol. ii. book 3. chap. 5.

|| Hackluyt, p. 462.

¶ Hackluyt, vol. i. p. 298—306.

Another unexpected advantage was derived from this connection with Russia. Ivan Vassilievitch, having conquered the Tartars of Casan and Astracan, extended his dominions as far as the Caspian Sea, and established a communication with the Persians and Bucharians.* Animated with the hopes of gain, the English factory obtained a patent for an exclusive trade with Persia and Bucharina; and several merchants passed through Moscow to the countries beyond the Caspian.

At the death of Ivan, the English lost their great support; and, on the accession of Feodor, the confirmation of their immunities was for some time refused: this refusal was owing to the impatience of sir Jerome Bowes, the English ambassador, who, by his supercilious deportment, offended the Russian nobility, and occasioned a revocation of the patent. In 1586, Jerome Horsey, the English agent at Moscow, obtained the re-establishment of several immunities; and, in 1588, Giles Fletcher† concluded, through the interest of Boris Godunof, a treaty of league and amity between Elizabeth and Feodor, the second article of which contained, "a confirmation and re-establishment of the former privileges of the companies of our English merchants, which were infringed and annulled in the principal points, with divers necessary additions to the same, for the better ordering of their trade in those countrys hereafter."‡

At length the grant of exclusive trade seems to have been finally revoked by Boris Godunof, who extended to the Dutch several immunities which had been hitherto peculiar to the English, and reinstated the Hanseatic towns in their ancient traffic to Novogorod and Plescof.§ Still, however, the privileges which remained to the factory were considerable, consisting in a commerce free of duty to any part of the Russian dominions.

At the revolution which placed Demetrius upon the throne, the English factory conceived a strong hope of recovering its patent of exclusive trade.

But his untimely fate prevented the good effects of his favourable intentions, and the civil calamities which, subsequent to his assassination, desolated Russia, almost annihilated the English commerce. But these troubles being terminated by the election of Michael, sir James Merricke, ambassador from James I, to the court of Moscow, obtained from the new Tzar a fresh patent in favour of the company; which allowed them, as before, a free trade, without paying duties or customs, to Archangel, and from thence to Kolmogori, Novogorod, Moscow, and other parts of his dominions.||

This beneficial commerce was, in 1648, suddenly annihilated by Alexey Michaelovitch, who banished the English merchants from his dominions. The cause of this expulsion is generally imputed to the resentment conceived by the Tzar against the English, for the execution of Charles I,¶ with whom he was closely connected by

* Russian Discoveries, part liii. chap. i.

† Fletcher, who went on this embassy, and has published a curious account of Russia, was fellow of king's college, Cambridge. ‡ Hackluyt, vol. i. p. 473. § S. R. G. V. p. 159.

|| As long as there was no town at the mouth of the Dvina, the merchandise was sent to Kolmogori and from thence into the interior parts of Russia. Some time in the reign of Feodor Ivanovitch, the first foundations of the castle of Archangel were laid: it took its name from a monastery built in honour of the Archangel Michael. This spot soon increased to a town, and became the great staple of the English trade. See S. R. G. vii. p. 470.

¶ In the midst of the Khitaigorod at Moscow, there is an ancient gateway, which forms the entrance into the printing office of the Holy Synod: it is of curious workmanship, ornamented with figures of the lion and unicorn grotesquely carved in wood. These being the supporters of the royal arms of England, authors have conjectured that this gateway was the entrance to the hotel, constructed by order of Ivan Vassilievitch, for the residence of the English ambassador, and that the Tzar Alexey was so offended at the execution of Charles, that he converted it into a printing office. It is probable, indeed,

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leagues of amity and alliance; but in effect he abolished the company's privileges the year before that event. His indignation against the English was only a political pretext; the real motive being derived from the offers of the Dutch to pay duties of export and import, to the amount of 15 per cent. if they were indulged with the liberty of carrying on as free a trade as the English. For not long afterwards, the Tzar suffered William Prideaux, Cromwell's agent, to reside at Archangel, and permitted the English to renew their commerce in that port on the same footing with other foreigners.* It appears also, from Milton's and Thurloe's State Papers, that the Tzar not only received several letters from Cromwell, and returned answers; but, at the protector's request, even agreed to admit his ambassador at Moscow. In consequence of this permission, Richard Bradshaw, Cromwell's resident at Hamburg, proceeded in his way to Moscow, as far as Mittau, where he was honourably entertained by the duke of Courland; from which town several dispatches passed between Bradshaw and the Russian chancellor, with respect to the superscription of the Protector's letter to the Tzar, which did not confer on that monarch all the titles he required. This seems to have been merely a pretext, as Bradshaw asserts, to prolong the time; and in effect he soon afterwards returned to Hamburg without having accomplished his intended embassy.† Cromwell, however, gained a great point in opening the commerce of Archangel to the English; and although Alexey could not be induced to grant a free trade into the interior parts of his dominions; yet this exclusion was not peculiar to the English; for he equally prohibited all foreign traffic, except at Archangel.‡

Soon after the Restoration, Charles II, desirous of obtaining a renewal of the company's privileges, dispatched the earl of Carlisle to Moscow, who was ordered to represent, that "these very privileges were the basis and foundation on which the amity of the two crowns of England and Muscovy were superstructed." The embassy failed of success: the failure was imputed to the haughty deportment of the ambassador, who expressed disgust at the bad accommodations in Russia, did not pay sufficient court to the ministers and favourites of the Tzar, tendered repeated remonstrances in a manner totally repugnant to the Russian custom, and, under a false notion of maintaining the dignity of his sovereign, objected to the Russian ceremonial. It is much to be questioned, however, if the earl of Carlisle had acted a less impolitic part, whether the Russian court would have renewed the charter of the company in its full extent, particularly the exemption from duties of export and import; since the Dutch readily paid the customs. The earl of Carlisle could only obtain a permission that the English should trade freely into the Russian dominions, but remain subject to the duties of export and import. From that period the British commerce has suffered no interruption.§

Archangel continued the sole port for the exports and imports of Russia, until the building of St. Petersburg, when Peter the Great removed the commerce of the

from the figures of the lion and unicorn, that this gateway had some reference to the English, although it was not the ambassador's hotel, that being situated near the church of St. Maximus, in another part of the Khitaigorod; but it evidently appears, from an inscription over the gateway, that this building was not converted into a printing office on account of the execution of Charles. The inscription denotes, that Michael Feodorovitch, and his son Alexey, caused these apartments and this gate to be constructed in the printing house, June 29th, 7152, or, according to our æra, 1645: a plain proof that the establishment of the printing house was prior, by at least three years, to the execution of Charles, and could have no reference to that event.

* Thurloe, vol. ii. 558, 562.

† See Milton's Works, p. 1657. Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 258, and vi. 408, 432, 439.

‡ Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 598.

§ Except the short interval under Paul.

White Sea to the havens of the Baltic.* The British merchants, who were highly favoured by that monarch, settled in the new metropolis, which suddenly became the principal mart for the Russian trade. The privileges of the British factory established in Russia are confirmed by a solemn treaty of commerce and navigation, concluded in 1734 between George II, and the empress Anne; and since renewed, between his present majesty and Catharine II. †

The whole trade of St. Petersburg in exports and imports for 1777, with the English and other nations, was,

In exports	-	-	2,400,000l.	}	4,000,000l. 0
Imports	-	-	1,600,000		
Balance in favour of Russia			<u>800,000</u>		

The British share in this trade is,

In the exports about‡	-	1,508,782l. 6	}	1,932,724l. 18
Imports	-	423,942 12		
Gain	-	<u>1,084,839 14</u>		

Consequently, the trade with all other nations (the Russian subjects included) is,

In the exports	-	891,217l.	14	}	2,067,275l.	2
Imports	-	1,176,057	8			
Loss	-	-	<u>284,839</u>	14		

From hence it is evident Russia gains annually by her trade with the British subjects about	}	1,084,839l. 14
And that she loses by her trade with all other nations		
		<u>284,839 14</u>

Remains annually a clear gain of about	<u>800,000 0</u>
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But should the contraband traffic (in which the value of the imports far exceeds that of the exports, and in which the British have little or no concern) be included, it will considerably diminish the balance of these commercial profits as just stated.

* In 1752, Elizabeth again restored the ancient immunities of Archangel; and its present trade is not inconsiderable. The port supplies the government of Archangel, and part of those of Nishnei-Novogorod and Casan, with European commodities, and draws in exchange from those parts corn, flax, hemp, coarse linen, cordage, sails, masts, and tallow, which are mostly conveyed by the Dvina: it forms also a principal communication with the northern and western parts of Siberia, from whence furs, skins, and iron are procured.

† The Reader will find the first treaty of 1734 in Rousset's Supplement to Dumont's Corps Diplomatique, vol. iii. p. 495; and the last, of 1766, in a Collection of Treaties between Great Britain and other Powers, vol. ii. p. 309—327.

‡ See British exports and imports, Appendix, No. 2.

According to this statement, half the trade of St. Petersburg is in the hands of the English; but as their exports and imports in 1777 exceeded those of the preceding or subsequent years, this estimate may be considered as too highly rated; we may fairly, however, allow, upon the most moderate computation, that a third of this commerce is carried on by our factory.

The average number of merchant ships, which annually arrive from England at the port of Cronstadt, with goods laden for St. Petersburg, may be collected from the following table :

Years.	Ships.	Years.	Ships.	Years.	Ships.	Years.	Ships.
1753	- 149	1758	- 161	1763	- 149	1773	- 319
1754	- 236	1759	- 206	1767	- 200	1774	- 318
1755	- 160	1760	- 137	1768	- 237	1776	- 320
1756	- 186	1761	- 130	1769	- 322	1777	- 366
1757	- 129	1762	- 153	1770	- 306	1778	- 252

The general state of the trade of St. Petersburg in 1778 was,

In exports	-	-	-	2,042,097l.	8
Imports	-	-	-	1,318,428	16
				3,360,526	4

In 1799, the exports from St. Petersburg amounted to 38,169,925 roubles; the imports 19,290,779.

In 1778 the following number of vessels arrived at Cronstadt :

English	-	252	Dutch	-	147	Hamburgh	-	2
French*	-	1	Danish	-	39	Stralsund	-	1
Spanish	-	6	Prussian	-	26	Bremen	-	3
Russian	-	12	Lubeck	-	38			
Portuguese	-	2	Rostock	-	29	Total	-	607
Swedish	-	47	Dantzick	-	2			

Beside the metropolis, the Russian trade in the Baltic is carried on at Riga, Revel, Narva, and Wiburgh. From Riga† a considerable quantity of corn is exported by the English, Swedes and Dutch, which is sent down the Duna from the provinces of Plescof, Smolensko, and Novogorod: the masts are also shipped from the same port. The other exports from this, and the above-mentioned maritime towns, are similar to those of St. Petersburg.

* The French exports and imports are, in time of war, mostly conveyed in Dutch bottoms, which is the reason why, in 1778, but one French vessel arrived at Cronstadt, although their exports and imports for that year amounted to 148,753l.

† See the account of Riga in the 2d volume.

Additions to the Account of the English Commerce....August 1801.

BY the kind communication of a friend well versed in the Russian commerce, I am enabled to subjoin a statement of the mode in which the British trade is principally conducted.

To enter into all the details of the Russian commerce, from the growth of the raw article in the interior provinces to its arrival at the port for exportation, would require a distinct, and indeed, a voluminous treatise. But a few observations may give a general idea of an interesting part of the subject, namely, the manner in which the commerce is conducted between Great Britain and Russia.

The particular privileges attached to the guilds, into which the Russian merchants are enrolled, appropriate to them the interior commerce of the country.

A foreigner who imports goods into Russia, must sell them to Russians only, and at the port where they arrive, none but natives being allowed to send merchandise into the interior of the empire for sale. A few foreigners, indeed, settled in Russia, and having connections with natives, do carry on a trade with the interior; but it is contrary to law and the goods are liable to seizure.

The late empress, probably with a view to induce foreigners to weave their interests more closely with Russia, by engaging their capital in every department of commerce, proposed certain advantages to those foreigners who would inscribe themselves in guilds, and put themselves on the same footing with her own subjects. The advantages were, under a commercial point of view, very considerable. They greatly diminished the heavy duties on several articles,* and permission was granted to trade into the country, that is, to carry imported articles to the best market, and to purchase the native products either by themselves or agents. Notwithstanding, however, the probability of being undersold by foreigners, and even by some few of their own countrymen, a large majority of the British merchants refused to resign, or even to risk that character and independence which they had so long and honourably sustained as British subjects, protected by Russian laws.

If their determination did honour to their firmness, the event proved (what could not be foreseen) that it even promoted their interest. The Russians soon perceived, that if foreigners, with all their intelligence and large capitals at command, could, like themselves, penetrate the country, the principal emoluments would pass into other hands, and they counteracted the attempts of the new speculators. Even when the privilege was granted to British subjects, by the treaty of commerce concluded by his majesty's late minister at the court of St. Petersburg, it was impossible to derive any solid advantage from it; for although the right of sending goods into the interior was no longer disputed, yet by the revival of corporation laws, till that time considered as obsolete, it was found that goods belonging to foreigners in passing through different towns would be subject to such heavy duties, that the Russians were able considerably to undersell the British merchants who engaged in these adventures.

The Russians, therefore, as connected with British commerce, form two distinct classes, first, the grower of the raw articles, as hemp, flax, &c. or the proprietor of them, as of tallow, bristles, &c. These are, generally speaking, the owners of the soil and of the peasants where the articles are produced.

* Foreign merchants were obliged to pay these duties in foreign coin, instead of Russian bank notes, or copper money, which made a difference of 25 or 30 per cent.

The manufacturers of linens, sailcloth, &c. purchase the yarn of the peasants, who grow the flax, and make the yarn; it is then manufactured into raven ducks, flems, and drillings, entirely in their own fabrics, and these articles are seldom, if ever, sold on contract, previous to their arrival at St. Petersburg. The Russia linens (known in this country by the name of flaxen linens, crash, and diaper) are made entirely by the peasants; and for this article the Russian merchant is in a manner only the factor, as he buys them ready made, and carries them to St. Petersburg for sale. In the manufacture of their sail-cloth, the same circumstance occurs.

The second class of Russian merchants are, more properly speaking, factors; these alone make the contracts with the British merchant at the ports of Russia, and while most of them possess neither capital nor goods, they derive large profits from their commercial transactions.

From the month of November till the shipping season in May, the Russians, who trade in hemp, flax, tallow, bristles, wax, oil, hides, iron, and many other articles (except manufactures and linens) either come themselves to St. Petersburg, or employ agents to sell their goods to foreigners, to be delivered according to agreement, in May, June, July, or August. The payments are made according to the circumstances of the sellers and buyers; and sometimes the buyer pays the whole amount, in the winter months, for the goods which are to be delivered in the summer or autumn; at others, he pays a part on concluding the contract, and the remainder on delivery of the goods. The manufacturers and dealers in linens usually come to St. Petersburg in March, and sell their goods for ready money.

The foreign goods were formerly almost entirely sold on twelve months credit, and some on a still longer term; but lately, several articles, such as coffee and sugar, are sold at St. Petersburg for ready money; still, however, the interior is supplied with foreign goods on credit, and most of the woollen trade in St. Petersburg is carried on by allowing the Russians a long credit with the goods. Many, I might almost say all the Russians, who buy goods on credit of foreigners, for the supply of the interior, have no other connections or trade with St. Petersburg, than merely coming there once or twice a year to purchase goods on credit, which having accomplished, they set off with the goods, and the foreigner neither sees nor hears of them again till the bills become due. By the laws of Russia, none but merchants inscribed in the guilds are allowed to trade; and in case any person not inscribed (that is, a peasant) contracts a debt for more than five roubles, he cannot be prosecuted, nor is he liable beyond that sum. Notwithstanding this law, a great many peasants do trade, and actually purchase goods of foreigners on long credit.

It may not be improper here to notice the fallacious though specious statement of the author of the Secret Memoirs of the court of St. Petersburg respecting the trade between Great Britain and Russia. He says, the English take away leather, and bring shoes; take grain, and return beer; and send ships laden with hardware in exchange for iron, timber, &c. In the first place, it may be remarked, neither shoes, beer, nor hardware are allowed to be imported, nor has any timber been received from Russia for a considerable time.

The author has carefully kept in the back ground an essential point which proves the mutual interests of Great Britain and Russia to be inseparable. It would, in the present state of things, subject Russia to great inconvenience, were she merely to carry on, as the above-mentioned author proposes, an immediate exchange of produce. Before this produce can be brought to the ports of Russia, a very considerable capital is required;

and by the advance of this capital, not by the exchange of manufactures against raw articles, Great Britain renders her trade reciprocally beneficial to Russia.

It will be evident that to conduct an extensive commerce on this system, requires considerable intelligence, an intimate acquaintance with, and unlimited confidence in the native merchants. Nothing can reflect more honour on the Russians, as a commercial people, than that the British merchants are in constant habits of intrusting to them the immense sums employed in the trade with that country, without any security beyond a personal knowledge.

The trade has thus been conducted for upwards of three centuries; and if the favourable disposition, and the character of Alexander did not preclude reflection on past transactions, the interruption which has lately taken place, and the temporary suspension of confidence could never be too deeply lamented. So many comforts have been derived from a residence in the metropolis of St. Petersburg, that not only English capital has been employed in the commerce, but the possessors of that capital have themselves directed its employment; so that, excepting in one or two instances, the commerce with Great Britain is not conducted through the medium of mere agents, as formerly; but the English merchant resident in St. Petersburg has the sole and independent command of the capital which he embarks in commerce.

Another circumstance connected with the British trade is too curious to be passed in silence. Every mercantile house in St. Petersburg employs certain men, called in the language of the country, *Artelschicks*, who are the counting-house men, and employed by every merchant to collect payment on bills, to receive money, as well as in many instances to pay it in very considerable sums. This is an important part of their trust. There being no bankers in Russia, every mercantile house keeps its own cash; and as the payments between merchants, and for bills of exchange, are made entirely in bank notes of no higher value than five, ten, twenty-five, fifty, and one hundred roubles, most of them in so tattered a state, as to require several hours to count over a sum of two or three thousand pounds; this business is performed by *artelschicks*, and very few instances have occurred of loss by their inattention, either in miscounting the notes, in taking false notes, or, where they are much torn, in receiving parts of different bank notes.

These *artelschicks* are also employed to superintend the loading and unloading the different cargoes; they receive the most valuable into the warehouse, where they are left solely under their care; and in these warehouses not merely merchandise, but often large quantities of dollars are deposited. These Russians are mostly natives of Archangel and the adjacent governments, of the lowest class, are often slaves, generally of the crown; and the only security of the merchant arises in some degree from the natural reluctance of the Russian to betray confidence reposed in him; but in a much greater from the nature of their association, which is called an *Artel*.

An *Artel* consists of a certain number of labourers, who voluntarily become responsible, as a body, for the honesty of each individual. The separate earnings of each man are put into the common stock, a monthly allowance is made for his support, and at the end of the year the surplus is equally divided. The number varies in different associations from fifty to one hundred; and so advantageous is it considered to belong to one of these societies, that 500, and even 1000 roubles are paid for admission. These societies are not bound by any law of the empire, or even written agreement; nor does the merchant restrain them under any legal obligation; yet there has been no instance of their objecting to any just claim, or of protecting an individual whose conduct had brought a demand on the society.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Rise, Progress, and Termination of the English Trade on the Caspian Sea....Commerce of the Russians in the same Quarter....Description of the principal Ports. Exports and Imports....Average Value of the Trade....Commerce with the Bucharials and Chinese.

IN the fourteenth century, the Venetians and Genoese drew, by means of the Caspian, through Astracan to their settlements at Azof* and Caffa, the Indian, Persian, and Arabian merchandise, with which they furnished the south of Europe. The northern part of this continent was supplied likewise, through Astracan, with Asiatic goods, by the Russian merchants of Ladoga on the Volkof, who sent them to their principal storehouse at Wisby, a Hanseatic town in the Isle of Gothland. The devastation occasioned by the wars of Tamerlane, at the end of the fourteenth century, turned this trade from Astracan to Smyrna and Aleppo. The commerce of Arabia, more commodious for those ports, never returned to Astracan; but part of the Persian traffic was afterwards restored to its old channel.

While the provinces of Casan and Astracan were under the government of the Tartars, the cap, or head-quarters of the Khan, was a mart for the Russian and Persian merchants. But as, according to the custom of the roving Tartars, it was frequently changed, Astracan and Terki† became at length two principal places of resort. This commerce, impeded and frequently interrupted by the numerous banditti, was precarious; until the conquest of Casan and Astracan opened a ready communication between Moscow and the Caspian Sea; Ivan Vassilievitch II, having garrisoned Astracan with troops, rendered it the chief emporium of the eastern trade. This conquest being completed in 1554, soon after the discovery of Archangel, the English obtained the Tzar's permission to pass through his dominions into Persia, and carry on an exclusive trade over the Caspian.

Jenkinson was the first Englishman who navigated that sea. In 1558, he landed at Mangushlak upon the eastern shore, passed by land through the country of the Turkoman Tartars to Boghara, capital of Great Bucharia, and returned to Moscow the following year. In 1561, he again sailed over the Caspian, and proceeding to the coast of Shirvan, went by land to Casbin, the residence of the sophy, from whom he obtained a permission of trading into Persia. Several merchants followed his example. The last expedition was made, in 1597, by Christopher Burroughs; whose ship being, on its return, shattered by the ice in the mouth of the Volga, he and his crew escaped with difficulty, and arrived at Astracan after many dangers.‡ During these expeditions the traffic was chiefly confined to the ports of Tumen, Derbent, Baku, and the coast of Ghilan.

The disasters which attended the voyage of Burroughs, the banditti frequenting the shores of the Caspian, and the wars between the Turks and Persians, obstructed the infant commerce; and during above a century and a half no English vessel appeared upon this

* See Guldenstaedt's Treatise Von den Hafen am Caspischen Meere, in Journ. St. Pet. for 1777.

† The Indian goods were brought, for the most part, through Persia, across the Caspian to Astracan, from thence up the Volga, then by land to the Don, and down that river to Azof.

‡ Terki was situated near the river Terek, upon the western shore of the Caspian: no traces of it remain, as the site is covered by the sea.

§ Hackluyt, p. 324—430. S. R. G. viii. 426—473.

sea. At length, in 1741, the British merchants of St. Petersburg, at the persuasion of captain Elton, an Englishman in the Russian service, renewed the commerce, and established a factory at Reshd in the province of Ghilan. Some disputes unfortunately arising, as well between the English themselves, as between the Russians and Elton, he entered into the service of Nadir Shah, and assisted in constructing some vessels on the Caspian. This circumstance gave umbrage to the court of St. Petersburg, and Elizabeth, in 1746, withdrew her permission to the English merchants, of passing through her dominions for the Caspian commerce. On the death of Nadir Shah in 1747, who, in consequence of Elton's influence, had permitted the English to trade to Persia, their factory was pillaged by one of the pretenders to the throne, and their commerce annihilated.*

The Russians pursued with perseverance the track opened by our merchants, and under Alexey Michaelovitch, Astracan became the centre of the Persian trade; to which place merchants from Bucharia, Crim Tartary, Armenia, Persia, and even India, resorted. The vessels of the Russians being rudely framed, without decks, and of course exposed to constant shipwrecks,† the Tzar drew from Amsterdam several ship-builders, for the purpose of constructing vessels more calculated to weather the storms of this sea: but these designs being frustrated by the rebellion of the Cossacs of the Don, under Stenko Razin,‡ the trade of Russia was annihilated by their devastations. On the quelling of the revolt, and punishment of their leader, the greater part of the commerce fell into the hands of the Armenian merchants established in Astracan, who settled factories both in the Russian and Persian territories.§

During this whole period the Russian and Armenian traders penetrated no further than Niezabad, a port between Derbent and Baku; and their chief settlement was at Shamakee, capital of Shirvan, until 1711, when that town was taken by the Lesgees, and the factory destroyed.

In 1721, this commerce was again revived: Peter having marched an army into Persia, overran the provinces of Dagestan, Shirvan, Ghilan, and Masanderan, on the eastern and southern coasts of the Caspian, and obtained their cession by a formal treaty. Soon afterwards, he established a Russian company trading to the Caspian; but the whole capital consisted only of four hundred shares, of the value of 30*l.* each. The chief settlements were formed at Astracan and Kislair.

The possession of these distant provinces proving expensive and of little advantage, Anne restored them to the sophy|| on condition that the Russian merchants should enjoy liberty of trade to all the havens of the Caspian without paying duty, should be allowed to build houses and magazines, and not be subject to the laws of the country.¶ The privileges of this company were confirmed by Anne and Elizabeth; but the commerce was inconsiderable until the reign of Catharine II, who, in 1762, abolished this exclusive right, and permitted all her subjects to trade with Persia; prohibiting, on account of the numerous banditti who infest the roads, the inland traffic from Kislair, and the other Caspian ports to Shamakee. Two Russian consuls reside at Baku and

* See Hanway's British trade over the Caspian sea, in his travels, vols. i. and ii. and chap. xxxiii. in the second volume of Cooke's Travels through the Russian empire to Persia. Both these accounts, however contradictory to each other, sufficiently prove the unfortunate misunderstandings which had arisen between the English who engaged in this trade.

† S. R. G. vii. p. 499.

‡ Busching, ix. 80, 88. For an account of Stenko Razin, see Schmidt, Russ. Ges. vol. ii. p. 32. Motley's History of Catharine, vol. i. p. 227.

§ S. R. G. vii. p. 505.

|| S. R. G. i. p. 154, &c.

¶ Guldenstaedt.

Einzellee.* These regulations, however, cannot prevent the contraband trade which is carried on at Shamakee, and the other inland towns of Persia, by the Armenian merchants; who, from their knowledge of the country and language, undersell the Russians.

Astracan, situated on an island in a branch of the Volga, is the great staple of the Caspian commerce; and, by means of that river, is readily supplied with European merchandise from the ports of the Baltic.† Although Astracan is only in the 47th degree of latitude, yet the cold is extremely intense in winter; and for two months the Volga is generally frozen so hard as to be passed over by heavy laden sledges.‡ Large tracts of forest on the banks of that river, in the province of Kasan, furnish sufficient oak and timber for the construction of vessels for the Caspian sea.

The Caspian is six hundred and eighty miles in length, from Gurief to Medshetisar, and in no part more than two hundred and sixty in breadth. It has no tide; and, on account of shoals is navigable only by vessels drawing from nine to ten feet water; it has strong currents, and, like all inland seas, is subject to violent storms,§ which the Russian vessels, wretchedly constructed, weather with difficulty: the waters are brackish. The Uralian Cossacs enjoy the right of fishing on the coast forty-seven miles on each side of the river Ural; and the inhabitants of Astracan possess the exclusive privilege on the remaining shores belonging to Russia. The roe of sturgeons and beluga supply large quantities of caviare; and the fish, which are chiefly salted and dried, form a considerable article of consumption in the Russian empire. The Caspian abounds with sea-dogs, which are hunted and caught in great numbers.||

The ports of the Caspian may be divided into Russian, Persian, and Tartar.

The Russian ports and trading places are, 1, Gurief; 2, Kislar.

1. Gurief, situated on the mouth of the Yaik or Ural, near a bay of the Caspian, is a small but strong fortress, which guards the frontiers of the Russian empire towards the territory of the Kirghees Tartars. The place contains scarcely a hundred houses, and, except the garrison, has no inhabitants but a few merchants from Astracan, who trade with the neighbouring Tartars.¶ 2. The fortress of Kislar stands near the eastern coast, and covers the frontiers towards the limits of Persia. Vessels formerly entered the southern branch of the Terek; but as the mouths of that river are now choaked up, the merchandise is landed in a small bay at the distance of thirty-four miles. Kislar draws from Astracan the European commodities necessary for the Persian traffic, together with corn and provision for the Russian colonies on the Terek, and for the neighbouring district of Mount Caucasus. Beside the goods which are disposed of at Kislar, and sent to the Persian ports, the inhabitants carry on a contraband trade to Shamakee, Derbent, and even Tiflis in Georgia, which is exceedingly precarious from the numerous banditti who pillage the caravans.

Before I enumerate the principal Persian havens, it would be necessary to acquaint the reader to whom belong the provinces of Shirvan, Ghilan, Masanderan, and Astrabad, in which countries the ports resorted to by the Russians are situated. But the unsettled state of Persia, and the civil wars which continue to harass that divided empire, render it difficult to ascertain that point.** In general those provinces are governed

* Guldenstaedt, p. 248.

† Hanway, p. 141.

‡ Gmelin, vol. ii. p. 84.

§ Hanway, vol. i. p. 393.

|| Jour. St. Pet. p. 253;

S R. G. vii. p. 525.

For a list of the fish in the Caspian, see Gmelin, vol. ii. p. 246.

¶ Pallas Reise, i. 424, &c.

** On the assassination of Nadir Shah, in 1747, various competitors presented themselves to fill the vacant throne; and in less than two years eight sovereigns had reigned, been deposed, or assassinated;

by their own khans, who, though tributary to the sophy, render themselves occasionally independent; and as they are continually at war with each other, their governments are the seat of almost perpetual hostility, rapine, and devastation. Meanwhile, the trade flourishes or diminishes in proportion as the exactions of the sovereigns are more or less frequent and exorbitant.

The Persian havens are, 1. Derbent; 2. Niezabad; 3. Baku; 4. Einzellee; 5. Farabat; 6. Medshetisar; 7. Astrabad.

1. Derbent is the worst port in the Caspian; if it can be called a port, where vessels can seldom approach the shore, on account of sands and shoals, but are generally obliged to anchor, at the distance of three quarters of a mile: from this circumstance, joined to the inconsiderable degree of commerce, it is little frequented. Derbent in the province of Shirvan, is a Persian fortress, surrounded by high brick walls; the inhabitants are chiefly Persians, Tartars, and a few Armenians. Two or three Russian ships are annually bound for Derbent; they are usually laden with oats and rye, and carry iron, steel, and lead for the Lesgees and other Tartar nations, who inhabit the Eastern chain of the Caucasus. The neighbourhood produces some corn, but not sufficient for the consumption of the place. 2. Niesovaia Pristan, or Niezabad, was formerly the port most frequented by the Russians, and chiefly visited by the merchants of Shamakee, who supplied the province of Shirvan with European commodities. Near the harbour are several wretched villages. 3. Baku is esteemed the most commodious haven, as vessels may securely anchor in seven fathoms water; but the number of shoals, islands, and sand-banks, render the entrance extremely difficult and dangerous, particularly to the Russians who are not expert sailors. Baku is a fortress surrounded with high brick walls: the inhabitants like those of Derbent, are Persians, Tartars and a few Armenian merchants. The principal articles of exportation are naphta, and rock salt, of both which there are mines on the east side of the bay. The inhabitants cultivate saffron and the cotton-tree, but not to any considerable advantage. The trade of Baku, though more valuable than that of Derbent, is still inconsiderable, and chiefly carried on with Shamakee, from whence it draws raw silk and silken stuffs. A Russian consul is resident at this place.* Before we quit the province of Shirvan, it may not be improper to mention its capital, the inland towns of Shamakee, which is only sixty-six miles from Baku, and supplies that port with raw silk and silken stuffs. Shamakee owed its commercial importance to the silk which is cultivated in the neighbouring district, and still preserves the town from ruin, though the traffic is greatly reduced by the exorbitant exactions of the khan of Kuba; it was also crowded with Turkish and Greek merchants but at present contains only a few Armenian and Indian traders. The inhabitants manufacture silk and cotton stuffs, far inferior to those made in the beginning of the century. The silk of this province is exported into the interior part of Persia, Turkey, Georgia, and Russia. Shamakee still supplies part of Georgia and the inhabitants of the Eastern chain of Mount Caucasus, with European commodities, principally by means of the traffic with Baku, and the contraband trade with the Armenians and Russians.† 4. Einzellee, though a wretched village, is the most frequented for the

In 1779, Persia was again exposed to all the horrors of a disputed succession, and divided between the two principal competitors. Akau Mahomed Khan, a Persian of high distinction, who was castrated in his infancy by order of Nadir Shah, and who, like Narses, possessed great civil and military talents, was, in 1788, master of Mazanderan and Ghilan, as well as the cities of Ispahan and Tauris. Jaafar Khan, nephew of Kerim Khan, was at that period sovereign of Shirauz, the capital, and of the southern provinces. Franklin's Tour from Bengal to Persia, p. 278. 351.

* Gmelin, vol. iii. p. 52, 'c. Guldenstaedt.

† Gmelin, vol. iii. p. 60, &c.

Persian commerce: formerly vessels entered through the channel into a bay; but this bay being choaked up, are obliged to lay at anchor in the road. Einzellee is situated on the south-western coast, a few miles north of Reshd, capital of the province of Ghilan: it consists of Old and New Einzelle; the former inhabited by the Persians and Armenians, under the jurisdiction of the sophy, the latter by the Russian merchants, and those Armenians who are subject to Russia. A garrison of thirty soldiers is stationed under the command of the consul. It contains a Russian and Armenian church and about three hundred houses, mostly formed with reed. The refuse only of the Persian and European commodities is exposed to sale at Einzellee; the great mart being at Reshd, where the Russians have erected booths, to which place a conflux of merchants from Tauris, and the principal cities of Persia, Armenia, and even Turkey, resort, in order to purchase the raw silk and manufactures of Ghilan. Hence the Russians dispose of their European commodities to considerable advantage, and obtain in return the productions of this rich province. The manufactures* and silk of Ghilan, esteemed the best in Persia, have been in such repute for these last fifty years, that Reshd is become one of the first commercial towns in this part of Asia. The finest sort is usually white, and chiefly sent into the interior cities of Persia, or sold to the Turks; the inferior kind is yellow, and principally disposed of to the Russians. There is such a constant demand for the silk of Ghilan,† that the price rises every year. Reshd supplies the bordering provinces of Persia, and the independent neighbouring states as far as Georgia, with European merchandise, except the goods which are transported immediately from Astracan, through Kislar and Mostok, to the nearest parts of Georgia, and of the neighbouring mountains; and those sent from Shamakee, to the Lesgees Tartars, and other independent tribes.‡ 5. Farabat, and 6. Medshetisar, are situated on the southern coast, in the province of Masanderan; they are both small villages, of which Medshetisar is most commercial, from its vicinity to Balfrusch, capital of the province, where the Russians and Armenians convey their merchandise; the traffic, however, is much less considerable than formerly, a circumstance owing to the impositions of the Khan of Masanderan. The chief productions of this country are silk, far inferior to that of Ghilan, rice and cotton, of which articles there is a large exportation. Merchants from Kaskan, Ispahan, Schirass, and Khorusan, resort to Balfrusch, and bring for sale the Persian and Indian commodities.§ 7. The bay of Astrabad, where the Russians land and proceed to the capital. The productions of this province, and its exports and imports, are nearly similar to those of Masanderan. The commerce of Astrabad is chiefly with Candahar.

The Tartar havens are, 1. The bay of Balkan; 2. Mangushlak, both of which, but particularly the latter, afford a secure harbour. 1. the Russians frequent the islands in the bay of Balkan; inhabited chiefly by pirates of the race of Turkoman Tartars: these islands produce rice and cotton, and one of them called Naphthonia, abounds in naphtha. The traffic might be increased to the advantage of Russia; as it would be far more commodious to trade with the Tartars of Khiva and Bucharia from these parts than from Orenburgh, through the country of the warlike and independent Kirghees. 2. The commerce of Mangushlak is most considerable: the neighbouring Tartars bring to this place the productions of their own country, and even of Bucharia, such as cotton, yarn, and stuffs, furs and skins, and rhubarb.||

* See in Gmelin, vol. iii. p. 415, a list of the manufactures of Ghilan.

† For an account of the silk of Ghilan, see Gmelin, vol. iii. p. 412. Hanway, vol. ii. p. 16. S. R. G. V. I. p. 515.

‡ Gmelin, vol. iii. p. 414.

§ Gmelin, vol. iii. p. 459.

|| Guldenstaedt, p. 265—267.

The principal commodities exported from Astracan to the ports of the Caspian sea, are cloths, chiefly English, Dutch, French, and Silesian; vitriol, soap, alum, sugar, Russian leather, needles, and cotton stuffs, coarse linen manufactured in Russia, velvets, glass ware, and looking-glasses, writing paper, a few furs and skins, a small quantity of tea, provisions, chiefly corn and butter, wine, brandy, wooden furniture, sea-horse teeth; also iron, brass, tin, lead, hardware, watches, &c. &c. In 1775, the value of the cloths exported amounted to 52,600*l.*; the cochineal to 45,600*l.*; and the indigo to 7,000. Imports: Raw and manufactured silks, but chiefly the former, from the provinces of Shirvan and Ghilan; which article, in 1775, amounted to 43,800*l.* Bucharian lamb-skins, rice, dried fruit, spices and drugs, coffee, wine, saffron, salt, sulphur, and naphtha. The Indians and merchants of Khiva bring occasionally to Astracan gold and silver in bars, gold-dust, precious stones, and pearls.

The trade of the Caspian sea had considerably declined before the accession of the late empress: by the abolition of monopolies, and by other useful regulations, it has lately increased to such a degree, that within the space of fifteen years the average sum of the exports and imports has been nearly tripled:

			Total exports and imports.
1760.	{ Exports 36,100 <i>l.</i> Imports 42,100 }	- -	78,200 <i>l.</i>
Balance against Russia	- 6,000		
1768.	{ Exports 87,700 <i>l.</i> Imports 63,700 }	- -	151,400
Balance in favour of Russia	24,000		
1775.	{ Exports 125,400 <i>l.</i> Imports 64,120 }	- -	189,520
Balance in favour of Russia	61,280		
Traffic with Georgia and the natives of Caucasus	-	-	10,000
Total in 1775.	- - -		199,520

The contraband trade is not included in this calculation.*

Commerce with the Bucharians and Chinese.

Under the commerce with the Bucharians† I comprise that with the Calmucs, and other Tartar nations beyond the frontiers of Siberia; because it is of such little importance as scarcely to deserve a separate article.

* The reader who wishes to trace the rise, progress, and present state of the commerce on the Caspian sea, must consult and compare Hackluyt's collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 324 to 431; Hanway's British Trade of the Caspian Sea; Cooke's Travels; S. R. G. vii. 103—346; Gmelin's Reise, vol. iii.; and Guldenstaedt's Treatise mentioned above.

† Having before mentioned the commerce with the Bucharians upon the Eastern coasts of the Caspian, it is needless to enter upon any further detail of it in this place.

The Bucharians, who inhabit the south-western part of Independent Tartary, are a commercial people; their caravans travel through the whole continent of Asia,* and traffic with Russia, Thibet, China, India, and Persia. Russia contains several colonies of Bucharians, who are settled in many large towns of the southern provinces, and maintain a constant communication with the merchants of their own country. Their principal marts are Tomsk, Kiacta, and Orenburgh which is the most considerable, and chiefly trades with Kaskar, Tashkent, and Khiva.† Their caravans are exposed to pillage from the Kirghees Tartars, through whose country they are obliged to pass. Their imports are gold and silver, chiefly in Persian coins and Indian rupees, gold-dust,‡ precious stones, particularly rubies, lapis lazuli, spun and raw cotton, cotton stuffs in great abundance, both Indian and Bucharian, half silks, unprepared nitre, native sal-ammoniac, lamb-skins, raw silk in small quantities, and rhubarb, large droves of sheep and horses.§ Exports: cloth, Russian leather, beads and trinkets, hardware, indigo, cochineal, &c.

The Chinese trade is by far the most important part of its Asiatic commerce, and is now carried on at Kiacta, situated upon the frontier of the Chinese and Russian empires. But having in a former publication|| given a circumstantial account of this commerce, it will be sufficient to observe, that in 1777, the total sum of importation and exportation, as entered at the custom-house, amounted to 573,666l.; but if we include the contraband trade, which is very considerable, and make an allowance for the deficiencies of the above-mentioned year, which was not so favourable as the preceding, we may fairly estimate the gross amount of the average trade to China, in exports and imports, at near 800,000l. sterling.

CHAPTER XXVII.

On the Commerce of the Black Sea....Havens....Exports and Imports....Ports and Territory ceded by the Turks to Russia....Zaporogian Cossacs....Productions of the Southern Provinces....Navigation of the Don and Dnieper....Attempts of the Russians to prosecute the Commerce through the Dardanelles to the Mediterranean.....Precarious State of that Trade.

PETER the Great first attempted to open a commerce through the Euxine, and to export, by that channel, the productions of Southern Russia. By his victories over the Turks, the possession of Azof, and the construction of Taganroc, he seemed on the eve of realizing this favourite project; but all his vast schemes were baffled by the unsuccessful campaign of 1711, which terminated in the peace of Pruth. a peace purchased by the cession of Azof and Taganroc, and by relinquishing the commerce of the Euxine. Since that period the Turks have jealously excluded the Russians from all share in the navigation of their seas, until Catharine finished a successful war against the Porte by the glorious peace of 1774. By this peace Russia obtained a free navigation

* S. R. G. vii. p. 7.

† Rytskof Orenb. Top. vol. i. p. 263.

‡ This gold-dust is found in the sand of the rivers of Bucharia. This was the principal inducement to the first expeditions of the English merchants over the Caspian into Bucharia, which are related in Hackluyt's Collection. Peter the Great sent several Russian merchants into the country for the same purpose. See S. R. G. iv. p. 183, &c. Rytskof, vol. i. p. 263. Russia Illustrata, vol. ii. p. 141.

§ Pallas Reise, vol. i. p. 232, &c. The sheep and horses are brought for sale by the Kirghees Tartars. Pallas says, that above sixty thousand sheep, and ten thousand horses, are yearly sold at Orenburgh, p. 234.

|| See an account of the transactions and commerce between Russia and China, in Russian Discoveries, book iii. chap. ii.—v.

in all the Turkish seas, a right of passing through the Dardanelles, all the commercial immunities granted to the most favoured nations in amity with the Porte, the towns of Azof and Taganroc, the three fortresses of Kinburn, Kartsh, and Yenikale, and a large district between the Bog and the Dnieper.

Many speculations have been made concerning the extent and value of the traffic which Russia is likely to establish in the Black Sea, and the revolution which it may effect in the commerce of Europe, by transferring part of the Baltic trade to the ports of the Mediterranean. In consequence of this change, it is asserted, the southern provinces will find a vent for their superfluous productions; the Russian vessels will open a profitable trade with Crim Tartary, with the Austrian provinces at Kilia-Nova, with the Turks at Constantinople, and with the Greeks in the Levant. The iron of Siberia, the corn, hemp, and flax of the Ukraine, and the contiguous provinces, will be sent from the havens of the Black Sea, through the Dardanelles, to supply the ports of the Mediterranean; and thus France and Spain will be furnished with naval stores by a cheaper and more expeditious navigation than through the Baltic and the Northern Ocean. As the completion of this great and extensive project can only be the work of time, and depends on a variety of contingencies, we cannot pretend to form any absolute decision on the probability of its failure or success; but a considerable light may be thrown on this intricate subject by an attention to the following objects of inquiry.*

I. The traffic on the Turkish seas before the peace, with an account of their havens and exports. II. The ports and territory ceded to Russia, and the new towns constructed by the empress. III. The productions of the southern provinces, and the navigation of the Don and Dnieper. IV. The progress hitherto made by the Russians to establish an intercourse between the Black Sea, through the Dardanelles, with the ports of the Mediterranean.

I. The traffic on the Turkish seas before the peace of 1774, was chiefly carried on by the Greeks, Armenians, and Turks; and the Russians possessed no port, either on the sea of Azof or the Euxine; Tcherkask, capital of the Don Cossacs, was the place where the productions of this empire and Turkey were reciprocally exchanged. The Greek and Armenian merchants sailed to Taganroc, where they performed quarantine, and then proceeded with their merchandise to Tcherkask; having first paid the duty at Temernik, a small village on the Don, now the fortress of St. Dmitri. Tcherkask was also the emporium of an inland commerce with the merchants of Kuban and Crim Tartary. The imports were chiefly Greek wines, raisins, dried figs, almonds, oil, rice, saffron, painted linens and cottons; the exports, hides and leather, coarse linen, hard-ware, and caviare,† &c. The Greek and Armenian merchants, in returning to Constantinople, supplied the ports of the sea of Azof and the Euxine with Russian and European commodities.

In order to form a general idea of the traffic in the Turkish seas, we must take a cursory view of their havens, imports and exports.

Among the harbours on the Black Sea resorted to by the Greek and Armenian merchants, the most frequented were those of Crim Tartary, now called Taurida; namely, Yenikale, one of the fortresses lately ceded to Russia, Balaklava, Koslof, and Caffa, now Theodosia, which merits a particular description. Caffa and the whole peninsula, which were before under the dominion of a khan, who was a vassal to the Turks, were,

* In this inquiry I have principally followed Guldenstaedt's *Essay Von der Hafen am Azowschen Schwarzen und Weissen Meere* in *Journ. St. Pet.* for 1776.

† See *Tarif of the Imported and Exported Wares*. *Bus. Hist. Mag.* xi. p. 373.

by an article in the late peace, declared independent, and subject to a khan, elected by the natives, though confirmed both by the empress and grand signor. It was the capital of the Crimea; and the Tartars distinguished it by the name of Half Constantinople.* The bay is capable of containing several hundred merchant ships; and the inhabitants are the richest, and drive the most extensive trade in the Black Sea. The productions of Crim Tartary, exported from Caffa and the other havens of the peninsula, consist chiefly in corn, wine, wool, fine black and gray lamb-skins, and salt. The imports are fine and coarse linens, printed cottons, nankeen, Russian leather, fine cloths, velvets, taffeties, furs, ropes, paper, salted fish, and caviare, tobacco leaves, copper and tin, hard-ware, gold and silver thread, beads and corals, earthen wares, a coarse sort of porcelain, and glass-ware,† &c. &c.

The port of Taman lies opposite to Yenikale, at the extremity of the straits of Caffa, on a small island in the mouth of a river Kuban: it was subject to the khan of Crim Tartary, and traffics with the Circassians from Mount Caucasus, the Cossacs dwelling near the rivers which fall into the Kuban, and the Tartars inhabiting the desert between the Kuban and the Don. The exports are honey, wax, salt, wool, fox-skins, martens, sheep, &c.; the imports nearly similar to those at Caffa.

The ports of the eastern and southern coasts of the Black Sea are situated in the Turkish provinces of Mingrelia, Georgia, and Anatolia: the principal are, 1. Poti, where the merchants of Georgia resort; 2. Trebizond; 3. Cherson, which is distant only sixty miles from Tokat, at which town the caravans from Persia assemble and separate, in order to proceed by different routes to Smyrna and Constantinople. Sinope, the nearest port upon the Black Sea to Anghra, is the only place hitherto known that supplies the fine goats-hair, generally called camels-hair, from which the best camlets are manufactured, that equal if not surpass those of Brussels. The hair spun into yarn, is chiefly purchased at Tokat by the merchants of the Caravans in their way to Smyrna, from which port Europe is mostly supplied with this commodity. The Greek and Armenian merchants draw from these parts honey, wax, fox-skins, martens, and sheep, raw and manufactured silk, both Persian and Turkish, cotton, calicoes, rice, saffron, dried fruit, &c. They are supplied in return with Russian and other European productions. 4. Tios or Tilios, where the Turks have a dock for repairing ships, and at which place sails, cordage, anchors, and other naval stores, are advantageously disposed of.

The ports on the western shore of the Black Sea, beside Kinburn, are Varna in Bulgaria, which is distant about one hundred miles from Adrianople, Kilia-Nova, at the mouth of the Danube in Wallachia; and Akkermen, on the mouth of the Dniester, in Bessarabia, sixty miles from Bender. These ports furnish wool, dried fruits, Hungarian and Moldavian wines, buffalo skins, &c. The traffic to Varna and Akkermen might be considerably increased by forming a more regular communication with Adrianople and Bender; and that of Kilia-Nova might be rendered highly important, by vending the productions of Austria and Hungary, if the navigation of the Danube was not obstructed by the jealousy of the Turks. The imports consist in European and Russian productions, for the most part similar to those of Caffa.

* Nennen solche di Tartary nur Jarim Stambul. Kleeman's Reise von Wien nach Constantino-
pel. See a curious account of Caffa, in that work. The author observed there several ruins of the
buildings which the Genoese constructed when Caffa was in their possession, particularly the remains
of the ancient citadel, of churches, of angels and saints grossly carved on stone, and several Latin in-
scriptions, p. 168, &c. He describes Crim Tartary as a very fruitful country.

† Guldenstaedt, p. 12—14.

Constantinople and Gallipoli are the principal havens in the sea of Marmora. The Russian imports are furs and skins, leather, sail cloth, cordage, anchors, tar and pitch, steel and iron, salt fish, caviare, butter, sea-horse teeth, wax, tea, musk, castor-oil, colours, paper, coarse cloth, linen, and corn: the exports to Russia are raw and manufactured silk and cotton, muslins, rich Turkish stuffs, and carpets, wool and Angora-goats-hair, Grecian wines, oil, all kinds of European and Asiatic fruit, lemons and oranges, tobacco and snuffs, spices, saffron, opium, and other species of drugs, pearls and precious stones, gold and silver,* &c.

II. The ports and territory ceded to Russia, and the new towns since constructed by the empress. The ceded places are, 1, the district on the sea of Azof; 2, Kertsch and Yenikale, in Crim Tartary; 3, the fortress of Kinburn; 4, the territory between the Dnieper and the Bog.

1. The district bordering on the sea of Azof comprises, beside a large tract of territory to the east and west of Azof, the fortresses of Azof, Taganroc, and Petrofsk. Azof is no longer of the same importance as it was in the reign of Peter the Great; the branch of the Don, on which it stands, being now so choaked with sand as scarcely to admit the smallest vessels. The merchandise therefore is usually deposited at Taganroc or Petrofsk; and the frigates and merchant ships, which were formerly constructed at Azof, are now built either at St. Dmitri or Rostof, and pass down the Don into the sea of Azof through another branch of that river. As the harbour of Taganroc contains upon an average, only seven feet of water, the vessels must draw no more than five or six feet; the town has been rendered commodious by the construction of several warehouses and other buildings during the late war; and is esteemed for the salubrity of the air. The fortress of Petrofsk, which stands at the mouth of the Broda, and commands the Turkish frontiers, was also erected during the late war. It is advantageously situated, as forming a direct communication with the havens of Crim Tartary, and might easily be rendered more secure than that of Taganroc, from the superior depth of water. By the possession of these fortresses, the navigation of the sea of Azof is perfectly secured. The frontiers of this ceded territory, to the west of that sea, are guarded by a chain of small forts, extending from Petrofsk to the Dnieper.

2. The fortresses of Kertsch and Yenikale, situated on the eastern coasts of Crim Tartary, and near the northern entrance of the straits of Caffa, are of the greatest importance, by commanding the passage which forms the communication between the sea of Azof and the Euxine.

3. Kinburn is the only port possessed by the Russians on the coasts of the Black Sea; it stands close to the frontiers, at the mouth of the Dnieper, opposite the Turkish fortress Otchakof, which being a place of superior strength, must, while it continues in the hands of the Turks, obstruct, in case of a rupture, the navigation of the Dnieper. Kinburn was intended for the principal repository of the merchandise sent from the provinces bordering on the Dnieper; but as the harbour, on account of its quicksand, affords no security for anchorage, the new town of Kherson is at present the great emporium of this trade.

4. The possession of the territory between the Bog and the Dnieper opens a secure communication between the Black Sea, and those rich and extensive provinces watered by the Dnieper. This important territory, so essential to the existence of the new commerce, was chiefly inhabited by hordes of roving Tartars; and by the Zaporogian Cossacs, who by their piracies rendered the navigation of the Dnieper extremely hazar-

* Guldenstaedt, p. 21, 25.

jous. The origin of these Cossacs is thus traced by the Russian historians. In the beginning of the 15th century, a tribe of the Cossacs of the Ukraine, who inhabited the territory between the Bog and the Dnieper, were known under the denomination of Zaporogian,* from the situation of their setcha,† or principal settlement near the cataracts of the Dnieper.

This setcha was a fortress surrounded with a wooden wall, and at first merely intended as a place of assembly, to deliberate on the method of carrying on their customary depredations, or for the purpose of electing a chief. By degrees it was filled with habitations, and afterwards appropriated to a separate community of persons; who devoted themselves solely to arms, and totally excluded all women from the precinct of their military residence. The inhabitants were divided into classes; each of which elected its respective leader, and were all under the jurisdiction of a hetman or supreme chief, chosen by the whole society.

These Zaporogian Cossacs became so distinguished for their bravery and skill in desultory war, that persons flocked from distant regions to this society of warriors. The inhabitants of the setcha were not obliged to continue in it for any settled term; being only bound, while they remained, to conform themselves to the regulations and discipline of their associates; those who were disposed to marry, quitted the setcha, but were permitted to settle in the neighbouring district, with the privilege of re-admission, provided they were not attended with their wives and families, whom they were allowed occasionally to visit. The Zaporogians increased their numbers by affording an asylum to deserters,‡ and by forcing and enticing youth and children from the Ukraine and Poland, whom they trained to a military life, and admitted into their community. The place of their residence was occasionally varied; when their numbers increased, or when the hordes wandered at a considerable distance from each other, different parties erected and occupied distinct setchas. The first setcha of this extraordinary society seems to have been situated on an island of the Dnieper below the cataracts; the last which they inhabited, at the abolition of their government, and which at that period was the only one they possessed, stood near the rivulet Busulak, at the point where it falls into the Dnieper, in the government of Kiof.§

The members of this community being collected from various nations, and from the nature of their constitution perpetually changing, their number could never be exactly ascertained: Manstein relates, that in the war in which he served against the Turks, they brought eight thousand horse into the field, and on an emergency could have raised twelve thousand or fifteen thousand. They frequently performed incredible feats of valour in the campaigns of the Russians against the Turks and Tartars, nor were their services confined solely to land: by their skill in navigating the Dnieper, they occasionally defended the mouth of that river, and attacked with success the armed vessels on the contiguous coasts of the Black Sea. But while they were thus terrible to their enemies, they were scarcely less formidable to their allies. Nominally dependant on the hetman of the Ukraine, they were classed among the subjects of the Russian empire; but the peculiarity of their manners, their separation from all other society, their popular form of government, together with their warlike disposition, rendered them a barbarous and

* Porogi signifies cataracts.

† Setcha means any place surrounded with a wall, or fortification, separated from the neighbouring district. S. R. G. iv. p. 414.

‡ S. R. G. i. p. 441.

§ Mr. Muller has accurately and circumstantially described the setcha of the Zaporogian Cossacs, from which account I have selected this short extract. S. R. G. iv. p. 411, 472.

unruly banditti. Accustomed to live by rapine and devastation, they pillaged the Russian merchants who passed through their country, and interrupted the navigation of the Dnieper by continual piracies.*

Soon after the conclusion of the Turkish war in 1774, the Russian government seized a favourable opportunity to destroy their setcha, and disperse the inhabitants. General Belmain marched from the Turkish frontiers at the head of twelve thousand regulars, and encamped about eighteen versts from the setcha; taking his departure before midnight, he made a forced march, and surrounding it at four in the morning, compelled the inhabitants to surrender. He found forty-six pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of small arms and ammunition. By this salutary act of power, Russia has secured the merchants from the dread of perpetual depredations, and put an end to the system of piracy.

III. The Russian countries which are most interested in this commerce, are those contiguous to the Dnieper and Don: or the provinces of Smolensko, Mohilef, Ukraine, New Russia, Bielgorod, Voronetz, Ukraina-Slobodskaja, and Azof; a large tract of territory which furnishes in great abundance every species of grain, hemp, flax, hides, masts, planks, honey, wax, tobacco, &c.

In these ceded districts the empress has already raised several new towns; the principal are Kherson, Catharinenslaf, and Marianopoli.

Kherson,† situated on the Dnieper, about ten miles below the mouth of Ingulec, is chiefly built with hewn stone. It is intended to be the principal mart for all the commodities of export and import; but if an extensive trade should take place in this quarter, the great depository for the merchandise will be more conveniently fixed on some spot below the bar of the Dnieper, and twelve miles south of Kherson. It contains a dock‡ for the construction of large vessels, from which several men of war and frigates, as well as merchant ships, have been already launched. Catharinenslaf, or the glory of Catharine, is built near the spot where the small river Kiltzin fall into the Samara, and is appointed to be the capital of the government of Azof; it is colonized by many Greeks and Armenians from Crim Tartary, and by others who served in the late war against the Turks. Another town, called Marianopoli, has been also raised on the borders of the Sea of Azof, between the rivers Myus and Calmuis. These three towns, as well as the numerous villages which have suddenly reared their heads in a country formerly inhabited only by lawless banditti, or traversed by roving hordes, are filled with Russians, with Tartars reclaimed from their wandering life, and with numerous colonists, particularly Greeks and Armenians, who migrated from the adjacent provinces of the Turkish empire.

The navigation of the Don and the Dnieper, which form the communication between those provinces and the Turkish Seas, remains to be considered.

The Don§ takes its rise from the small lake of St. John, near Tula, in the government of Moscow, and passing through part of the province of Voronetz, a small portion of the Ukraina-Slobodskaja, and the whole province of Azof, divides itself near Tcher-

* The boats of these Zaporogian Cossacs were rowed by fifty or sixty men, had no sail, and generally carried two small cannon. S. R. G. ix. p. 5.

† Kherson is celebrated as the place where the empress Catharine principally resided during her memorable journey to the Crimea, when she took possession of the provinces conquered from Turkey, and where she was visited by the emperor Joseph II.

‡ A new town, Nicolaiof, now the principal dock, was built by Potemkin, on the confluence of the Ingul and the Bog.

§ S. R. G. ix. p. 11, 12.

kask into three streams, and falls into the Sea of Azof. The river has so many windings, and abounds with such numerous shoals and sand-banks, as to be scarcely navigable excepting in the spring, on the melting of the snows. The banks of the Don and of the rivulets which fall into it, are clothed with large tracts of forest, whose timber is floated down the stream to St. Dmitri and Rostof, where the frigates for the Sea of Azof are chiefly constructed. The navigation of the Don may hereafter be rendered highly valuable, by conveying to the Black Sea the iron of Siberia, the Chinese goods, and the Persian merchandise, which latter commodities, as well as the products of India, formerly found their way into Europe through this same channel.*

Since the acquisition of Russian Lithuania, the cession of the district between the Don and the Dnieper, and the dispersion of the Raporogian Cossacs, the Dnieper, from its source to its mouth, now flows through the Russian dominions; and through this whole course, of above eight hundred miles, the navigation is only once interrupted by a series of cataracts,† which begin below the mouth of the Samara, and continue for a space of forty miles. They are not, however, so dangerous as they have been represented; for they may be passed in spring, without much hazard, even by loaded barks. In other parts of the year the goods are landed at Kemensk, opposite the mouth of the Samara, and transported forty miles by land to Kitchkase, about six miles from the fortress of Alexandrovsk, where they are again embarked, and descend the stream without interruption, to Kherson.‡ If the trade should increase, the cataracts might, at a considerable expence, be rendered navigable at all seasons of the year.

IV. The progress hitherto made by the Russians to establish an intercourse between the ports of the Black Sea and those of the Mediterranean.

To encourage her subjects to engage in this branch of traffic, the empress has lessened the duties of import and export,§ and contributed towards forming a Russian house, or company trading to the Black Sea. Soon after the peace of 1774, four merchant-ships sailed from Petersburg, and not, as might have been expected, from the ports of the Black Sea: they were laden with iron, flax, hemp, hides, sail-cloth, and coarse linen, at the sole expence of the empress, who granted to the company all the profits arising from the sale of the cargoes. This plan, however, was not attended with the success it seemed to promise; and the failure arose from the jealousy of the Turks. The ships were, under specious pretences, prevented from passing the Dardanelles; the cargoes were sold in the Levant and the Mediterranean, and they returned to the Baltic without effecting the main object of the voyage. Before the Russians could make any further attempts to open this channel of commerce, dissensions took place between the empress and the Porte, concerning the independence of the Crimea, and the free election of a khan, which threatened an immediate war, and suspended all commercial exertions in regard to the Black Sea, until a new pacification was concluded on the 21st of March 1779.

Since that period, beside several Greek vessels, which sailed from the Sea of Azof and the Euxine, under Russian colours, and were allowed to pass the Dardanelles, a Russian ship, manned with seamen in the service of government, and laden with salted beef, took its departure, in 1780, from Kherson to the port of Toulon; and soon after-

* The iron of Siberia, and the merchandise of China, are sometimes sent by an inland navigation to the Volga; the Persian commodities are conveyed across the Caspian to the same river; from thence they might be transported by a land carriage of only forty miles to the Don.

† Muller has described these cataracts. S. R. G. iv. p. 411.

‡ Muller. S. R. G. ix. p. 16; and Guldenstaedt.

§ See a list of the duties of export and import, in Bus. Hist. Mag. xi. p. 373.

wards five others, freighted with iron, made successful voyages to the Archipelago; also four small vessels, and a fifth of four hundred tons just launched, laden with hemp and tobacco, were expected to sail from Kherson for France, in November 1781.

Such, in 1781, was the infant state of that commerce, which some authors have described as capable of producing an immediate revolution in the trade of Europe: * and in this, or in a still more fluctuating state, it will probably continue, as long as the Turks retain the dominion of their own seas. For that jealous people will either openly oppose, or clandestinely obstruct, the progress of the Russians, and will never readily give a free passage through the Dardanelles to a powerful rival, though they consented to it in the humiliating peace of 1774. Perhaps these claims, urged on one side, and evaded on the other, will engender perpetual dissensions, and will not be finally terminated but by a series of obstinate and bloody wars. Meanwhile the trade cannot for a considerable period be extensive, which depends on such casual circumstances as the coalition and rupture of rival and neighbouring powers.

The course of subsequent events can alone discover, whether the pacification signed on the 9th of January 1784, will be more permanent than former treaties, or whether the same causes will not continue to produce the same effects. In a word, the Russian commerce in those parts can scarcely be established on a firm basis, until the empress acquires a fleet in the Black Sea superior to that of her rival. Perhaps the completion of this great object may be effected by the acquisition of Crim Tartary† and the Kuban, rendered highly valuable by an additional extent of sea-coast, and the important harbour of Actiar or Sebastopol.

* Many persons are of opinion, that the obstacles to the rising commerce of the Black Sea are by no means injurious to the interests of Russia. For her commodities and productions being articles of necessity, not of luxury, no facility given to their exportation could add to their general consumption; and the increase of exportation from the Black Sea would diminish that from St. Petersburg, and the other ports of the Baltic nearly in the same proportion. By the facility and cheapness of land carriage, and the improvements of inland navigation, the productions of the remotest provinces are readily sent to the ports of the Baltic, without raising the price too high. And as the goods which Russia produces are either peculiar to this empire, or such as other nations must purchase, they cannot pass through too many hands before they are exported. To diminish, therefore, by facilitating their exportation, the price of such goods which she already sells cheaper than other nations, would be to incur a manifest loss, and to gratify the foreign trader at her own expence.

† The Crimea, which had long been an object of Russian ambition, was secured by the intrigues and arms of Catharine.

The requisition of Azof, Taganroc, the district between the Don and the Dnieper; and the forts of Kimburn, Kersh, and Yenikale, was the prelude to the conquest of that peninsula. Catharine availed herself of the article in the peace of Kaimagdi, which stipulated that the Khan should be confirmed by Russia as well as the Porte. By intrigues and money, Potemkin obtained the election of Sehim Gerai, a prince of the blood royal, formerly ambassador from the Khan to St. Petersburg, who was gained over to the interests of Russia.

In consequence of his subserviency to Russia, he was opposed by the Porte, and a large body of his subjects in the Turkish interest, and commotions ensued. The empress having appointed the Khan, captain of the guards, sent an army to protect him, as her officer, against the rebels. Notwithstanding the public remonstrances and secret opposition of the Porte, the Khan was no sooner secured in his dignity, than he was induced to abdicate; but repenting of this act, he endeavoured to escape, and put himself at the head of his subjects, who were dissatisfied with the Russians, and offered to support him as their sovereign. His intentions being discovered, he was sent to Tamer, from thence to Kiof, and finally to Voronetz, where he received a temporary pension from the empress. Irritated by repeated degradations, he escaped into Moldavia, where he was seized by emissaries from the Porte, transferred to the Isle of Rhodes, and strangled.

Catharine having gained the concurrence of Joseph the Second, and made the most formidable preparations both by land and sea, the Porte was awed, and resigned the sovereignty of the Crimea to Russia. The peninsula was modelled into a new government under the name of Tourida, and the

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Mines of Russia....Gold and Silver....Copper and Iron....Average Profits which Government draws from the Mines, Foundries, and Duties.

THE mines of the Russian empire may be divided into those which belong to the crown; and those which are the property of individuals. The former comprise all the gold and silver, and a few copper and iron works :

1. The most ancient gold mine in the Russian empire is that of Voetsk, near Olonetz, between the lake Onega and the White Sea. Its chief produce is a violet pyritical copper ore, mixed with quartz, and containing rich pieces of gold, but not in sufficient quantity to defray the charges. From 1744 to 1766, the mine yielded only fifty-seven pounds of gold, and about nine thousand pood* of copper, and as the expences amounted to 16,000l. more than the profits, it was neglected until 1772, when it was again worked. Since that time it has furnished annually two hundred and fifty poods of copper, and two or three pounds of gold-dust, which is washed from the mine; besides accidental pieces that have been sent to Petersburg as specimens which may amount to five or six pounds more.

2. The next gold mines discovered in the empire were those near Catharinenburgh: the ore is very martial, commonly of a cubic form in a quartz matrix; and the gold is extracted by washing. The annual produce of pure gold never exceeded two hundred pounds, and was commonly much less: in 1772, it was only one hundred and one pounds.

3. The most important silver mines are those of Kolyvan, between the rivers Oby and Irtysh, near the mountains which separate Siberia from the Chinese empire, or rather from the territory of the Calmucs dependent on the Chinese. These mines, discovered in 1728, by Akinfi Nikitch Demidof, were for some years worked for his own private emolument, as copper mines. It is suspected, that he privately extracted the nobler metals, but prudently concealed the secret until 1744, when he made the discovery to the empress Elizabeth, who appropriated them to the crown.† These mines, situated near Voskresensk, in the Smeyeskaia Gora, or Mountain of Serpents, are known by the general appellation of Kolyvan, from a village on the rivulet Bielaia, in the district of Kusnetz, where the ore was formerly smelted. But as the adjacent country is scantily provided with wood, new foundries have been constructed at Barnaul, Novopaulofsk, and Susunsk, to the north-east of Kolyvan, in a district abounding with trees.‡

These mines, which may justly be styled the Potosi of the Russians produced annually, between 1749 and 1762, from eight thousand to sixteen thousand pounds of silver; between 1763 and 1769, from twenty thousand to 32 thousand; and since that period to 1778, from forty thousand to forty-eight thousand. The silver contains upwards of

principal towns received their ancient Greek appellations: Caffa was called Theodosia; Koslof, Apotonia; and Actiar, Sebastopol.

But this humiliating conduct on the side of the Porte, did not prevent further demands from the court of St. Petersburg, which terminated in a rupture; and the Turks were happy to purchase a peace in 1791, by ceding the important fortress and district of Otchakof, by which the Dniester is now the boundary of the Russian empire.

* A pood = 40 Russian or 36 English pounds. The pound used in this chapter is the Russian, which is to the English as 9 to 10.

† Pallas Reise, part ii. p. 582.

‡ Ibid. p. 579.

three per cent. of gold; the separation of which is made in the imperial laboratory at Petersburg. The whole produce extracted from the mines amounted, in 1771, to four hundred thousand pounds of silver, with twelve thousand seven hundred and twenty of gold; and since 1771 we may calculate the annual produce at above forty-four thousand of silver, and one thousand two hundred of gold.

The mines and foundries of Kolyvan employ nearly forty thousand colonists; besides the peasants in the districts of Tomsk and Kusnetz, who, in lieu of paying the poll-tax in money, cut wood, make charcoal, and transport the ore to the foundries. The expences, which were formerly supplied from the treasury, and of course considerably diminished the profit, have, since 1765, been annihilated, and the whole produce of the mines in gold and silver, is clear profit. In the same year a mint was established at the foundry of Sueunsk, for the coinage of the copper supplied from the mines of Kolyvan, the greater part of which had been hitherto of no use. Pieces of one, two, five, and ten copecks,* are struck and dispersed over Siberia. Of this currency, the amount of 500,000 roubles are annually coined, which is sufficient for re-embursing the poll-tax, paying the miners, transporting the ore, purchasing the lead which must be brought from Nerzhinsk, and defraying the expence of sending the gold and silver as far as Tobolsk. The silver smelted in the foundries, is conveyed on large sledges twice a year: the first convoy sets off in the beginning of the winter, and reaches Petersburg a little after Christmas; the second in the middle of winter, and arrives there towards spring.

The silver mines of Nerzhinsk, which were opened in 1704, are situated in Dauria, the south-easternmost part of Siberia, between the rivers Shilka and Argoon, and are very numerous. Their produce to the year 1772 is:†

	Pounds of silver.		
From 1704 to 1721,	-	-	4,732
1721 to 1731,	-	-	1,498
1731 to 1741,	-	-	1,333
1741 to 1751,	-	-	15,657
1751 to 1761,	-	-	43,631
1761 to 1771,	-	-	126,247
In 1771,	-	-	16,733
In 1772,	-	-	16,200, which contained 200
			pounds of gold,
			226,031

In 1767 they yielded seventeen thousand four hundred pounds; but the annual average produce may be estimated at sixteen thousand. The silver contains, in forty thousand pounds, nearly five hundred of gold. The ores being generally rich in lead, and extremely poor in silver, the latter is easily extracted. Many million poods of lead remain useless on the spot, as only fourteen to eighteen thousand are annually required for the separation of the silver from the copper at the foundries of Kolyvan; the carriage into the inner parts of the empire being too expensive, and the export to China prohibited. The number of men employed in these mines and foundries are about one thousand nine hundred free colonists, between one thousand and one thousand eight hundred convicts, and eleven thousand Russian peasants of the district of Nerzhinsk; six thousand of the latter are employed in cutting and carrying wood, making and transporting char-

* A small coin nearly equal to a halfpenny.

† Bus. Erd.—Bes. vol. i. p. 1126.

coal; while the rest, who live at some distance from the mines, cultivate a certain portion of ground, and bring in winter the produce to the magazines of the foundries. The annual expences may generally be rated at 14,800*l*.

5. Some mines yielding silver have been lately discovered in the district of Krasnoyarsk near the Lena, between the rivers Yins and Yenisei.

The gold of Catharinenburgh is obtained at the rate of 40 guineas per pound; and as when coined it produces 68*l*. 5*s*. the profit is not very considerable. The silver and gold from Kolyvan is procured without any expence, as I have before mentioned. A pound of silver from Nerzhinsk is said to cost between 4 and 5 roubles; and as the same quantity of this metal, when coined, is equal to 22 roubles 75½ copecs, the gold extracted from this silver is obtained for 11*l*. 8*s*. per pound.

6. The crown possesses at present but very few copper and iron works.

The iron works in the north part of the district of Olonetz produce annually between eight and ten thousand poods of cast iron for guns, bombs, and balls, and fifteen thousand of indifferent iron in bars and plates. Those of the Uralian mountains employ above one thousand seven hundred workmen, and twenty-six thousand eight hundred peasants; and yielded, in 1772, four hundred and twenty-three thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven poods of iron in bars and plates, which were chiefly used for the army and navy, that of Kamensk gave in the same year ninety-three thousand poods of iron, which were forged into guns, and eight thousand one hundred and seventy-two into bars.

Four copper foundries on the west side of the Uralian mountains, in the government of Orenburgh, and three in Permia, produced, in 1772, only thirteen thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight poods. At Catharinenburgh the crown has established a mint for coining the copper procured from the imperial and private foundries, into that species of money which is current throughout Russia, and is transported by water to Moscow, Petersburg, and other parts.

The greater part of the private mines and foundries, that supply such an immense quantity of iron and copper, are mostly situated in the Uralian mountains, and the hills stretching from them; a few in the government of Moscow excepted, the produce of which is but small.

The Uralian mountains contain one hundred and five foundries, fifty-six for iron, thirty-seven for copper, and the remainder for both metals. The peasants, part of whom belong to the proprietors, and part to the crown, employed in the mines and foundries amount to ninety-five thousand. In 1772* these works yielded one hundred and thirty thousand one hundred and sixty-nine poods of copper, and four million five hundred and fifty-eight thousand seven hundred and eighteen of cast iron. The duty paid to the crown from the private proprietors is 4 copecs, or nearly 2*d*. for every pood of cast iron, beside 5 copecs upon every pood for exportation. With respect to the copper, the proprietors are obliged to sell three quarters of the whole produce of the mines to the crown at Catharinenburgh, at the low rate of 1*l*. 2*s*. per pood.† The remainder they either sell to the crown at the same place, at 1*l*. 14*s*. per pood; at Moscow, for 2*l*. 2*s*.; or at Petersburg, for 2*l*. 4*s*.

* We must take this year as the average standard, as being previous to the rebellion of Pugatchef, who destroyed several of the foundries; but most of them have been since re-established.

† By an edict of the empress, dated July 1, 1780, the proprietors, instead of selling three quarters of the copper to the crown at 1*l*. 2*s*. per pood, are now only obliged to dispose of half at that price: this new regulation must have somewhat reduced the profits of the copper coinage. See Journ. St. Pet. for 1780, p. 53.

At Catharinenburgh copper money to the value of 400,000*l.* is annually coined. The crown receives a pood of this metal, upon an average, at 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*; and issues it when struck at 3*l.* 4*s.*

From these data government appears to gain annually from the mines, and duties on iron:

	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>
Gain upon the copper coinage at Catharinenburgh	257,625	0
44,000 pounds of silver, and 1,200 of gold, the annual produce from the mines of Kolyvan, when coined, yield	282,164	4
16,320 pounds of silver, and 160 of gold, from the mines of Nerzhinsk	71,194	8
Government iron works	32,529	16
Duty on 4,558,718 poods of cast iron	36,469	5
	679,982	13

The iron and copper are transported by means of the Kosva, Tchussovaja, Bielaya, and Kama, into the Volga: some of the vessels descend that river, to supply with iron the provinces situated along its banks; but far the greater number are towed up the stream to Nishnei-Novogorod, and Tver, and through the canal of Vishne-Voloshok to Petersburg. The vessels, which set out on the breaking of the frost in spring, commonly perform this navigation before the end of autumn; but sometimes are obliged to winter on their passage.

DECEMBER 1714.

The gold mine of Olonetz or Vogetfskoi, from which the richest specimens for cabinets have been obtained, has been relinquished, because it did not defray the expence of working, though the ore was rich in copper.

The gold mines of Catharinenburgh have remained nearly in the same condition.

The mines of Kolyvan have been embarrassed by the new law, by which the peasants working for their capitation at the mines, have had their pay doubled throughout the empire, and liberty given to work only in winter. The effect of this regulation at Kolyvan, has deprived the foundries of near half the requisite quantity of charcoal; and as the necessary workmen for the foundry have been partly employed in making charcoal, the produce in silver has since that period never reached eight hundred poods; and in 1784 did not yield five hundred. However, with an additional number of hands, these mines might produce above one thousand poods; for in that quarter several mines have been discovered; amongst others that of Tcherepa Nofskoy, very rich in gold, and the richest in silver ever found in Siberia: also some lead mines have been opened in the neighbourhood, which are very promising.

The copper coin of Kolyvan underwent considerable alteration in 1782; the process of extracting the precious metal from the copper has been greatly improved throughout the empire, and the sum annually coined exceeds 300,000 roubles.

The silver mines of Nerzhinsk are in a flourishing and even increasing condition, and their annual produce since 1781 has reached between four and six hundred poods.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Canal of Vishnei-Voloshok, which unites the Caspian and the Baltic....Canal of Ladoga....Project of uniting the Don and the Volga.

THE inland navigation is carried through a greater extent in Russia than in any other kingdom on the globe; for it is possible to convey goods by water four thousand four hundred and seventy-two miles from the frontiers of China to Petersburg, with an interruption only of about sixty miles;* and from Astracan through a tract of one thousand four hundred and thirty four miles.

The water communication between Astracan and Petersburg, or between the Caspian and the Baltic, is formed by means of the celebrated canal of Vishnei-Voloshok. This great work, begun and completed under Peter the Great, has been considerably improved by the late empress, and vessels now reach Petersburg in less than half the time which they formerly employed.

The Shlina forms the lake Mastino, which gives rise to the Masta; the latter falls, after a course of about two hundred and thirty-four miles, into the lake Ilmen, from which issues the river Volkof, and runs one hundred and thirty miles to the lake Ladoga, which supplies the Neva, so that, in effect, the Shlina, the Masta, the Volkof, and the Neva, may be considered as the same river flowing into and through different lakes, and only changing its name at various intervals. By uniting, therefore, the Shlina which communicates with the Baltic, with the Tvertza which flows by the Volga into the Caspian, the junction of those two seas is formed. This junction is made by the canal of Vishnei-Voloshok; where the Shlina is united to the Tvertza by several canals and rivulets, for the relative situation of which I shall refer to the figures in the annexed plan.

Near Vishnei-Voloshok, the Shlina is joined by the Zna, near which are the sources of the Tvertza. To join the Tvertza and the Zna, the following works were made under Peter the Great.

1. Near Klutshina a cut was dug to a small lake, a second to the lake of Gorodolub, and a third to the Zna. 2. At the same place, just below the first cut, a lock of four gates was constructed across the Shlina, to stop the course of that rivulet; and by means of the said cuts and lakes, to convey water to the Zna above Vishnei-Voloshok. 3. But to keep this supply of water in reserve, and to let as much into the town as is judged necessary, a great lock of seven gates was built across the Zna below the third cut. 4. The Zna and the Tvertza were united by a canal beginning from the sources of the Tvertza; and a lock constructed at the end of the Canal. 5. The natural course of the Zna was shut up by two locks in the town (at a and b) one of which may also serve for a passage. 6. A canal was dug from the Zna to the Shlina, at the end of which is the lock of the Zna.

The several canals are supplied with water, and the vessels navigated from the Tvertza into the canal of Zna, by the following operation.

*Having in the Russian Discoveries, given a short sketch of the inland navigation from Tobolsk to the frontiers of China, I shall not repeat it here; but shall state, in a few words, that from Tobolsk to the Volga. At Tobolsk the barks ascend the Tobol, the Tura, and the Tigil, which rises in the mountains separating Siberia from Europe; from the Tigil the merchandise is transported across a neck of land of fifty-two miles to the Tchusiovaia; there the merchants re-embark the goods, and descend the Tchusiovaia into the Kuma, to its junction with the Volga a little above Casan.

The locks of Klutshina, those of a and b in the town, and that of the Zna being shut, the lock of the Tvertza is opened; the waters of the Zna and Shlina are conveyed through the canal of the Tvertza into that river; and the barks pass into the Zna at Vishnei-Voloshok. When a sufficient number are admitted, the lock of the Tvertza is shut; and the waters being raised to a certain level (which seldom takes more than two or three days) by means of the lock of seven gates, that of the Zna is opened, and the barks are gradually let down a small fall, to the number of about twenty in an hour. At night the lock is shut. If on the following day there is sufficient depth, the barks continue descending through the rock of the Zna; or if not, they must remain until a sufficient body of water is collected. Having by this means all passed into the Shlina, they proceed, without interruption, through the lake Mastino to the beginning of the Masta; where a lock has been lately constructed, which holds the waters of this lake in reserve. By this reservoir the navigation is so greatly facilitated, that the lock of the Zna being shut, and that of the Tvertza open, the Tvertza, which was formerly almost dry during several weeks, is now generally navigable even in the midst of summer, within two days after the passage of the barks: in spring, the supply of water, from the melting of the snows, is so considerable, that the locks both of the Tvertza and of the Zna are opened at the same time.

Several rivulets falling into the Masta are confined by locks, which being opened successively as the barks are passing, fill the river, and render the shallows navigable; and being again closed, form perpetual reservoirs of water; this operation is performed five or six times in the summer. By some other works lately constructed, a considerable addition of water has been obtained; and it is expected, that the Tvertza will become always navigable, and the lock of the Masta will only be shut for a short time.

The boats employed on this occasion are towed by ten horses up the Tvertza to Vishnei-Voloshok, between ten and twelve miles a day; from which place they are rowed as far as Novogorod. Each bark is provided with at least ten men; those which are laden with hemp require twenty-two. At Noshino and Bassatino they change pilots, and take in ten additional men to pass the upper and small cataracts. At Apezenskoi Radok, at the head of the great cataracts, they procure another pilot and two assistants; and on account of the rapidity of the current, increase their complement generally to sixty men. The fall of the river is one hundred and twenty-two and a half yards perpendicular in twenty miles; and the stream so violent, that the boats not unfrequently shoot along this space within the hour; but they are sometimes dashed against the rocks or upset by accident; in the year 1778 above thirty were lost. From the foot of the great cataracts, the pilot of Vishnei-Voloshok steers the bark one hundred and twenty miles further through several shoals, which have lately been considerably reduced, and almost levelled. In spring the vessels can be allowed to draw two and a half feet water; in summer only twenty-six inches. In autumn the navigation from Vishnei-Voloshok to Petersburg is performed in little more than a month, in summer in three weeks; and in spring only a fortnight is required. In the year 1777, three thousand four hundred and eighty-five barks passed through the canal.

The vessels being steered down the Masta, across the lake Ilmen to Novogorod, descend the Volkof, and enter the Ladoga canal, a plan of which is annexed to that of Vishnei-Voloshok. This canal was begun in 1718, by order of Peter, and finished during the reign of the empress Anne: it was carried at first only as far as the Kabona,

a rivulet which enters the lake to the east of Schlusselfburgh; but now reaches without interruption, from the Volkof to the Neva. The length is sixty-seven miles and a half, and the breadth seventy feet; the mean depth of water in summer is seven, and in spring ten feet; it is supplied by the Volkof and eight rivulets. The barks enter through the sluices of the Volkof, and go out through those of Schlusselfburgh. In 1778, four thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven vessels passed through the canal of Ladoga.

A scheme has been lately projected, to form a water communication between the Ladoga and Biel Ozero to the Duna; in order to unite the White Sea and the Baltic, and improve the inland commerce between Archangel and Petersburg. The only part of this plan yet finished, is a short cut of about seven miles from the Volkof to the Sjas.

The grand project of uniting the Caspian and the Baltic with the Black Sea, by the junction of the Don and Volga, was planned by Peter the Great. These two rivers approach each other within the distance of forty miles in the province of Astracan; and two rivulets, the Iloffa, which falls into the Don and the Camashinska, into the Volga, are only separated by an interval of five miles. Could these two rivulets be made navigable, and united by a canal, the Black Sea would be joined with the Caspian and the Baltic. With this view Peter sent Perry,* an English engineer, to the spot: the canal was begun under his inspection, and a cut made at the length of a mile and a half; but the scheme was dropped, from an idea that it was not practicable. Being revived, however, by the late empress, professor Lovitz was entrusted with the execution. Having taken a level of the ground between the Iloffa and the Camashinska, he traced out the canal, and was preparing to begin the work; when in 1774, he was wantonly murdered by the impostor Pugatchef. The direct distance between the two rivulets is only five miles; but the great difficulty would consist in deepening their beds, and procuring a supply of water sufficient to render them navigable. The Don, however, being only forty miles from the Volga, and land-carriage being extremely cheap and easy, the advantages resulting from the projected canal would be scarcely equivalent to the expence of forming it.

* See Perry's State of Russia.

APPENDIX.

NO. I.

A letter from Mr. Keith, British minister at St. Petersburg, to the right honourable George Grenville, secretary of state, on the revolution of 1762.

Sir,

St. Petersburg, July 12, 1762.

LAST Friday morning, about 9 o'clock (as I was preparing to go to Peterhoff, to meet the emperor) one of my servants came running into my room with a frightened countenance, and told me there was a great uproar at the other end of the town, that the guards, having mutinied, were assembled, and talked of nothing less than dethroning the emperor; he could tell me no circumstances, and could give me no answer to the only question I asked, namely, if the empress was in town. But about a quarter of an hour after, one of the gentlemen of our factory came in and informed me that the empress was in town, and that she had been, by the guards, and the other troops of the garrison, declared their empress and sovereign; and that she was then actually at the Casanski church, to hear the Te Deum sung upon the occasion. He added the circumstances of prince George of Holstein Gottorp's being made a prisoner, as he was endeavouring to make his escape out of the town. This account was confirmed from all quarters, and we understood the several supreme colleges in the empire, and all the great people were then taking the oaths of fidelity to the new empress, as the guards and other regiments had already done.

This surprising revolution was brought about and completed in a little more than two hours, without one drop of blood being spilt, or any act of insolence committed; and all the quarters of this city, at any distance from the palace, especially the street where I and most part of his majesty's subjects reside, were as quiet as if nothing had happened; the only novelty to be seen were some piquets placed at the bridges, and some of the horse guards patrolling through the streets, in order to preserve the public tranquillity.

As soon as the guards assembled in the morning, several detachments were sent to the Peterhoff Road, to hinder any intelligence from being sent to the emperor; and this piece of duty was performed with so much diligence and exactness, that no one person got through, except the master of the horse, Monsieur Nariskin.

About ten o'clock in the evening, the empress marched out of town on horseback, at the head of twelve or fourteen thousand men, and a great train of artillery, and took the road towards Peterhoff, in order to attack the emperor at that place, or Oraniebaum, or wherever they should meet him; and next day in the afternoon we received the account of his imperial majesty's having surrendered his person, and resigned his crown, without one stroke being struck. The few circumstances of this great event that I have been able to pick up, and which appear to be authentic, though I will not warrant them all, are as follow, viz. That this affair had been long contriving, but was hastened in the execution by one of the conspirators having been arrested two days before, upon some rash words that had fallen from him; upon which some of the others concerned, for fear of the whole conspiracy being discovered, had come to the resolution of going immediately to work, and in consequence, had sent to Mons. Orlow, one of the Russian officers in the guards, to apprise the empress of this circumstance,

and to represent the necessity of her returning to town without loss of time. That this gentleman had got to Peterhoff between three and four in the morning, and having got admittance into her majesty's bed-chamber, had informed her of her danger, upon which she had, as soon as she was dressed, slipped out of the palace by a back door, and under the conduct of Mons. Orlov, without one servant of either sex, had, after some accidents, such as their horses being tired and knocked up, got to town about six o'clock, and went directly to the casernes of the Imacklowsky guards, which she found under arms, ready to receive her, with their colonel, the Hetman Rasamowsky at their head. That her majesty from thence proceeded to the Simonowsky regiment, and then to that of Preobrazinsky, and was by the whole conducted to the palace, where every thing passed in the manner above-mentioned. I must observe, that the regiment of horse guards, of which prince George was colonel, was amongst the first that appeared in the revolt, and shewed the greatest animosity against their colonel and the late government; and that all the troops took the oaths without hesitation, except some of the officers of the emperor's own regiment of curassiers, who refused it at first; and some of them, I believe, are still in arrest for persisting in their refusal.

As for the emperor, he had not the smallest information, nor the least suspicion of this affair, till between eleven and twelve o'clock, when being on the way from Oraniebaum to Peterhoff, he was met by a servant sent on by the master of the horse, who informed him how matters stood in town. His imperial majesty proceeded to Peterhoff and there learned the circumstances of the empress's leaving that place, which had been concealed till then from the ladies and other courtiers, by her bed-chamber woman's pretending that the empress was indisposed and a bed.

From that moment the unhappy emperor seems to have lost himself, and there was nothing but despair and confusion among the small number of his attendants, and no resolution was taken till very late in the evening. That his imperial majesty, with all his train-gentleman and ladies, went on board a galley that rode before Peterhoff, and rowed over to Cronstadt, in the hopes of being received there; but the commissioners from the admiralty, sent down from Petersburgh, had got the start of them, and when the emperor approached the haven, he was not only refused admittance, though he declared who he was, but was threatened to be fired upon.

This augmented the confusion and despair, and the galley, with the other boats, returned to this side, but taking different ways, some to Peterhoff, and others to Oraniebaum; amongst the last was the emperor, with a few attendants, and on the morning of Saturday, he sent prince Galitzin, the vice-chancellor, and major-general Ismaelow, to the empress, with some proposals. After some time, Ismaelow returned with the deed of resignation of the crown, which the emperor signed immediately, and then going into a coach with that gentleman, taking the road to Peterhoff, and has not been seen since; and I have not been able to learn where he was conducted to. It is said, that in the deed above-mentioned, there was a clause, promising the emperor liberty to retire into Holstein. Thus ended this extraordinary and important affair; and her imperial majesty, after having passed the night at a country house of prince Kurakin's, returned to town yesterday morning on horseback, and after having heard mass at the new admiralty church, which was consecrated that day, went directly to the summer palace, where she, with her son, the great duke, have taken up their residence, and where all sorts of people for some hours were admitted to kiss her hand. As for us foreign ministers, we each of us received copies of the inclosed paper on Saturday evening; and we now wait for a notification of the time when we are to be admitted to the presence of her imperial majesty.

I have the honour likewise to transmit to you the manifesto published by authority, with the translation, in which you will see that great stress is laid upon the shameful peace concluded with their enemy; notwithstanding which, as Baron Goltz, who attended the emperor to the last, was returning to town, he was met on the road by Mons. Allsusiew, who, by order of the empress, assured him that he had nothing to fear, and that he might either return to Oraniebaum for a day or two, or proceed to Petersburg, a proper escort being appointed to attend him to either place; but he, choosing the town, is now at his house here, in perfect freedom; but what is most remarkable, Allsusiew assured him, that the empress was perfectly well disposed towards cultivating his Prussian majesty's friendship.

The Hetman was, I hear, with general Villebois and Mons. Panin, the great duke's governor, the principal persons in bringing about this revolution, and under them the brothers Orlov were the most trusted and the most active; but the most singular circumstance of the whole is, that the place of rendezvous was the house of the princess Dashkow, a young lady not above twenty years old, daughter to count Roman Lanwonits Woranzow, sister to the late favourite Elizabeth, and niece to the Chancellor; it is certain that she bore a principal share in contriving and carrying on the conspiracy from the beginning to the conclusion of it.

Of all men the Hetman seemed to possess the greatest share in the unfortunate emperor's affection, and two days before his fall he dined at Marshal Rosamowsky's country house, and was upon that occasion received and served with the greatest marks of duty, zeal, and attachment, on the part of both brothers, and when he returned to Oraniebaum, the Hetman went straight to Peterhoff to concern matters with the empress. It is a dispute what part the Chamberlain Schuwalow had in this affair.

On Friday evening, before the empress left the town, she dispatched an officer to bring back count Bestuchef to Petersburg, and it is thought he will have a considerable share in the administration; and in the mean time Mons. Panin is the person that takes most upon him, though both the chancellor count Woronzow, and the vice-chancellor prince Galitzkin, continue in their places. The former come to town on Friday evening, and going directly to court was tolerably well received, and promised the empress's protection; however, at his own desire, he had two officers of the guards put about him for the first two days, but now they are taken off, and he goes on in the functions of his office; his lady was not at court till Sunday, having continued with the emperor to the end, and having been even at Cronstadt with him; and when she kissed the empress's hand, she took off her ribbon of St. Catherine, and offering it to her imperial majesty, said, she never asked for it, and now laid it at her feet; but the empress most obligingly took it, and with her own hand put it again over the countess Woronzow's shoulder.

With regard to the motives of this revolution, it is plain that the taking away of the church lands was the principal, joined to the neglect of the clergy; the next was, the severe discipline which the emperor endeavoured to introduce amongst the troops, especially the guards, who had been accustomed to great idleness and licence, and the discontent among them was heightened by the resolution his imperial majesty had taken, of carrying a great part of that corps into Germany with him in his expedition against Denmark; which was a measure disagreeable to the whole nation, who stomached greatly their being drawn into new expences and new dangers, for recovering the dutchy of Schleswick, which they considered as a trifling object in itself and entirely indifferent to Russia; and that after the emperor had just sacrificed the conquests made by the Russian arms, and which might have been of great importance to this

empire, to his friendship for the king of Prussia, which however their desires for peace would have made them not only put up with, but approve.

Several other little circumstances greatly exaggerated, and artfully represented and improved, contributed to the fall of this unhappy prince, who had many excellent qualities, and who never did a violent or cruel action in the course of his short reign; but who, from an abhorrence of business, owing to a bad education, and the unhappy choice of favourites, who encouraged him in it, let every thing run into confusion, and by a mistaken notion he had conceived of having secured the affections of the nation, by the great favours he had so nobly bestowed upon them after his first mounting the throne, fell into an indolence and security that proved fatal to him. To conclude, not only I, but several persons of sense and discernment, thought they could perceive, latterly, in this prince, a considerable change from what he was for some months after his accession, and the perpetual hurry in which he lived, and the flattery he met with from the vile people about him, had in some measure affected his understanding. I must own, that I had no apprehension that this revolution could happen so soon; but I was always of opinion, that, if he left his dominions, he ran a risk of never returning to them; and for that reason I made use of every means I could think of to divert him from that expedition, sometimes by representing the danger to others, who had the honour to approach his person, and a title to offer him their advice; whether they did their duty in this point, particularly prince George, I cannot say, but if they did, the event has shewn that it was all to no purpose.

July 2-13. Last night, about 10 o'clock, I received a message from the master of the ceremonies, desiring me to be at court this morning at eleven; and having gone thither accordingly found great numbers of people, and amongst the rest, my brethren the foreign ministers, and we were soon after carried into the empress's apartments, and presented to her by the chancellor: in kissing her imperial majesty's hand, I took the opportunity of wishing her a happy reign, and of making her a proper compliment in the king's name, which was kindly received, and returned in very handsome terms, and, upon the whole, my reception was very good.

I could observe the countenances of some of my brethren considerably changed for the better, particularly those of the Danish envoy, and of the imperial ambassador; a propos to the last orders have already been sent to the count Czernichef, forthwith to leave the Prussian army, and return into Russia; at the same time, orders were likewise dispatched to general Panin, to go and take the command of general Romanzow's army, and bring it back likewise into Russia; all this gives some people the notion, that this court may have entertained some thoughts of keeping the whole, or some part of that country, notwithstanding the late peace.

There was likewise a good deal of difference to be observed in the faces of the courtiers, some for the better, some for the worse; those who seemed to make the most important figure, were the Hétman, Mons. Panin, and that gentleman, Mons. Orlov, who is mentioned in the former part of this letter; he is made knight of St. Alexander, and chamberlain. Amongst the ladies, the princess of Dashkow was distinguished by the order of St. Catharine, the empress having given her the ribbon she wore herself before she put on the blue. Her father and sister are under confinement in count Romoinzow's house. It is said that the emperor, in making his terms, desired only three things, his own life, and grace for his favourite lady, and for his adjutant brigadier Godowitz, who is likewise under arrest. There have been several promotions made, particularly of new senators, in which number the vice-chancellor is; but I refer myself to my next, in which I shall transmit the most exact list I shall be able to procure.

Prince Menzicoff, after being made general in chief, and knight of St. Andrew, was dispatched to Moscow on Friday evening, to proclaim the empress in the capital.

You cannot fail, sir, of being tired of this long incoherent letter; but in the hurry of the times, all I can do is to throw together as many particulars as come to my knowledge, and I trust to your indulgence for my pardon. In the mean time, having received no orders from you since your letter of the 8th June, I shall conclude this, with assuring you I am with great respect,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,
ROBERT KEITH.

P. S. Baron Goltz was not at court for want of clothes, it having been insinuated in the message from the master of the ceremonies, that it was expected he would come to court in other clothes than regimentals, but having none of that kind ready, he cannot be presented till next court day.

Baron Lutzon, the Mechlenburgh minister, was at court amongst the rest; he left a card at my door last night. Both Mulgonow and Wolkow are in arrest.

NO. II.

List of the Russian navy in October 1778.

Ships of the line.

Names.	Guns.	Station.	When built.
1. Ezekiel - - -	80—	Cronstadt - - -	1773
2. Isidor - - -	74—	Ditto - - -	1772
3. St. Andrew - - -	74—	Ditto - - -	1770
4. Clement - - -	74—	Ditto - - -	1770
5. Tchesme - - -	74—	Ditto - - -	1770
6. Vladimir - - -	66—	Ditto - - -	1771
7. Vekeslaf - - -	66—	Ditto - - -	1771
8. De Neiss - - -	66—	Ditto - - -	1772
9. America - - -	66—	Ditto - - -	1773
10. Perislaf - - -	66—	Ditto - - -	1772
11. Vsevolod - - -	66—	Ditto - - -	1769
12. Demitri Donski - - -	66—	Ditto - - -	1771
13. Pam and Eustatia - - -	66—	Ditto - - -	1770
14. Victor - - -	66—	Ditto - - -	1771
15. Europa - - -	66—	Ditto - - -	1768
16. Saratof - - -	66—	Ditto - - -	1765
17. Pobeda - - -	66—	Ditto - - -	1770
18. Ratislof - - -	66—	Ditto - - -	1769
19. Miranositz - - -	66—	Ditto - - -	1771
20. Pobidnasovitz, rebuilding - - -	66—	At Cronstadt.	
21. Count Orlof - - -	66—	Revel - - -	1770
22. Alexander - - -	66—	Ditto - - -	1772
23. Boris and Glebb - - -	66—	Ditto - - -	1773
24. Ingermanland - - -	66—	Ditto - - -	1773

Names.	Guns.	Station.	When built.
25. Asia - - -	66—	Revel - - -	-
26. Unknown - - -	66—	Cronstadt - - -	1773
27. Ditto - - -	66—	Ditto - - -	1777
28. Ditto - - -	66—	Ditto - - -	1777
29. Ditto - - -	66—	Ditto - - -	1777
30. Ditto - - -	66—	Ditto - - -	1777
			1777

Ships of the line ready to launch, and building.

	Guns.	Station.
31. Ready to launch - - -	74—	Petersburgh
32. Ditto - - -	74—	Ditto
33. Building - - -	74—	Ditto
34. Ready to launch - - -	66—	Ditto
35. Building - - -	66—	Ditto
36. Ditto - - -	66—	Ditto
37. Ditto - - -	66—	Ditto
38. Ditto - - -	66—	Ditto

Frigates.

Names.	Guns.	Station.	When built.
1. St. Michael - - -	32—	Cronstadt - - -	1774
2. Kaslevoi - - -	32—	Ditto - - -	1774
3. Leeskoi - - -	32—	Ditto - - -	1773
4. Pospeskoi - - -	32—	Ditto - - -	1774
5. Bohemia - - -	32—	Ditto - - -	1774
6. Hungaria - - -	32—	Ditto - - -	1774
7. Nordeskoi - - -	32—	Ditto - - -	1769
8. Eustatia - - -	32—	Ditto - - -	1768
9. Pomosknoi - - -	32—	Ditto - - -	1768

Frigates ready to launch, and building.

10. Ready to launch - - -	28—	Petersburgh
11. St. Mark - - -	20—	Ditto
12. Ready to launch - - -	20—	Ditto
13. Building - - -	20—	Archangel
14. Ditto - - -	20—	Ditto
15. Ditto - - -	20—	Ditto

Prames: 1, Elephant, 36 guns; 2, Unknown, 3, Leopold, 18; 4, Barsa, 18.
 Gallies: 101 at Petersburg; 3 at Cronstadt; and 5 at Revel.

No. III.

Goods exported in three hundred and eighty-two British ships in 1777.

		Value.	
Quantity.		£.	s.
1,283,279	Poods* of Iron	365,324	12
1,104,299	- Clean hemp	353,375	12
92,950	- Outshot ditto	27,885	0
32,835	- Half clean ditto	9,165	16
84,008	- Codilla ditto	13,441	1
209,902	- Twelve head flax	100,753	0
25,470	- Nine head flax	10,697	8
4,396	- Six head flax	1,582	8
36,627	- Codilla ditto	4,395	4
1,373	- Isinglass	8,238	0
13,514	- Bristles	24,325	4
8,774	- Hides	10,528	16
2,545	- Wax	6,110	8
271,273	- Tallow	119,360	0
21,525	- Old iron	1,722	0
1,157	- Feathers	925	12
70,838	- Tar†	7,083	16
2,683	- Pitch	402	8
1,473	- Rosin	441	16
2,987	- Cordage	1,194	16
359	- Horsehair	143	12
42	32lb. Rhubarb	846	8
3	3lb. Beaver cod	590	8
152,854	Arshines‡ Broad diaper	3,362	5
337,683	- Narrow ditto	5,402	16
82,155	- Broad linen	1,838	4
1,602,716	- Narrow ditto	22,438	0
1,168,440	- Crash	5,842	4
847,290	- Drillings	23,724	0
23,429	Pieces of Fleems	37,598	8
56,644	- Ravenducks	67,972	16
1,505	- Sail-cloth	2,107	0
3,500	- White fox skins	1,400	0
5,000	- Hare skins	200	0
18,454	Tchetwert§ Linseed	11,072	8
17,986	- Wheat	14,388	16

* A pood = thirty-six English pounds.

† Before our unhappy disputes with our colonies, we used to procure our pitch and tar from America. In 1776 we first imported these commodities from Russia. They were sold at first for only 1s. the pood; but in 1777, tar sold for 2s. and pitch at 3s. the pood.

‡ An arshine = twenty-eight inches.

§ A tchetwert contains 5½ bushels Winchester measure.

VOL. VI.

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Quantity.		Value.	
		£.	s.
157,083	Deals are about eighty thousand dozen	24,000	0
155	Poods of Potash	77	8
499	Carraway seeds	149	12
226	Annisseed	90	8
37,817	Old rags, old ropes, goats' skins, and oxen bones	312	0
2	22lb. Raw silk	57	12
52	Linseed oil	15	12
10,424	Horse-tails, about two hundred pood	200	0
78	Masts and bowsprits, and wax candles	1,044	0
205	Fox-skin bags and weasel-skin bags	832	0
312	Hare-skin bags and skins of squirrels	15	12
20	Ermine skins	60	0
14,370	Ermine tails and sable tails, and mats	214	0
57	Caviar	34	4
1,413	Arshines Checked linen	21	4
Customs on exportation		£1,293,010	14
Shipping charges 5 per cent.		171,826	12
Commission 3 per cent.		1,464,837	6
Total sum of exports by British ships		43,945	0
		1,508,782	6

Goods exported by British ships at Petersburg, in 1777.

Quantity.		Value.	
		£.	s.
2,154	Poods of Alum	775	8
214	Benzoin	2,565	0
8,080	Brimstone	985	12
11,482	Campeachy wood	4,592	16
579	Cheese	706	4
126	Cochineal	5,040	0
1,288	Coffee	2,060	16
15	Confectionary	61	16
	Copper wrought and unwrought	120	8
978	Cork	660	0
6	Coral	500	0
108	Gum Arabic	129	16
1,560	Indigo	24,961	4
58,804	Lead	21,169	8
568	Mustard	1,362	12
324	Oil	623	16
46	Olibanum	92	0
1,420	Pepper	3,418	16

Value.		Quantity.	Poods of	Pewter	Value.	
£.	s.				£.	s.
24,000	0	37			96	12
77	8	22½		Plates of gold and silver	7,507	0
149	12	608		Rice	243	12
90	8	54		Sugar refined	896	8
312	0	683		Ditto raw	1,636	4
57	12	409		Sal ammoniac	25,398	8
15	12	15,874		Tin	182	8
200	0	60		Tobacco and snuff	393	12
1,044	0	98		Verdigrease	20,956	12
832	0	206,816	Arshines	Bays	7,034	12
15	12	100,494		Colimancoes and camblets	6,880	8
60	0	52,412		Camblets	7,225	0
214	0	164,205		Cottons for printing	55,642	12
34	4	7,132		Cloth fine	17,364	0
21	4	162,007		ordinary	3,219	12
		144,125		Cottons, velvets, velverets, &c.	589	12
3,010	14	45,995		Druggets	1,986	0
1,826	12	9,828		Flannels	24,881	12
		16,225		Phlug and shag	9,652	16
4,837	6	365,896		Shalloons	344	4
3,3945	0	137,895		Tabouretts	215	8
				Clothes ready made	342	16
8,782	6			Hats	1,108	0
				Linen and printed handkerchiefs	2,853	0
				Muslin and cambric	133	0
				Quilting	1,787	0
				Ribbands	1,333	0
				Stockings	2,131	0
				Sundry silk stuffs	9,490	8
				Sundry woollen ditto	16	12
				Toys and millinery	1	8
				Butter	2,033	12
				Capers	68	0
				Coals	190	4
				Chesnuts	384	8
				Chrystal	19,181	16
				Currants, raisins, and figs	5,596	0
				Cutlery and hardware	5,890	12
				Diamonds and precious stones	20	16
				Earthen ware	82	16
				Fans	312	4
				Frames for pictures	40	0
				Furniture	24	0
				Furs	452	12
				Hops	519	4
				Lace and ruffles		
				Leather dressed and undressed		

Quantity.		Value.	
		£.	s.
	Mathematical instruments	1,458	0
	Musical instruments	451	16
	Mohair	45	16
	Nuts	45	8
	Olives	1	0
	Paper hangings	258	8
	Pearls	1,000	0
	Pencils and black lead	674	0
	Pictures and copper-plates	3,605	8
	Pickles	37	12
	Pork and hams	57	8
	Printed books	607	0
	Prunes	94	0
	Stoughton's drops	13	4
	Stone and marble	822	0
	Snuff-boxes	241	12
	Tea	35	0
	Tutelage	141	0
	Whips and walking sticks	109	16
	Wine and mineral water	434	0
	Wood for coaches, furniture, &c.	2,070	0
131	Horses	2,920	0
38	Dogs	132	12
27,316	Pieces of Beaver skins	27,316	0
289,967	Bottles	2,380	8
3,282	Hogsheads Burton ale	26,255	0
61	Coaches and harness	2,084	4
	Clocks and watches	11,142	16
193	Dozen Cyder	154	16
195	Anchors of French brandy	781	16
3,556	Chests of Oranges and lemons	5,817	12
10,703	Otter skins	14,844	4
116	Reams of Paper	45	4
13	Anchors of Shrub and rum	98	8
61	Hogsheads of Vinegar	147	16
	Sundry drugs and colours	865	0
	Sundry small articles	590	16
		<u>£423,942</u>	<u>12</u>



NO. IV.

State of the Russian army 1785.

- 1 Regiment horse guards.
 3 Ditto foot guards; viz. Preobrashinsky, Ismailofsky, Semenofsky.

This corps is called ten thousand men, but does not exceed three thousand, and probably never will.

1st Division....*St. Petersburg and Plescof.*

Number of men, officers included.

1	Field Marshal.				
1	General in Chief.				
4	Lieutenant Generals.				
7	Major Generals.				
1	Regiment carabiniers: viz. Plescof	-	-	-	942
1	Ditto dragoons: viz. St. Petersburg	-	-	-	1,872
	Total cavalry	-	-	-	2,814
2	Regiments grenadiers: viz. Life grenadiers, Sophiisk, each consisting of 4,188 men	-	-	-	8,376
14	Field regiments: viz. Revel, Beloverskoy, Plesverskoy, Koporskoy, Archangel, Navaginsk, Resan, Velikolutsky, Tinguinsk, Narva, Kexholm, Nevfsky, Staroskolsk, Negomsk, each consisting of 2,094 men	-	-	-	29,316
	Total infantry	-	-	-	37,692
	Total 1st division	-	-	-	40,506

2d Division....*Ukraine.*

1	Field Marshal.				
1	General in Chief.				
3	Lieutenant Generals.				
5	Major Generals.				
1	Regiment, cuirassiers: viz. St. George	-	-	-	742
10	Regiments, carabiniers: viz. Kiof, Tchernigof, Seversk, Glukof, Sophiisk, Lubenskoy, Tver, Neyinsk, Staradubsk, Perejoiloff, each consisting of 942 men	-	-	-	9,420
6	Regiments, light horse: viz. Achtiursk, Kaskoff, Sumsk, Ostrogisk, Duteronisk, Sonisk, each consisting of 1,083 men	-	-	-	6,498
	Total cavalry	-	-	-	16,660

Carry forward - 16,660

	Number of men, officers included.
Brought forward	16,660
7 Regiments, infantry : viz. Tomsk, Sief, Briansk, Elitz, Riga, Suzdosky, Polotskoy, each consisting of 2,094 men,	14,658
Total 2d division	31,318

3d Division....*Moscow.*

1 General in Chief.	
2 Lieutenant Generals.	
4 Major Generals.	
2 Regiments, carabiniers ; viz. Moscow, Rostof, each consisting of 942 men	1,884
1 Regiment, cuirassiers : viz. Cazan	742
Total of cavalry	2,626
7 Regiments, infantry : viz. St. Petersburg, grenadiers, Moscow, grenadiers, each consisting of 4,188 men	8,376
Pennskoy, Yaroslaf, Alinopolsk, Toola, Casan, each consisting of 2,094 men	10,470
Total infantry	18,846
Total 3d division	21,472

4th Division....*Ekaterinoslaf and Crimea.*

1 Field Marshal.	
1 General in Chief.	
5 Lieutenant Generals.	
11 Major Generals.	
1 Regiment, cuirassiers : viz. Ekaterinoslaf	742
1 Regiment, carabiniers : viz. Resan	942
	1,684
9 Regiments, light horse : viz. Paulogratz, Marinpolsk, Alexandriisk, Olivinpolsk, Kherson, Constantinogratz, Tamiginsk, Pultava, Isiamsk, each consisting of 1,083 men	9,747
Total cavalry	11,431
11 Regiments, viz. Ekaterinoslaf, Tauritza, Phanogorisk, Kiof, grenadiers, each consisting of 4,188 men	16,752
Orlof, Koslof, Vialskoy, Kursk, Tambof, Taurichetz, Troitzk, each consisting of 2,094 men	14,658
Total infantry	31,410
Total 4th division	42,841

Corps cantoned from Astracan to Tiflis, making part of the 4th division commanded by
 Number of men, officers included.

1 Lieutenant General.		
5 Major Generals.		
2 Regiments, dragoons: viz. Astracan, Taganrock, each consist- ing of 1,872 men	3,744	
9 Regiments, infantry: viz. Astracan, grenadiers Kunitsk, Kabardinia, Moscow, Selenginskoy, Nizof, Nishnei- Novogorod, Butuirskoy, Voronetz, each consisting of 2,094 men	4,188	
	16,752	
Total		24,684

5th Division....*Novogorod.*

1 General in Chief.		
1 Lieutenant General.		
2 Major Generals.		
1 Regiment, curassiers: viz. great duke's	742	
1 Regiment, carabiniers: viz. Kargopolsk	942	
		1,684
4 Regiments, infantry: viz. Novogorod, Siburgh, Schlusselfurgh, Tobolsk, each consisting of 2,094 men		8,376
Total 5th division		10,060

6th Division....*Vladimir and Voronetz.*

1 General in Chief.		
1 Lieutenant General.		
4 Major Generals.		
2 Regiments, carabiniers: viz. Jugermanland, Narva, each consist- ing of 942 men	1,884	
2 Regiments, dragoons: viz. Nishnie-Novogorod, Volodimir, each consisting of 1,872 men	3,744	
4 Regiments, infantry: viz. Shirvan, Rostof, Apekeronskoy, Azof, each consisting of 2,094 men	8,376	
Total 6th division		14,004

7th Division....*Smolensko.*

1 General in Chief.		
1 Lieutenant General.		
3 Major Generals.		
1 Regiment, life curassiers	742	
2 Regiments, carabiniers: viz. Jamburgh, Riga, each consisting of 942 men	1,884	
4 Regiments, infantry: viz. Siberia, grenadiers Smolensko, Uglitz, Ingermanland, each consisting of 2,094 men	4,188	
	6,282	
Total 7th division		13,096



Number of men, officers included.

8th Division....*Tambaf.*

1 General in Chief.	
1 Lieutenant General.	
2 Major Generals.	
1 Regiment, light horse : viz. Elizabethgratz	1,083
4 Regiments, infantry : viz. Troitzk, Lodago, Volodimir, Maromsk, each consisting of 2,094 men	8,376

Total 8th Division	9,459
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9th Division....*White Russia.*

1 General in Chief.	
1 Lieutenant General.	
1 Major General.	
2 Regiments, dragoons : viz. Smolensko, Kinburn, each consisting of 1,872 men	3,744
4 Regiments, infantry : viz. Dnuperopskoy, Polotskoy, Tschernigoff Vologolskoy, each consisting of 2,094 men	8,376

Total 9th Division	12,120
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10th Division....*Orenburgh.*

1 Lieutenant General.	
2 Major Generals.	
3 Regiments, light horse : viz. Voronetz, Psiumsk, Ukraine, each consisting of 1,083 men	3,249
2 Battalions, infantry : viz. Orenburgh, Tschernogratz, each consist- ing of 1,046 men	2,092

Total 10th Division	5,341
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CORPS OF SIBERIA.

1 Lieutenant General.	
2 Major Generals.	
1 Regiment, dragoons : viz. Siberia	1,872
2 Battalions, infantry : viz. Ekaterinenburgh, Semiupolsk, each con- sisting of 1,046 men	2,092
Total	3,964

LIGHT TROOPS.

12 Regiments, regular Cossacs, each consisting of 942 men	11,304
Irregular ditto, divided into regiments of 500 each from the Don and the Yaic or Ural (since Pugatchef's revolt) called Uralian Cossacs. Number not to be ascertained.	
Kalmucks....The same.	
Carry forward	11,304

	Brought forward	Number of men, officers included.
2 Battalions, grenadiers: viz. Kharcofs, —, each consisting of 1,047 men		11,304
8 Battalions, fusileers: viz. Moscow, Karkhoff, each consisting of 1,026 men		2,094
24 Battalions, chasseurs: viz. Tauritchitz, Caucasus, Livonia, Bog, Belorucky, Finland, each consisting of 990 men		8,208
		23,760
		<u>45,366</u>

RECAPITULATION.

	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Artillery.
1st Division	2,814	29,316	
2	16,660	14,658	
3	2,626	18,846	
4	11,431	31,410	
Lieutenant general Potemkin's corps	3,744	20,940	
5	1,684	8,376	
6	5,628	8,376	
7	2,626	10,470	
8	1,083	8,376	
9	3,744	12,120	
10	3,249	2,092	
Corps of Siberia	1,872	2,092	
Light troops, regular	11,034	34,062	
Irregular			34,000
Artillery			34,000
	<u>68,465</u>	<u>201,134</u>	<u>34,000</u>

To this may be added, ninety-eight garrison battalions of different establishments, consisting of recruits and invalids, mixed, which do the duty of the places, no field regiment, excepting four for the garrison of Petersburg, and two for that of Riga, being employed in that line. The artillery has eleven garrison battalions for the same purpose.

END OF EUROPE.





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